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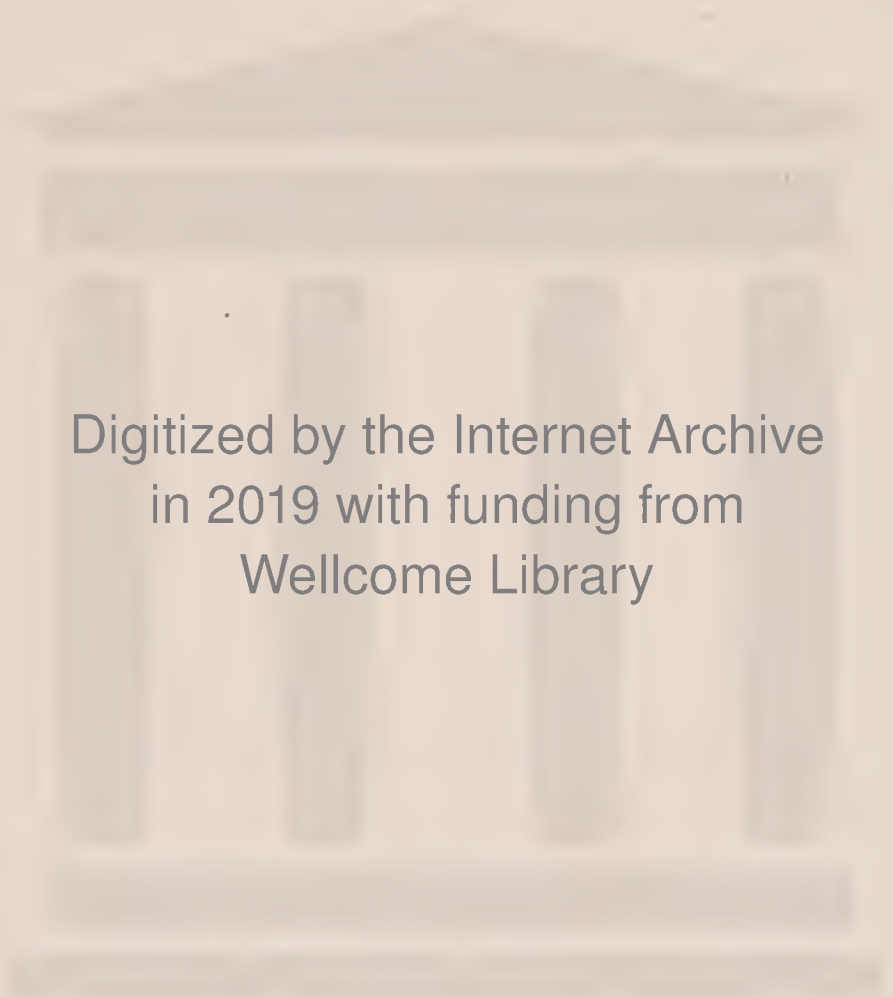

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THE NEW

ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR GENERAL REPOSITORY OF

HISTORY,

POLITICS,

AND

LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1807.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

The HISTORY of KNOWLEDGE, LEARNING, and TASTE, in GREAT BRITAIN, during the Reign of Queen Anne,—Part I.

WITH A MAP OF INDIA.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR JOHN STOCKDALE,
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1808.

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PREFACE.

IT is the duty of the proprietor and editors of an Annual Register to present to their readers, at an early period, a historical detail of every thing interesting in politics, in general history, in literature, and in the progressive improvements and discoveries in the arts and sciences. This they presume they have now performed for the year 1807.

The facts recorded in the present volume are in every respect important. The politician, who has been accustomed to regard with reverence that system to which statesmen have, for the last century, referred under the phrase of the "Balance of Europe," must deplore the ravages made upon it by him whose ambition seems to know no bounds, and whose good fortune appears to keep pace with his most gigantic projects. Kingdoms and empires, resisting his power, have, one after another, fallen victims either to their own want of union, or to a

reliance on representations held out by the conqueror, which in a short space of time have proved delusive and fatal.

It is difficult now, with the exception of Sweden, to find a single spot on the vast continent of Europe which is not in some way or other subject to the decrees of the French emperor: every sovereign is either of his creation, or apparently dependent on his will. The changes and revolutions which have brought about this disposition of affairs have been distinctly described in the volumes of the New Annual Register. The historians would have rejoiced had it been their good fortune to have recorded a different order of things; but they have no choice, they can merely enumerate facts: and their only consolation is, that there is an overruling Providence, who can effect the happiness of his creatures by events apparently the most unfavourable and disastrous.

Britain is still free, subject to no control; and he little deserves the advantages resulting from his birth in these islands, who will not devoutly exclaim "Esto perpetua!" We are not blind to errors, in our own system, that call for correction, nor ignorant of defects that might be usefully reformed: but we abhor

abhor the idea of foreign interference; and we feel proud of the distinction of being the citizens of a country, which appears to stand almost alone in defence of the rights of independent states. She has hitherto, under the protection of a beneficent Providence, successfully resisted the encroachments of the common enemy; defied his power; and, in some degree, has been enabled to say, "Hitherto thou mayest come, but no further." And we trust that the courage and unanimity of a free people will ever continue them in this high situation among the nations of the world; and that they may eventually, and speedily, under the auspices of Heaven, obtain for themselves a solid and honourable peace.

The remaining sheet of the Map of India is now presented to the public. Neither pains nor expense have been spared in the execution of it; and though, during the last two years, the events in India have been comparatively of less importance than usual, yet the vast extent of our possessions in that quarter of the globe, will, it is feared, be perpetually productive of events, and wars, the scourge of man, that must render a complete and accurate chart of them highly interesting to those who study the history of their own country and its dependencies, with a due regard to critical accuracy.

The proprietor begs leave to assure his readers that it will be his endeavour at all times, as it has been in the present instance, to bring out the volumes of the New Annual Register at such periods as shall give them a just claim to pre-eminence, as the most early, as well as the most complete and faithful record of whatever relates to politics, local and general; and to literature, domestic and foreign: rendering them in every respect a register of history, and a complete ANNUAL REVIEW, adapted to every class of readers.

6th May, 1808.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

KNOWLEDGE, LITERATURE, AND TASTE,

IN GREAT BRITAIN,

DURING THE REIGN OF ANNE.

PART I.

AT the commencement of the eighteenth century, a diversified view of civilization was presented by the various states of Europe. The arts and sciences, which the wisdom of Gustavus and the genius of Christina had transplanted to Sweden, were withering in neglect; and the germs of literature, no longer fostered by their influence, had perished with the short-lived season of national prosperity.

If the spirit of improvement had departed from Stockholm, at Moscow it was not yet arrived: the immense empire of the Czars, enveloped in the glooms of barbarism, retained its primitive aspect of ignorance and ferocity. Poland had its universities, and Bohemia its professors: but in those native regions of mysticism, the glimmering rays of science served only to throw a transient splendour over the chimæras of superstition or the illusions of fancy. Alchemy and astrology were here zealously cultivated; fables and visionaries spread from hence to the South of Europe.

In the several states of Germany much knowledge existed, but it was combined with scholastic ruggedness and sectarian

sectarian asperity: the want of a national language, and consequently a national literature, impeded its circulation; the prevalence of warfare and controversy retarded its progress. In Spain, tyranny, superstition and corruption conspired against the human intellect. The courtesy of Europe still conceded to Italy the honours of literary precedence:—with her remained the models of art, the monuments of genius; and a pilgrimage to Rome seemed to the classical student a rite of devotion almost indispensable to attest the fervour of his attachment and the sincerity of his devotion to antiquity. In France, under the auspices of Louis the Fourteenth, the golden age of Leo had revived. That monarch thirsted for renown, and in every pursuit aspired to pre-eminence. Though little improved by cultivation, he relished the society of the tributary wits and poets who encircled his throne: he beheld in them the noblest retinue of his court, requited their praise with protection, and showered on them the most splendid munificence. Although the liberalities of this prince were almost exclusively confined to men of letters in France, his influence extended indirectly to other countries, and in particular to England, where the progress of literature had seldom been impelled by regal patronage.

Although William the Third was indifferent to all but military or political merit, he permitted his ministers to atone for his neglect; and at no period since the romantic age of Edward the Third, were talents so assiduously fostered in this country as during the reign of this monarch, who was unable to distinguish between pedants and scholars, and cared only for the soldier or the statesman. At this time also there existed in this country a gallant spirit of rivalry with France; a lofty sentiment of patriotism, and even a jealous vigilance of party, which roused the mind to action, and kindled in it that inextinguishable emulation which is the true element of genius. Thus the example of Louis the Fourteenth provoked liberality from William the Third, and men of letters in this island caught a reflection of the glory which blazed round their Gallic contemporaries.

The

The reign of Anne is supplemental to that of William. Totally destitute of his talents or wisdom, she was yet destined to be the executrix of his will, and the inheritor of his fame. Guided by such statesmen as he had chosen, she was unconsciously enriched with his experience, and directed by his counsels; involuntarily she was the organ of his mind, and through the medium of her administration the spirit of William still actuated England, and gave the impulse to Europe. In literature also fortunate circumstances conspired to render her age illustrious. In the preceding reign, Pope, Swift, and Addison, had begun to write:—the seed-time commenced with William—the harvest was showered on Anne. At this moment also originated a species of literature calculated to refine both manners and morals, and to impart a new character to the people.

In the present affluence of elegant literature, when our attention is constantly stimulated by novelty, and the ardour for information is blunted by the facility with which it is obtained, we can hardly conceive what impediments to mental cultivation existed for those who had not been previously admitted within the pale of scholastic knowledge. Religious or political controversy formed the staple produce of the press. These appeared to be the only subjects of inquiry which the public were curious to know, or competent to examine; and from these unhappily was imbibed a spirit of rancour, or bigotry, rude, illiberal and unenlightened, as repugnant to the charities as the graces of social life. The female sex were in general shamefully illiterate. The French language contained many books of elegant literature; but they could not supply the deficiency of classical attainments: few translations of even ordinary merit were extant; and they who were unable to converse familiarly with Homer and Horace in their native idiom, were necessarily debarred the enjoyment of their society.

But the same causes which, with the public, obstructed the diffusion of taste, were, in individuals, favourable to the expansion of genius. The writers of that age were not sub-

jected to the litigious vigilance of modern criticism; they were not checked in their growth by the petty cares of competition: they had scope for invention; they had legitimate claims to originality:—they took their lessons from the great masters of antiquity, not in the parasitical spirit of imitation, but with the generous ardour of enthusiasm and confidence. What they borrowed was not to cover penury, but to dignify wealth, to embellish abundance; and classical authority stamped the venerable record of nobility on their own intrinsic affluence.

At this period there existed a kind of clanship among men of genius; and a literary chief had his partisans and retainers, who imitated his style, abetted his opinions, and panegyrized his sentiments. Such was the confederacy headed by Addison, who by his talents and influence contributed more than any other writer to refine the manners and embellish the language of his country. The names of Addison and Steele are closely connected by the ties of literary partnership. They first became intimate at the Charterhouse school; but were afterwards completely estranged by an opposition in habits, circumstances and pursuits. Addison was removed to Queen's college, where, by diligence and application, he soon acquired the credit due to superior ability. Steele, on the contrary, had conceived so strong a passion for military adventure, that, neither listening to the remonstrance, nor caring for the resentment of his family, he enlisted as a private soldier, trusting to time and his own merit to procure him preferment. In this obscure station his talents attracted notice; and, in a few years, with no other interest than such as he had personally obtained, he arrived at the rank of ensign.

While Steele was thus purchasing experience without learning prudence, Addison had published a collection of Latin poems remarkable for their classical purity, and established his pretensions to literary eminence. Originally it had been his design to take orders: he relinquished his purpose at the persuasion of Montagu, who in return procured for him a pension of 300*l.* per annum, to enable him to visit the Continent,

tinent. With this resource he commenced his travels, which were extended through France and Italy. But his pension was ill paid; and no money being remitted to him, he was obliged to shorten his tour, and returned within two years to England, almost in as much penury as at a subsequent period it was the fortune of Goldsmith, another poetical and more eccentric traveller, to experience.

The publication of his Travels removed his indigence and extended his reputation. At the recommendation of Montagu he was employed by lord Godolphin to commemorate in verse the victory of Blenheim. He produced 'The Campaign,' and was rewarded with the place of commissioner of appeals. Two years after he was made under secretary of state, and soon became known as a party writer. But his active mind was not limited by political objects. Having renewed his intimacy with Steele, who had renounced the sword for the pen, and was already distinguished as a Whig writer, he became his coadjutor in 'The Tatler', a periodical paper, of which the first number was published in 1709. Of this composition, the rough model is traced to those political essays which, under the name of *Mercuries*, frequently appeared during the civil wars, when any question was started of moment to the people. Circumscribed to political and polemical subjects, these papers possessed no graces of composition; they contained no strictures on books or men; and improved neither style nor manners. The Tatler, on the contrary, was professedly devoted to the lighter parts of literature:—popularity was courted by an assumption of the humorous name of Isaac Bickerstaff*, which Swift's burlesque of Almanacks and Astrology had already familiarized to the public. To 'The Tatler' succeeded 'The Spectator' and 'The Guardian;' in all of which Steele received the assistance of Addison. Among the occasional contributors were Pope and Swift, Gay and Tickell, and many other men of respectable talents attached to the

* Swift borrowed the name of Bickerstaff from a locksmith: having prefixed the appellative of Isaac, he believed he had formed an original combination. In this he was mistaken: the quaint compound actually belonged to a tobacconist.

Addisonian party. 'The Spectator' was a literary hive, and men of letters hovered round it, pleased to find a depositary for their respective opinions, and proud to drop into it a memento of their labours. The advantages which the public derived from this publication are incalculable. From its extensive circulation, the authors acquired a most important and salutary ascendant over the minds of their contemporaries: vulgar prejudices were corrected; lessons of virtue inculcated; knowledge elicited; and taste diffused. A sentiment of enthusiasm was inspired for our national writers; and the immortal poem of Milton, which had remained in such obscurity as to induce Dryden to transfer some of its most beautiful passages to his own rhymed drama of 'The State of Innocence,' was now read and admired wherever 'The Spectator' was known and circulated. Independently of their merit as essayists, Steele and Addison were sufficiently distinguished in other walks of literature: but it was by their periodical numbers that their talents became conspicuous;—to these were appended their honour, their dignity, and their fame. Among his poems, the 'Epistle from Italy to Lord Halifax' is Addison's happiest performance. It probably furnished the outline of Goldsmith's 'Traveller.' In verse as in prose, he was elegant, but seldom spirited:—when he attempted the drama, he seems to have written with the debility of conscious inferiority. In Comedy he falls far short of Steele, who, in his 'Conscious Lovers,' and 'Tender Husband,' gave the first modern specimens of genteel comedy. The poetry of Addison is in effect now valued only for the sake of his prose. Even his 'Cato,' though received with rapturous applause, no longer impels, but passively follows the current of his celebrity; and is carried along not by its own force, but by the all-prevailing name of Addison. As an essayist, it has been a disadvantage to Steele to endure comparison with his colleague. In their literary character, as in habits of life, they were essentially different. Addison glided on in a smooth stream of prosperity: by the practice of prudence he was spared the exertion of fortitude: cautious as fortunate, he seldom had obstacles to surmount, or difficulties to subdue. Steele was often plunged in distress by improvi-

dence.

dence. Accustomed to write on the spur of occasion, his compositions bear the impression of a powerful and vigorous mind: his humour is often rich; his knowledge of men and manners copious: he was formed to strike out the first thought, but not to polish it: he possessed the rudiments of excellence, but either wanted the care, the patience, or the judgment, to develop them. To bestow praise on Addison, would be superfluous. "Whoever," says Dr. Johnson, "would attain an English style, familiar but not coarse, elegant but not ostentatious, must give his days and nights to Addison." It is happily observed by Mrs. Barbauld, that "the loss of Addison's writings would involve the extinction of a whole literary species."

Among the retainers of Addison was Ambrose Phillips, who, during his residence at St. John's college Cambridge, had written verses in honour of queen Mary, and afterwards produced a volume of Pastorals. His 'Epistle from Copenhagen,' addressed to the duke of Dorset, was unquestionably the best of his performances. Indigence led Phillips to write for the stage; and his 'Distrest Mother,' which is a translation of Racine's Andromaque, was represented with no brilliant success. Attached to the Whigs, he was by them patronized and puffed into fame: but his celebrity sunk with his party; and he is now only remembered for an acrimonious controversy with Pope, and the critical strictures written by that poet on pastoral poetry. This species of composition, the beauties of which seem to have been exhausted by Theocritus and Virgil, had been revived by the elder poets of Italy, who found it well adapted to the metrical structure of their language; and in imitation of them adopted by the poets of France and England, who had not the same motive for its cultivation. In England it was long extremely popular. In his early productions Milton frequently assumes a pastoral style; and he has introduced classical names into his 'Allegro,' although his descriptions faithfully reflect the English landscape.

During the civil wars, the taste for pastorals had declined;

but in the reign of Charles the Second and William it was resuscitated, and scarcely an ode or an elegy was then written without the agency of Pan, fauns and satyrs, nymphs and swains. Alive to the impropriety of such incongruous associations, Ambrose Phillips conceived the idea of writing such pastorals as should only exhibit rural scenes and national manners, without any shade of classical imagery, or any transfusion of exotical sentiment. To have been capable of forming this plan was no small praise. Unfortunately, the pastorals intended to achieve this desired reformation in taste were totally inadequate to the end. Alternately tame and turgid, as remote from simplicity as elegance, they have only been preserved from oblivion by Gay's 'Shepherd's Week,' a series of pastorals written to burlesque them: but in these so much simplicity is mingled with archness, and the sly strokes of satire are so often relieved by lively touches of nature, that the reader loses sight of the author's object, and surrenders himself to the unmingled feelings of complacency and delight.

Tickell, another coadjutor of Steele and Addison, was a native of Cumberland, and a member of Queen's college Oxford. He entered early into public life, and drank deep of the spirit of party. Like Steele, he wrote from the spur of the occasion on subjects of local or temporary interest, and his connections procured for his writings a respect to which they had no claim from intrinsic excellence. By his intimacy with Addison, however, he acquired a correct taste, and may be allowed to have cooperated with him in the great work of polishing and refining the age.

Dr. Samuel Garth, the author of 'The Dispensary,' was indebted to political connections for much of his literary reputation. The poem on which his pretensions rest, no longer attracts attention. The influence of party originally snatched his name from obscurity, and the friendship of Addison still preserves it from oblivion.

Leaving the little senate of which Addison was dictator,

tor, we now proceed to Matthew Prior, who by merit rose from an obscure station to distinction and eminence. He was born in Dorsetshire. At Cambridge he became intimate with Mr. Montagu, and in conjunction with him wrote 'The Town and Country Mouse,' which was intended to ridicule Dryden's 'Hind and Panther.' By the interest of Montagu he was soon appointed to a lucrative employment. He was secretary to the embassy sent to the Hague by king William, and finally invested with the dignity of ambassador to the court of Versailles by Anne. On the demise of that princess he was implicated in Oxford's disgrace, and committed to the Tower, where he solaced his captivity by writing his 'Alma.' On his liberation he found himself poor, but happily died before he had experienced the bitter mortifications consequent to the reverse of fortune. It has been justly remarked by Dr. Johnson, that the appropriate praise of Prior is versatility. "He has (to use the words of the same writer) tried all styles, from the grotesque to the solemn, and has not so failed in any as to incur derision or disgrace." Like Swift, he began by writing odes: but these academical exercises, the libations of genius, have long been obsolete, and may well be spared to the author of 'Solomon,' 'Alma,' and 'The Nut-Brown Maid.'—His 'Solomon' exhibits correct versification, though it was written prior to the reformation in metre effected by Pope.—His 'Alma' is Hudibrastic in nothing but the measure.—His 'Nut-Brown Maid' has many beauties of description, but is somewhat deficient in pathos and simplicity.

Prior had lived much in the world, and could never so far divest himself of its spirit as to arrive at sublimity. He possessed neither strength nor luxuriance of imagination: but his observation was always ready; his perception of character as faithful as instantaneous. He understood men, and would have described their follies well:—his *forte* was ridicule. The burlesque ode in which he has travestied the pompous ode of Boileau, is, though considered merely as a jeu d'esprit, his most finished performance. Whatever composition he experimented, Prior had the rare

merit of original combination:—the structure of his verse, the selection of his epithets, was unquestionably his own; and the individuality of his style was never lost.

Parnell, a poet of a different cast, had been fortunate enough to conciliate both the Whigs and the Tories, and was by turns the companion of Addison and the correspondent of Pope. He was born and received his education at Dublin, and was distinguished by his early attainments. He embraced the clerical profession, which coincided happily with his relish for tranquillity, and his repugnance to the bustle and turmoil of political life. But his brilliant connections procured him no high preferment. He appears to have been a man of fine talents and amiable dispositions, with little energy of character. His conceptions were not powerful; and either from diffidence or indolence, he seems not to have thought of forming an original plan, or extending his ideas to a long poem. Whatever he attempted was commonly performed so well, as to discourage correction and preclude improvement. In the graces of versification he is at least equal to his friend and contemporary Pope:—he is less artificial, and not less harmonious. Little as he has written, he is a popular writer: his 'Hermit,' and his 'Night-Piece,' are almost as familiar to us as Gay's Fables; and thus a few pages have secured to Parnell the celebrity which the elaborate epics of sir Richard Blackmore failed to obtain.

The supreme poet of that age was Pope. He was born in London in 1688, but spent his childhood at Binfield; to which his father, who was both a papist and a Jacobite, removed soon after the Revolution. His education was principally domestic. Inmate of no college, he had no participation in those scholastic institutions which provoke emulation and reward diligence. Yet with no other assistance than could be derived from private tuition, he made considerable progress in classical literature; and at an age when other youths were exhibiting academical exercises, had produced poems which, to say the least, rendered him superior to all his contemporaries. Dryden, the first object of

his

his enthusiasm, had closed his existence; but all the surviving wits of Charles the Second were proud to admit him to their society, and not afraid to predict his future excellence. Lord Lansdowne and sir William Trumball were among his most early admirers: the fastidious Walsh became his intimate; and Wycherley, so celebrated for the licentious wit of his comedies, his familiar correspondent;—at sixteen he was treated by these veterans of literature as an author of acknowledged merit. The publication of his poems was however deferred till he was twenty-one. During that interval he composed his 'Essay on Criticism,' and 'Temple of Fame;' and exclusive of these he produced 'Translations and Imitations from Classical Writers.' Of English authors, Dryden was his model and his master: but he conceived it possible to improve even his numbers; and he made it the business of his life to render his own versification the standard of excellence. In 'The Rape of the Lock,' the offspring of his maturity, his poetical powers were fully developed. He has here displayed all the treasures he possessed,—the keenness of satire, the graces of description, the playful flow of fancy, the sedate severity of judgment,—are all exhibited with poetical munificence. In this performance he establishes his claims to the honour of invention. He has no master in Dryden, and imitates Boileau only to show how far he surpasses him. His 'Eloisa', his 'Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady,' are of a different cast: both evince the strength and fecundity of his genius.

In the very zenith of his fame, Pope was excluded by his religious and political creed from every situation of profit and emolument: he was therefore induced to enter into a contract with the booksellers for a translation of Homer's, Iliad. This arduous undertaking he began at twenty-five, and finished at thirty years of age. The publication of his Iliad forms an epoch in English literature. The works of Homer, which had previously been known to English readers only through the medium of such rude versions as were supplied by Ogilby and Chapman, were now made familiar to admiration by a poet not unworthy to reflect his imagery or transfuse his eloquence.

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In 1714 Pope removed with his father to Twickenham, where he formed the grotto so often celebrated in his minor poems. He was now in easy circumstances; but the reputation of his Homer having procured him liberal proposals from the booksellers, he was easily persuaded to undertake a version of the Odyssey; twelve books of which he translated himself, consigning the remaining twelve to Fenton and Broome. The whole work was however subjected to his acurate revision. Similar causes had induced him to give an edition of Shakspeare, a task to which he proved wholly incompetent: his genius had not qualified him for the labours of a commentator, and he falls far short of those verbal critics whom he derided and despised. His work was mutilated by succeeding annotators, and now reposes in silent obscurity.

In the possession of affluence, Pope was now at liberty to pursue his inclinations; and, in conformity to Atterbury's advice, directed his powers to satire, and produced 'The Dunciad.' His 'Essay on Man' is of a different character, and is perhaps the noblest ethical poem extant in any language. It was translated into French both in prose and verse; attacked by Crousaz, and vindicated by Warburton. Neither satiated with praise, nor alarmed by reproach, Pope continued to write moral essays, satires, dialogues, imitations,—some of which are entitled to rank with his best productions. He died in 1744. It has been justly said of him, that to make verses was his first labour, and to mend them his last. It is here unnecessary, and it would almost be impertinent, to enlarge on the merits of Pope:—how rarely is he equalled, how seldom surpassed! He has been repeatedly compared with Dryden: and in the parallel which Johnson has drawn between them, the first place is with some diffidence conceded to the latter. It should always be remembered that, whilst Pope confined his labours to the garden-plot of poetry, Dryden had to till the field, to climb the rugged hills, and patiently to drudge on the high-road of life. The mental energies of Pope were concentrated to one point. Dryden, on the contrary, was distracted by the complication in his objects and the multiplicity of his operations: he had to employ the agency of powers mutually

mutually repulsive; to combine ideas which can with difficulty be made to coalesce; to conciliate both the learned and the vulgar; to amuse the court and to please the people.

Dramatic composition is most essentially different from every other department of poetry; and it is obvious that theatrical success must flow from causes wholly independent of literary excellence. The intellectual processes which produce wit and humour are not such as supply the finer elements of imagination. Even in tragedy, the structure of good dramatic language corresponds little in its metrical arrangement with the correct numbers of a dignified poem. Yet was Dryden alternately brilliant in comedy, impressive in tragedy, poignant in satire, judicious in criticism; he wrote for his contemporaries and posterity, but he wrote not for himself. Pursued by penury, he was not permitted to appropriate to his mind a favourite speculation or a permanent pursuit. Tasked by necessity, he was perpetually called from one hard duty to another;—sometimes compelled to leave unfinished what was happily begun, or to finish with slovenly haste what by time and care might have been improved to excellence. Under circumstances of such different aspect, it would not be easy to determine how much or how little of equality subsisted in the original powers of Dryden and Pope. Their comparative influence in society, it is not difficult to estimate. The student venerates Dryden; but the world admires Pope. The man of letters discerns in Dryden such original conception, such masculine invention, so many native veins of fancy and of thought, that, enraptured with the treasures he has explored, he overlooks errors and defects, and is alone conscious to the perception of intrinsic excellence. But mankind in general yield their suffrage to Pope; who, whatever may be his materials, always makes of them the best use, and never exhibits his ideas in a crude imperfect state. His superior correctness is the chief cause of his universal popularity. Succeeding writers have been solicitous to borrow from him the illustration of their opinions, and often set off their own ideas with his harmonious numbers. An author's fame, it is well observed, is rapidly propagated by quotation.

tion. Thus, whilst Dryden is known only to the cultivated, Pope is familiar to every reader: and of all our writers after Addison, he has most contributed to form for us a standard of national taste.—*Drake's Illustrations of the Spectator—Examiner—Johnson's Poets—Spence—Somerville's History of the Reign of Anne.*

B A Y

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B E N G A L

ISLAND OF

C E Y L O N

MALDIVE ISLANDS

Hand of the Islands determined by M. Topping, 1795

Cape Comorin

Pondra Head

Dondra Head

Point Calimere

Adam's Bridge

Paumben Pass

Manaar Island

Gulf of Manaar

Palk's Strait

Columbo

Negombo

Point de Galle

Trincomale

Batticaloe

Jaffnapatam

Aripo

Mantotte

Arripo

Calpentyn

Putlam

Chilaw

Manaar

Mullaitivu

Point Pedro

Kankesanturai

Jaffna

Delft I.

Kayts

Analaitivu

Karaitivu

Nainativu

Nagadipo

Kayts

Kilinochi

Elephant Pt.

Trincomale

Koddiar Bay

Koddiar Pt.

Batticaloe

Kalmunai

Pottanur

Oluvil

Arugam Bay

Pottuvil

Kirinde

Hambantotte

Matura

Point de Galle

Galle

Belligam

Point Negombo

Negombo

Columbo

Caltura

Barberyn

Point Chilaw

Chilaw

Arripo

Mantotte

Calpentyn

Putlam

Aripo

Jaffnapatam

BRITISH AND FOREIGN

HISTORY

For the Year 1807.

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CHAPTER I.

Introductory Remarks—State of Parties in Parliament—Political Events of the former Year briefly noticed; as they refer to foreign Nations, and to domestic Policy—Meeting of a new Parliament—Forms observed on the Occasion—Speaker chosen—Eulogium on the Conduct of Mr. Abbot—Mr. Abbot's Speech on his Election to the Office of Speaker—Debates on his Majesty's Speech in the House of Lords; and also in the House of Commons—Vote of Thanks to General Stuart, &c.—Mr. Biddulph's Motion on the Salary of the Chairman of Ways and Means—Lord Temple's Motion on the Leather Trade; Distilleries, and Woollen Manufactures—Lord Grenville's Motion on the Slave Trade—Debates on the Negotiation in the House of Lords; and in the Commons.

THE discussions in parliament to be recorded in the present volume will be found in a high degree interesting, as well from the subjects themselves, as from the results which they produced. A new house of commons was convoked on the 15th day of December, 1806, from whence our Register now proceeds: the debates became animated, and in some respects approaching to violence; but the majority in behalf of the administration which had been formed under the auspices of the late Mr. Fox and lord Grenville, was respectable and decisive. On their parts there was probably a full confidence of remaining in office; nor does it appear from the conduct of opposition that any well-grounded hope was formed of displacing their antagonists from the seats which they then filled. A motion in behalf of the claims of the Catholics, followed up by a bill intended for their relief, excited an alarm in the breast of his majesty respecting his duty, and the obligations under which he had bound himself by his coronation oath. This anxiety was imparted to some of those who had lately

steered the helm of government:—an outcry was speedily raised in parliament, and through the country: the bill in favour of a more extensive toleration, which had passed some of its stages, was given up, and ministers were obliged to resign their several posts to others who seemed to possess more of the confidence of their Sovereign. An appeal was again made to the people, by a dissolution of the newly elected parliament; another was immediately chosen in its stead, which it was expected would feel more in unison with those who had assumed the reins of power; and which met for the dispatch of business on the 22d of June 1807, being the space of six months and one week from the first assembling of a former parliament. A circumstance of a similar nature has not occurred for more than a century, and that indeed happened at the demise of William III.

Before we come to the immediate business of parliament, it may not be amiss to refresh the minds of our readers with a brief survey of the prominent incidents of the former year. Political events, like those of common life, depend upon those which have preceded them; the only difficulty in the historian is to trace the clue, and thus exhibit at once in a luminous and forcible point of view the consequences and their causes. On this account it is frequently necessary, in writing detached annals, to recur to circumstances not immediately concerned, for the sake of ellucidating others with which they are connected, and upon which they seem to hinge.

The treaty of Presburg between France and Austria had left the emperor of France and his allies, if such they may be called, who are rather the servants of his power than the advisers of his councils, triumphant in the south of Germany and the north of Italy, and had dissolved the confederacy which, at one time, had excited the hopes of those who wished to see Europe restored in some measure to what it formerly was. The emperor of Russia, as we have seen in our former volume, returned to his own country, disabled for the present, at least, from further exertion: and the British troops which had been landed in the north of Germany re-embarekd for their native shores.

At the commencement of the year the Cape of Good Hope was captured by British valour, under the conduct of sir Home Popham and general Baird. In the succeeding month Bonaparte put in execution his threats against the king of Naples, by invading his territories, of which every part submitted, except the citadel of Gaeta and the remote districts of Calabria. The king retired to Sicily, protected by a British force, and his crown was transferred to Joseph the brother of the French emperor, who, unmolested, took possession of the capital. From Italy we turn to Hanover, which the king of Prussia, apparently devoted to the interests of France, thought proper to occupy in his own name, at the same time excluding the British shipping from his own ports. This was regarded as an act of hostility which required the immediate recall of the English minister from the Prussian court, and the detention of all ships belonging to that nation. At this period Sweden was at variance with Prussia, and acted as an ally of Great Britain.

The Cape of Good Hope had not

not long been in the possession of the British, before its conquerors planned and executed an expedition against the Spanish settlement of Buenos Ayres. Sir Home Popham and general Beresford, whose conduct will become the subject of our discussions, arrived in the river de la Plata in June, and after a defeat of the Spanish troops in the beginning of the succeeding month the town surrendered. Its port was immediately opened for the reception of British merchandise, and the demand, at first, gave a general activity to several branches of our manufacture, which had too long been in a languid state.

In Holland the constitution which had formerly been imposed upon the people by Bonaparte, was exchanged by the same power for a sort of mixed monarchy, with Louis, another brother of the emperor, as "king." Thus in the course of a very few months did the ambitious Corsican give thrones to two of his own nearest relations. About the same time the British army, under the command of general Stuart, gained a complete and very signal victory over the French, commanded by Regnier, at Maida, near the Gulf of Euphemia, the consequences of which were of little more value than to display the valour of our countrymen, against whom the best troops of France were unable to contend with their usual success.

Without adverting to the negotiation between France and England, we may observe that from the time in which the house of Austria bowed to the power of the French, Bonaparte manifested an open intention of gaining a complete ascendency in Germany, to prevent if possible any future resistance to his own extensive projects. He had kept, under various pretexts, a large body of troops in that country, the purpose of which was to enforce his own schemes. A confederation of the Rhine, comprising the newly created kings of Bavaria and Wurtemburg, with other neighbouring sovereigns under the protection of France, was announced in August, and at the same moment Bonaparte's minister, at the diet, openly declared that his master no longer recognised the existence of a German empire or its head. The emperor of Austria was reduced too low in the scale of power to oppose the decree: he submitted to sign an act, by which he renounced his authority over the late Germanic body. The king of Prussia felt that his own political consequence would be materially affected by the exertion of French domination, and endeavoured to counteract it by a Northern confederacy. Preparations for war were accordingly made, and the hostility manifested by the king of Prussia against France naturally produced his reconciliation with England. The king of Sweden and the emperor of Russia united with Prussia, in hope of striking an effectual blow against the overgrown power of France. Troops were accordingly assembled, and the two main armies came in sight of each other on the northern borders of Franconia; and after some fruitless negotiations, the king of Prussia declared war against France, issuing at the same time an elaborate manifesto, in which he exposed his numerous grievances, and the boundless ambition of his adversary. The French emperor, without deigning to give an answer, only thought of the best means to bring the quarrel to an immediate decision. A

general engagement was fought at Auerstadt, near Jena, on the 14th of October: the armies exceeded 200,000 in number, and the contest was obstinate and bloody; but victory decided for the French. Bonaparte advanced through Saxony to Berlin without resistance, where he issued his orders for the conduct of the north of Germany as its sovereign. His troops seized Hamburgh on the 12th of November; and as a sort of retaliation for the maritime policy of England, he declared the British islands to be in a state of blockade: he decreed that all English subjects found in countries occupied by his troops should be deemed prisoners of war, and that all British produce and manufactures should be confiscated. On the 15th of November Breslaw was entered by the French, and on the following days several other strong fortresses surrendered. An armistice was proposed by the conqueror, upon terms, however, to which the king of Prussia refused to submit, and Napoleon immediately left Berlin for the frontiers of Poland: at the same time addresses were forwarded to the Poles, exhorting them to free themselves from their masters, and to reclaim their national existence under the protection of the French emperor. These addresses were seconded by the presence of a large part of the army which directed its course towards Poland and the banks of the Vistula. A treaty of peace was signed in December between the elector of Saxony and Bonaparte, by which the former was admitted to the confederation of the Rhine with all its privileges, and allowed to take the title of king. Such was the state of things on the continent of Europe.

With regard to America, a considerable ferment was excited in the beginning of the year respecting the conduct of the English cruisers in making prizes of American vessels laden with the produce of the French West India islands, and conveying them to Europe; and a non-importation act passed in congress relative to articles of British produce, to take place in the November following. The differences between the countries were unfortunately aggravated by the conduct of the commander of an English frigate stationed off the harbour of New York. Commissioners were appointed by both nations to discuss in an amicable manner the subjects in dispute. Contests likewise arose between the United States and the Spaniards on the borders of Louisiana and the Mexican territory, which threatened immediate hostilities; but upon the advance of some troops of the States, the Spaniards retired from the disputed territory.

We now turn our eyes to the principal events that occurred at home. In the spring a loan of twenty millions was readily negotiated; and the property-tax was increased from $6\frac{1}{4}$ to 10 per cent. During the session of parliament much time and attention was given to Mr. Windham's bill for regulating the military, which was not suffered to pass the usual forms of the house without much and very violent opposition. The trial of lord Melville, the death of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, the two political characters who stood highest in the estimation of the public, and the scenes which always accompany a general election, were among the most prominent events of the year in this part of the united kingdom. In Ireland disturbances prevailed, chiefly

chiefly in the province of Connaught, excited by a set of banditti calling themselves *threshers*, whose avowed object was to resist the payment of tithes, but who adopted principles of hostility to government in general.

This brief outline brings us to the assembling of the new parliament on the 15th of December, when the lord chancellor, in the house of peers, informed their lordships that his majesty had been pleased to cause a commission to be issued under the great seal, in order to the opening and holding of parliament. The usher of the black rod was dispatched to desire the immediate attendance of the commons; who in a few minutes appeared at the bar in great numbers, when the lord chancellor, after the usual forms, said:

"My lords and gentlemen of the house of commons: we have it in command from his majesty to let you know, that as soon as the members of both houses shall be sworn, the cause of his majesty's calling his parliament will be declared unto you;—and it being necessary that a speaker of the house of commons should be first chosen, it is his majesty's pleasure that you, gentlemen of the house of commons, do repair to the place where you are to sit, and there proceed to the choice of some proper person to be your speaker; and that you present here such person whom you shall so choose, to-morrow, at twelve o'clock, for his majesty's royal approbation."

The commons then returned to their own house, where, as soon as they had taken their seats,

Mr. Bragge Bathurst rose for the purpose of calling the attention of the house to the exercise of one of its most antient, most undoubted, and most important privileges, without which the functions of the commons house of parliament would be imperfect, and its deliberations ineffectual. The privilege, to the exercise of which he proposed to call the attention of the house, was that of selecting a proper person to preside over their proceedings, to be the organ of the people's voice to the Crown, to watch over the rights of the subject and the privileges of parliament; to alarm the jealousy of that house against any encroachment that might be attempted upon either by any of the other orders of the state, and to maintain consistency and order in the various proceedings of the house of commons. The great increase of parliamentary business which in modern times had usually occupied the attention of that house, rendered the duties of the person selected for this office, at the same time, arduous to himself, and interesting and important to parliament and the country. The just application of the various precedents standing upon the recorded authority of their proceedings, as well as of the no less established, though unwritten, forms and regulations which constitute the law of parliament, was a task difficult in itself, and of the last consequence to the house to have it well executed. He could allude to many illustrious instances of characters, now no more, who had with equal firmness and success maintained the imprescriptible rights of that house, which, whatever might be thought of them in their exercise, were in truth and effect the best and strongest bulwarks of the laws and of the rights and liberties of the people. They, like the constitution, from an apparent discordancy

of the parts, produced the real symmetry, order, and harmony of the whole. The talents necessary for the due discharge of the arduous duties of this situation were not of an ordinary description. An impartiality that secures confidence, a dignity that commands respect, a temper, demeanour, and affability, that reconcile differences and disarm contentions, were only among the accessary additions to the more solid qualities requisite in a person that was to be called to that station. They were secondary to that sound judgment, that cultivated mind, that general and comprehensive knowledge of parliamentary practice and forms, that ought invariably and inseparably to belong to the individual filling so exalted an office. To a person possessing these qualifications, the house would entrust its powers, and with unlimited confidence. While possessed of that confidence, he might, in the exercise of a just discretion, relax the assertion of its undoubted rights, and would be able, on just occasions, to identify with the house in the vindication of its imprescriptible privileges. Having thus described, imperfectly he admitted, the qualifications necessary in the person that should be the object of their choice, he should scarcely have ventured on his own opinion, if he had not perceived that the sentiments of the house had gone before him, to point out the person whom he considered most proper to be the object of their choice on that occasion. To direct them in their present selection, they had but to recur to the experience of the past. If the sight of the speaker's chair reminded him of the duties to be performed by the person appointed to fill it, he was sure it would also call to the recollection of the house, the manner in which they had lately seen those duties discharged by Mr. Abbot. The right honourable gentleman's conduct, in performing the duties of the chair, had fully justified the eulogium that had been passed upon him in a former instance, and had far surpassed any idea he had conceived of the exemplary performance of the duties of the arduous office. The other topics on which he might have insisted, but had passed over, were, that extreme facility of private intercourse on every question of business, and that dignified hospitality that confirms and corresponds so well to the wise munificence of parliament. These were qualities that had been well known, and often experienced by those present who had been members of the late parliament. But he might also have adverted to that indefatigable industry with which he had applied himself to public business in general, and particularly to that inquiry into the state of the public records of the house which had been instituted on his own suggestion. Through this inquiry, the public would have the benefit of those stores of antient wisdom, which had hitherto been confined to the Record office, and were sought after as objects of curious investigation and research. This topic was by no means foreign from the question at the present moment, because the same indefatigable application and industry, that had led to such important beneficial results in that instance, would be equally exerted in the discharge of the other various and important duties of the high and dignified office. Upon all these considerations, he begged leave to propose the right honourable Charles

Charles Abbot, as a fit and proper person to be elected speaker of that house.

Mr. Wilberforce.—"Sir, in rising to second the motion which has just been made by my right honourable friend, I cannot help feeling considerably impressed with the manner in which the house has been just now pleased to manifest its high sense of gratitude for the former exertions and the complete adequacy of the right honourable gentleman who is the subject of the motion. It has often happened, that a speaker of this house of parliament has many and various duties to discharge, beyond what he is required to perform in public. This is sometimes also the case with the other members of parliament. A great sacrifice of private avocations becomes necessary upon various occasions. I have now the satisfaction to perform a duty which is not only gratifying to my own personal feelings, but also most consistent with my sense of a public life. Impressed with a just conviction of the high importance of that office which we are now endeavouring adequately to fill, my right honourable friend has with great propriety prefaced his motion by pointing out the greatness of the task to be performed, and the character and qualifications which are neeessary to discharge it with satisfaction to the public. He who calculates its real importance has imposed upon himself a great task. It is an office which is intimately connected with the greatness of this empire, and may be said to operate as a cause of promoting true happiness throughout all its inhabitants. The qualifications which are necessary, are acknowledged by all to be great and numerous, and we should remember that the person whom we choose ought on all occasions to be one who is perfectly acquainted with the constitution of his country. We should ever keep in our view, that small deviations may in the end conduce to great changes. It is only by an intimate acquaintance with the constitution, that any man can estimate the effects of small changes, so as to know where they are or are not of real importance. On these principles, therefore, most undoubtedly one of the qualifications we require in the person we choose as our speaker, is a perfect acquaintance with the constitution; or, I may almost say, that he should be one who possesses a complete love of it. These expressions, however, are almost identical; for every one who knows the blessings to be enjoyed from it, and who has been in the enjoyment of those blessings, cannot but be, in some degree, in love with that constitution from which they originate, and grow more and more attached to it in proportion as he feels the secret springs which regulate it. There must be a sense of adherence to the great principle of the English law in the management of private bills, as well as in great national concerns; for I know nothing which could be more likely to produce an alienation from the house of commons, than the non-consideration of that place as being the most proper for deciding such questions as concern the rights and properties of individuals. This is rendered the more important, as the person who is appointed to the chair is, in general, deemed the guardian of the weak, the protector of the poor. We know that the rich and the powerful may be able to adopt measures

measures to protect their own rights, but this is not the case with regard to the other class of society. Is it not, therefore, of the utmost importance, that in all measures and bills which come before this house, we, the representatives of the people, should be convinced that we have appointed an individual who is both able and willing to attend to them minutely, and to see that the great principles of legislation are not, in any degree, departed from, or the rights of private individuals trampled upon? Sir, I have said the more upon that particular subject, as it is one of which it is impossible to know the consequence: and as I have had many occasions to enable me to appreciate them, in the character of the individual whose qualifications we are now discussing, I am well convinced that he is fully adequate to the task; and that in that particular, as well as others, he will endear himself to the house of commons. It is, therefore, with singular satisfaction that I rise to second the motion of my right honourable friend. It is impossible not to recollect too, with satisfaction, that, before that right honourable gentleman was raised to the chair, he had shewn to the world those patriotic feelings by which he intended to be governed; that he had rendered services to the country which must have endeared him to the house. He had sat at the head of a committee appointed for the preservation of public œconomy and the remedying of abuses. Although no one rejoiced more than I at his elevation, as a commoner, to the chair, I should have regarded it as a public injury if he had been placed in that high situation before he had rendered such services; for this reason, that it shews to others, that it is by pursuing an upright and faithful conduct as a member of parliament, as a guardian of the purse and liberties of the people, that they can be raised to a similar situation, and enabled to act with full effect for the benefit of society. In that right honourable gentleman we have a speaker of tried worth, who possesses our confidence in an eminent degree; one who is competent to protect the rights of parliament, to restrain the disposition of members to push matters too far, and one who, from the confidence he possesses, will be able to fill the situation with dignity. I shall only add one word more, to say, that at the same time that Mr. Abbot has shewn, by his love of public liberty, that he feels for our true constitutional liberty, he has shewn a just sense of the privileges of parliament, and has acted upon all occasions with that greatness of mind which is necessary for the preservation of our constitution."

Mr. Abbot then rose, and said: "Gentlemen, in addressing the house on this occasion, it is impossible for me not to feel the deepest sense of gratitude for the general favour which this proposition has been met with. The many, very many commendations which the proposer and seconder of this motion have, by their partiality, bestowed upon me, I know not how to return. Although they have been pleased to suppose, that my being in the chair before may afford arguments for my re-election, I will frankly own, that a very different impression is thereby created in my own mind; for I am persuaded, that whoever wishes to understand and to execute the duties of this important situation,

will readily acknowledge its various difficulties, and feel his own inadequacy to render it justice. Nevertheless, from my experience in the business of the house, and in compliance with their wish, I will accede to the proposal, and take the chair; although at the same time I am convinced that the event of their choice will, at some future period, shew them that they might have otherwise filled that situation more for their interests and honour:"—(the cry of *chair! chair!* resounded from all sides of the house; and Mr. Abbot was then conducted by the mover and seconder to the chair; and when seated therein, he again rose, and addressed a few words to the house:)—"Since it has been," said he, "the pleasure of the house to place me again in this chair, I have to make my most grateful acknowledgments to you for this proof of your high and distinguished confidence; and to assure you, that while I have the honour of occupying it, every moment of my time, both within and without these walls, shall be constantly and faithfully devoted to your service."

Mr. T. Grenville rose, and, in a very neat and appropriate speech, congratulated the house, the country, and the right honourable gentleman himself, on the choice that had been made.—He then moved an adjournment, which was carried.

On the following day, in the house of lords, Mr. Abbot, with a great number of the members of the house of commons, appeared at the bar, when

Mr. Abbot addressed the lords commissioners as follows:—"My lords, I have to acquaint you, that in compliance with the commands of his majesty, and in the exercise of their undoubted privilege, the commons of the united kingdom, in parliament assembled, have proceeded to the choice of a fit and proper person to fill the high office of speaker to their house. As the object of that choice, I now submit myself for the approbation of his majesty, with due and sincere humility, deeply impressed with a sense of the many and undeserved favours that I have already received from his hands, and fully confident of my inadequacy to fulfil the duties of this high situation in a manner correspondent with the dignity and importance of so sacred a trust. But of this I am convinced, that should his majesty conceive the present choice of his faithful commons not consistent with his own and the public interests, they will immediately proceed to the election of some more suitable and proper person to fill that important and dignified situation."

The lord chancellor, in the name of the commission, said,—"Gentlemen of the house of commons, we have it in command from his majesty to signify his majesty's most gracious approval of the choice you have made in the important appointment of speaker to your house. For my own part, when I reflect on the great and comprehensive talents, on the perfect acquaintance with the forms and precedents of parliament, of the gentleman whom you have honoured with your choice; when I reflect on that high character for learning and wisdom for which he is so pre-eminently conspicuous—it is unnecessary for me to say any thing further than merely to express that his majesty fully approves of the object of your choice."

The speaker then claimed, in the name and on behalf of the house, all their antient rights and privileges;

leges; particularly that their persons, estates, and servants, may be free from arrest, and all molestation; that they may enjoy liberty of speech in their debates; that they may have access to his majesty's person, whenever occasion may require; and that all their proceedings may receive from his majesty the most favourable construction.—"For my part," he added, "I do entreat, that whenever any thing in the shape of failing or error may occur, it may be attributed to me, to myself only, and not to his majesty's faithful commons."

The lord chancellor, in his majesty's name, replied, that the accustomed privileges of the house of commons would be continued to them, and that the most favourable construction would be put upon all their acts.

The commons then returned to their house; when Mr. Speaker informed the members assembled of the proceedings in the other house: they then took the usual oaths, and adjourned.

On the 19th, the intervening days having been employed in administering the oaths to members of both houses, his majesty's speech was read by the lord chancellor. The purport of which* was to prepare men's minds for the awful crisis then impending, and to animate them to the adequate exertions against the formidable and increasing power of the enemy. It asserts that the resistance of the king of Prussia to the usurpations of France was without previous concert with his majesty's ministers, but avows the measures taken to unite councils and interest with him. It extols the good faith of our remaining allies, and suggests the necessity of cultivating their friendship.

The house of commons having withdrawn, the earl of Jersey rose to move an address to his majesty. In adverting to the topics contained in his majesty's speech, the first to be noticed was, the negotiation between this country and France. As the papers respecting this subject would shortly be laid on their lordships' table, it would not now be regular to enter into any detailed discussion respecting the progress and result of that negotiation: it must, however, be evident to their lordships, from what had already transpired, that the negotiation had broken off in consequence of the imperious conduct and exorbitant demands of France. His majesty, anxious that peace should be restored, if that could be attained consistently with the honour and interests of the country, had ordered the commencement of a negotiation, the main business of which was transacted by a man, than whom no one was more fit, whose great and comprehensive mind was admirably calculated to embrace all the interests of the country, whose candour and manliness of character was exhibited in the most striking manner in the frankness, the clearness, and precision, with which he communicated with the French government; whilst, at the same time, he did not give up one jot of the interests or the honour of his country, but asserted them with all the firmness and energy which so important an occasion required. The negotiation, then, commenced under the most favourable auspices,

* See Public Papers.

and,

and, notwithstanding the lamented death of the person to whom he had alluded, was carried on in the same spirit. That it had failed in producing peace was to be attributed to the enemy. That in our present situation great sacrifices must be made was evident; but when the great object which we had in view was contemplated, these sacrifices must sink in the comparison. He was convinced that there was not a man who bore the envied name of a Briton, with the blessings and privileges attached to that title, who would not cheerfully come forward to make those sacrifices which were required to maintain the honour and dignity of the country, our laws, our constitution, and all that was dear to us. Let us rely upon ourselves, and put forth all our energies. It was true we had, in the course of a twelvemonth, lost two men of pre-eminent talent, but there was still ability more than sufficient to direct the energies of the country with the best hopes of ultimate success. He had no doubt that the parliament and the people would be unanimous in supporting his majesty's government by every exertion in the prosecution of a war, until a peace could be obtained consistent with the honour of the country, but which we could never consent to obtain by making humiliating sacrifices. The valour which had continued to be displayed by his majesty's fleets and armies, was an amply sufficient pledge of our superiority. Our little army, if he might call it so, in Calabria, had bravely and victoriously sustained the British character, whilst our fleets had every where maintained their accustomed superiority. With all these advantages, and with the great sources of our prosperity and strength unimpaired, we might look forward with confidence to the result. Relying upon ourselves, and united in sentiment and in action, we might set our enemy at defiance, and finally, he trusted, bring this great contest to a successful and glorious issue. His lordship concluded by moving an address to his majesty, noticing, as usual, the different paragraphs in his majesty's speech, and assuring his majesty of the determination of that house to unite in every effort for the vigorous prosecution of the war.

Lord Somers rose to second the address. Concurring, as he did, with the noble earl in the sentiments which he had advanced, he felt considerable difficulty in following him upon the same grounds, after the ability which the noble earl had displayed. It was his wish to support the present administration, conceiving, that though it combined different parties, that those parties were united upon the public and patriotic principles, and that it also combined so large a portion of the talent and ability of the country, that every reliance might be placed upon their exertions. In this point of view he highly approved of the measures which his majesty's ministers had brought forward for increasing the military force of the country; and although it had been said that they had damped the spirit of volunteers, he believed that very few of that highly meritorious body of men had quitted their standards. At a crisis like the present, he trusted that that house would set an example of unanimity, in pledging themselves to a firm and vigorous prosecution of the war. Our present situation called for the exertion of all the energies of the country, with

with spirit and unanimity, and he had no doubt that that spirit and unanimity would be displayed both by the parliament and the people.

Lord Hawkesbury, although he felt himself called upon to make some observations upon his majesty's speech, and upon something that had fallen from the noble lord who had just sat down, did not intend to oppose the address. There were some topics to which he felt himself called upon to advert, and which were not noticed in his majesty's speech. No reason was assigned in his majesty's speech for the dissolution of the last parliament. He admitted that it was his majesty's undoubted prerogative to dissolve the parliament at whatever period he pleased;—he would admit this in the strongest sense in which it could be put; he admitted that if the parliament were to have any fixed and permanent term of existence, that there could be no security for the existence of the monarchy. Still, however, his majesty's ministers were responsible for the advice they gave his majesty with respect to the use of this prerogative, and were undoubtedly responsible if they advised the exercise of that prerogative uselessly, or from levity or wantonness. Since the passing of the septennial act, in the year 1715, a period of ninety years, there had been no instance, with the single exception of 1784, which stood on its own peculiar grounds, and of an intervening demise of the crown, of a parliament having been dissolved until it had sat six sessions. With respect to the instance of 1784, the crown and the house of commons were then at variance as to the mode of administering the government, in consequence of which, public business was in a great measure suspended. There was, therefore, in that instance, a fully sufficient reason for dissolving parliament. In the case, however, of the last parliament, no such motives existed; and he thought it was incumbent in his majesty's ministers to shew, that some reason existed for the dissolution of the parliament, besides mere motives of convenience. Would it not, therefore, have been better in this instance, instead of calling a new parliament, to have called together the actual parliament, and to have laid before it those documents, with the declaration at the same time? There was another topic to which his majesty's speech did not allude, but which had been alluded to by the noble lord who had just sat down; he meant the military force of the country, and the system recently adopted by his majesty's ministers with the view of increasing that force. When the present ministers came into office, they proposed the repeal of a measure which had been adopted by the late administration, for increasing the force of the country, on the ground that it did not sufficiently increase that force, and proposed in its room a system, which it was asserted would materially increase that force, but which, at the same time, tended to damp the spirit of the volunteers, who had come forward with the most zealous and ardent patriotism in the cause of their country. A part of this system was the training bill. From all the inquiries he had made, he could not learn that this bill had been carried into effect in any part of the country. With respect to the system by which the army was to be so materially increased, he believed it would be found that it had failed in its object,

and

and that, so far from increasing the military force of the country, the numbers of the army were not now so great as they were last year. His majesty's speech did not allude to the escape of the French fleet, and its return in safety to its ports, neither did it notice our expeditions. With respect to the latter, it was deeply to be lamented that one of them should have been delayed in port for several months, and at length sent out at a period of the year, when it was most probable it would meet with the most unfavourable and stormy weather. The next topic to which he thought it necessary to advert, was one alluded to in his majesty's speech, namely, the situation of Prussia. At the time his majesty's message came down to parliament respecting the aggression of Prussia, he was one of the foremost to applaud the firmness and vigour displayed by ministers upon that occasion. It did not follow, however, from thence, that he was to applaud the whole of the conduct of ministers with respect to Prussia, and he could not but lament that an earlier opportunity was not taken, when Prussia became determined to commence hostilities against France, of bringing about a co-operation and concert with the court of Berlin.

Lord Grenville concurred with the noble baron in the just eulogium which he had made on the eloquence of the noble earl who had moved the address. But as the noble baron had not felt it to be improper to advert to matters not in the speech from the throne, and consequently not in the motion for the address, he trusted that it would not be considered by their lordships as improper for him to animadvert on those topics. The noble baron, after a very solemn declaration of the inestimable value to the constitution of the prerogative vested in his majesty of dissolving parliament, and of the free and indisputable right which his majesty had to exercise that right at all times, had not scrupled to enter into a long detail of reasons why the prerogative ought not to have been exercised, as it had recently been exercised by his majesty. Lord Grenville said he should have been surprised at any noble lord in the house standing up in his place to question the exercise of a prerogative so clearly inherent in his majesty, and so indubitably useful; but that a noble baron should, after a preface so magnificent, as to the value of this prerogative, of its sacred quality, of its being above all question, make a direct charge against his majesty's ministers for having advised the exercise of it, was really what he could not reconcile with any rules of rational conduct. For himself, sacred as he held every prerogative of the crown, he felt that his majesty's servants were answerable for the advice which they gave his majesty for the exercise, or for abstaining from the exercise, of every one of them. In no case did he conceive the exercise of this undoubted prerogative to have been more wise, more salutary, or more attentive, on the part of his majesty, to the feelings of his people, than the dissolution which had lately taken place. If at any moment of our history the exercise of this prerogative was wise, proper, and discreet, it was upon the present occasion, and the empire had gained this great and important advantage from the measure, that the degree of unanimity which had been manifested by the people from one end of the

united

united kingdoms to the other on the subject of the war, on the determination to persevere in the struggle, on the necessity of vigorous exertions, and in the approbation of the steps which had been taken by his majesty's servants, had given strength, confidence, and spirit to the government; and had given a noble example to the world of the vigour of a people who understood the blessings of independence, and who were determined to maintain it. But the noble baron, after disclaiming all intention of disputing the right of his majesty to exercise his prerogative at all times, without question, had not scrupled to say that, with the exception of one solitary instance, it had not been exercised, since 1715, at shorter intervals than six years. Lord Grenville said he was inclined to doubt the accuracy of the noble baron's chronology. He thought that, upon looking back, he would find himself deceived in his calculations. The next topic of complaint which the noble baron had made was, that the speech had not alluded to the measure of the last parliament, with regard to the military force of the country. The noble lord would find himself as much in an error upon this subject, as on the dissolution of parliament. There certainly would have been no good reason for adverting to this measure in the speech from the throne. There was no cause to repeal that measure, to new-model it, or even to doubt of its efficacy. All that was wished for was, that they should have patience, temper, and forbearance, to give their own measure full time to shew its effect. He took upon himself to say, that its efficacy would be complete; and that, as far as it had gone, the virtue of the measure was already apparent. Another topic which the noble baron thinks ought to have been alluded to in the speech is, that his majesty should have been advised to tell parliament that a French fleet had been suffered to escape out of port, and suffered to return in safety. This they certainly had not advised his majesty to say, nor would it have been fit for them so to advise him, for it would not be fit to advise his majesty to assert what had not happened. It was true that a fleet had been suffered to escape—but it had not returned in safety. As to its escape, the noble lord had better look back, for it was with him and his colleagues to account for its escape. But with respect to the quick, prompt, and vigorous pursuit of that fleet, he would take upon himself to say, that at no time had there been so many, such various, and such prompt means taken to pursue, and defeat the intentions of the enemy, as were adopted on that occasion—and such as entitled the particular department to the warm gratitude of the country. The next topic of complaint was, that the expeditions were not clearly understood, nor approved of by the noble lord. It was rather premature in the noble lord to complain of the means taken by ministers for an end of which he confessed himself ignorant. It would be time enough for the noble lord to complain when he knew whether the means were adequate to the end. He could not follow him into the allusions which he had made to particular persons; nor would he animadvert on the names which he had mentioned. As to the selection of officers for particular objects, the noble lord would admit that was as much a matter of prerogative as the dissolution of

parliament,

parliament, and without it the nation could have very little confidence in the success of any expedition. If military rank were always to determine the employment of officers to command, we should sink before the more vigorous system of the enemy. But, thank God, that had never been permitted to enfeeble the exertions of England. The next topic of charge was in regard to Prussia. The noble lord approved of the vigorous measures of last session against Prussia, and he now complained that it had not been brought forward in the speech, that he might have an opportunity of finding reason to change his opinion on it;—it had turned out different to his hopes, and he was now desirous of fixing on ministers the charge of not having shown a disposition to return to an intercourse of friendship with Prussia in time to assist her efforts, and prevent the catastrophe which had happened. The noble lord was mistaken in his supposition,—for he would take upon himself to say, that there had not existed the slightest possibility of returning to a good understanding with Prussia, or of acting in concert with that power. Prussia, that had gone on in a course of temporising submission to France from year to year, with views of aggrandizement, as well as of permanent security; and not only from year to year, but from month to month, and at last even from week to week, sacrificing the duty which, as a great power, he owed to the freedom and independence of Europe: at last, with an improvidence and rashness as blameable as his former timidity and submission, hurried into war without any communication or concert whatever. He said he had no pleasure in speaking of the conduct of this court—no triumph in remarking the contrast between his fate and the allies of England—no satisfaction in the thought that if the counsels of his majesty had had weight to have raised Prussia in due time to a sense of the duty which he owed to his neighbours—to a feeling of magnanimity instead of participation in the system of spoil and rapine upon which the universal enemy was acting, the calamity which had come over the royal house might have been prevented: but, when they were charged distinctly with not having manifested a disposition to return to a friendly intercourse with the Prussian court, it was a duty which he owed to his majesty, to his colleagues, and to himself, manfully to resist the imputation, and to make known the truth. The truth was, that no communication whatever took place between the two courts—that there was no concert—and that no invitation on the part of his majesty could draw from that court the slightest indication of a corresponding feeling. But why did lord Morpeth return?—that was the next head of charge. Lord Morpeth was sent on the 1st of October, that is, on the first moment when it was thought possible that at length Prussia might feel the prudence of acting in conjunction with others. On the 1st of November he returned.—But, why did he not remain? Lord Grenville asked, where he could have remained. The king himself did not remain—unfortunately the army did not remain—should he have remained on the field of battle, to have added to the proud triumphs of the enemy? But to show the infatuation of the unfortunate king, and the state of his councils, it was

alone necessary to say, that up to the very day of the fatal battle of Auerstadt, lord Morpeth could not obtain even an answer from the confidential advisers of the king of Prussia. With respect to the late negotiation at Paris, the noble lord has properly declined to enter into any discussion of it. There is not one individual in or out of parliament by whom peace is desired on any other terms but those which shall be honourable to the country itself, and strictly consistent with that fidelity which we owe to our allies. The people are convinced that the times are critical, and that the dangers they have to encounter are great; but they are also convinced that it is only by their own valour and resolution that these dangers can be averted. They are convinced, by contemplating the ruin of that great fabric, whose demolished fragments are now employed to injure us, that it is only by energy and firmness that this country can be saved from a similar ruin: they are convinced, that if, after all their efforts, they should at last sink under the contest, they would, even then, have the satisfaction of avoiding the self-reproaches which those must feel, who, while they were degrading and humbling themselves before their enemy, returned nothing but insults and aggressions, where conciliation and gratitude were due; and yet, notwithstanding all their shameful submissions and humiliations have not been less overwhelmed and trampled on by the common foe of Europe. To have fallen after a manful and honourable struggle would have been glorious in Prussia; but her conduct will never be imitated by this country, which in spirit, as well as in resources, is fully competent to the contest in which she is engaged.

Lord Radnor said a few words, when the question for an address was carried *nem. con.*

In the house of commons on the same subject:

The honourable Mr. Lambe rose and said, it was impossible not to consider the meeting of a new British parliament as a most important event. Their deliberations would be looked to by their country, by their enemy, and by their allies, with the utmost anxiety. By their country, with the expectation that their proceedings would be distinguished by consistency and resolution; by their enemy, with the hope that in their councils might be detected an auspicious prognostic of alarm, wavering, and disunion; by their allies, with the anticipation of increasing confidence and co-operation. In his majesty's most gracious speech, which had just been read from the chair, their attention was principally drawn to two topics. The first was the fruitless negotiation with France. Nothing could be further from his intention than to touch on any subject which in the remotest degree might tend to revive political differences, now almost lost in the disastrous events in which we were so nearly interested; but he thought, without any hazard of such a revival, he might say, whether the pacific system so strongly recommended during the last war, was practicable or not, that when the advocates for that system came into power, it was at a time when their hopes of carrying that system into effect must have been considerably diminished. In the event of peace with France, and of the mediation of other powers to produce that event, it was necessary that

that we should be strong ourselves, and backed by strong and formidable allies and mediators, to whom we might make an effectual appeal, and from whom we might expect effectual assistance. To go to war might be merely the effort of despair, but to become a mediator and arbitrator among nations, required strength to support the award. It followed, therefore, that although at an earlier period, France might have been successfully resisted by the pursuance of a pacific system, yet it became a far different case when so many rivals lay at her mercy; when their resources were exhausted; when their territories were dismembered; when their armies were overcome; and when their spirits were abashed before the overwhelming superiority of France. Under these inauspicious circumstances, so little calculated to produce a pacific disposition in France, or to induce a corresponding inclination on the part of other powers; under these inauspicious circumstances, the negotiation was begun. But it was soon discovered, that if any peace consistent with the honour of this country could be made, France would soon find it her interest to break it, or at least to indulge in further aggrandizements which must eventually lead to its rupture. His majesty's ministers, therefore, having so far relied on the good sense of the people of this country, that they would not allow themselves to be buoyed up by false hopes, made the attempt at pacification; but finding that those terms, on which alone a peace ought to be concluded, could not be obtained, they preferred war, with all its calamities and burdens, to a peace which, by the abandonment of our allies, must eventually prove more destructive to the country, than successive years of active warfare. On this high ground, having made every reasonable concession for peace, yet at the same time, maintaining the dignity of Great Britain unimpaired, ministers had a right to claim their most honourable reward, the support of that house and the approbation of their country. In the present state of circumstances, it was unnecessary, perhaps it might be ungenerous, to comment on the conduct of Prussia, which had led to that state; but at least it was some satisfaction to know that, however desirous the British government might be to afford every assistance to the king of Prussia, they were in no degree responsible to the proceedings at the commencement of the Prussian war, or for the talents with which the war was carried on. If our eyes were directed to another quarter, it would reasonably be permitted us to hope, that although Russia might not be able to re-conquer kingdoms, and re-establish thrones; she might yet have the power of setting a boundary to that inordinate ambition which had swallowed up every government within its reach. From the contemplation of foreign affairs, which he allowed was comparatively painful, he would turn to that which ever had afforded, which did afford, and which he trusted ever would afford, a most pleasing picture: a picture which the contrast rendered more pleasing;—he meant the internal state of Great Britain. On the blessings which we enjoyed it was unnecessary to expatiate: they were justly understood, they were fully appretiated, they were warmly and enthusiastically beloved, not by that house alone, or by the superior classes of society, but by a great majority of the meanest and most illiterate of the people. Dearer

did the menaces of the enemy render those blessings; notwithstanding that the acknowledged superiority of our navy, the bravery of our army, and the high and united spirit of our population, warranted us in setting these menaces at defiance. Having said thus much, he concluded by proposing an humble address to his majesty, which he read, and which was, as usual, an echo of the speech.

Mr. John Smith, in rising to second the motion, observed, that, in the present crisis, and at a period so big with new and extraordinary events, the satisfaction which his majesty was pleased to express at meeting his parliament, must be equally felt by every member of this house; for there never was a moment when the collective wisdom of parliament was more imperiously called for, than in the present unexampled state of public affairs; and he was persuaded that the deliberations of that house would be so conducted as to merit the confidence which his majesty had been graciously pleased to repose in them. The house must see with concern that his majesty's recent endeavours to restore peace to his subjects, had been disappointed by the failure of the late negotiation; and they must recognise in this proceeding of his majesty, the same benevolent disposition which had so often led his majesty in circumstances equally discouraging, to leave no means untried to put an end to the calamities of war. With regard to our own particular situation, it was evident, that in a contest so important, and for the preservation of every thing that is dear to us, we must necessarily be called upon to support additional burthens. But it was with extreme satisfaction, indeed, that he heard that part of his majesty's speech which pointed out the necessity of the most œconomical use of our resources. The attack of the enemy was now openly aimed at the vitals of the country. In defence of these the country was ready, nay, desirous, to make whatever sacrifices were necessary; but, with a view to the continuance of the war, (of the speedy termination of which no one could now indulge a hope,) the careful application of our resources and means of defence was more than ever become an indispensable duty, and he was happy to believe, one of the favourite objects of the noble lord (H. Petty,) now below him. The flourishing state of the revenue and of public credit must be a source of exultation in the present state of Europe. He thought he might venture, without fear of contradiction, to attribute it to the wise and vigorous system of finance, established by that immortal statesman, whose loss was so deeply deplored, whose virtues were indelibly engraven on the hearts of his countrymen, and would be the admiration of posterity. But he was far from wishing to withhold his tribute of applause from those who had succeeded him, and who had manfully and vigorously upheld and supported his system of finance. With regard to the state of our commerce, it must be expected that partial inconveniences should be suffered at a moment when the whole power and force of the enemy was directed against it: but we had his majesty's assurances that the main sources of our prosperity were unimpaired, and, he might venture to say, would long continue so, notwithstanding the present blockade of the British isles. A blockade by a country who had hardly dared to trust a ship out of the protection of the batteries, against a country which commands

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the seas, and could, if it thought fit, intercept the commerce of the world! With regard to the general situation of the country, there could be no doubt but that the spirit and vigour of the people were fully equal to any situation in which they could be placed; and he had observed with admiration, the firmness and fortitude with which they had supported all the expenses of the war, and all the pressure of the times; and that ardour and promptitude which they had uniformly manifested in defence of their country and constitution.

Mr. Canning declared that he never rose with more lively sensations of anxiety than on the present occasion, both because he felt the unparalleled importance of the crisis, and the duty which bound him, in common with every member of the house, and every subject of the realm, to state his real opinion of the situation of our affairs, and of the best means which remained for their extrication of the peril in which they were involved. But in doing this, the greatest difficulty was to avoid that which, above all other things, he was most solicitous to avoid, namely, to appear to damp the spirits of the country at a period when it was so necessary that firmness and confidence should prevail. Both the honourable proposer, and the honourable seconder of the address, dwelt on the necessity of unanimity; unquestionably the situation of the country was calculated to produce unanimity. But of unanimity there were different degrees. There was a description of unanimity which blinded every man's judgment to every thing that was wrong, and thus made him the passive instrument of any ministry. But there was another and a superior species, the professor of which, while he insisted on his right to investigate measures, and consider results, yet would give his cordial support to the government, in spite of the errors to which he would not allow himself to be willfully blind. If at any time this latter course of proceeding was justifiable, when the judgment of every man who possessed any judgment ought to be exercised, it was the present. The situation of the country divided itself into two considerations, our relative situation in the world, and our internal situation. With regard to the former, it was impossible that any thing more just, or more eloquent, could be said upon it, than what had been said by the honourable mover of the address. With regard to the latter, it afforded matter for deep meditation. On the first day of the first session of a new parliament, during whose existence the fate of the world might probably be decided, in whose time a struggle would in all likelihood take place, that would terminate either in total destruction, or complete safety, such a discussion was assuredly most important and most proper. The speech and address, which, at such a period as the present, were any thing but mere matters of form, might be considered in two distinct views. The first was as a mutual pledge between the sovereign and his people. Had it been possible to confine the speech and address to a description of the dangers of the country, and an enumeration of the best means of deliverance from those dangers, he would have been well content that the address should have gone up without a whisper of remark. But there was another view of the subject. The present was the constitutional op-

portunity afforded for both houses of parliament to express their opinion not only of the relations of government with foreign states, but of the relations of government with the country. In order to judge correctly of the situation in which the country now found itself, it was necessary to revert to the last confederacy. After the dissolution of that confederacy, and considering the state in which Prussia and Russia stood, what was the clear and obvious policy of France? and what was the clear and obvious policy of England? He would state it fairly. No man could hesitate in saying, that unfortunate as that confederacy was, broken and disjointed as it might be, yet were its scattered limbs not without life and vigour. It was the clear and obvious policy of England to unite those divided parts, and to endeavour to produce an energetic whole. On the other hand, it was the clear and obvious policy of France to effect a complete dismemberment of the confederation, and if that could not be completely accomplished in reality, at least to accomplish it in appearance. Now what had been the conduct of the two powers? Prussia signed a treaty of access to the confederacy just previous to its dissolution; an unequivocal proof of the disposition of the court of Berlin, manifested still more strongly by the declaration since published. Subsequently, however, Prussia was forced into measures, which brought upon her the prompt resentment of this country. But at the time that the house of commons approved of that resentment, did they know that a negociation was carrying on with France, for the restoration of that which Prussia had seized? There were two distinct questions. If it were simply asked, Would you go to war for the recovery of that unjustly wrested from you? the answer would be, Yes; but if a negotiation were carrying on to obtain the same object in another quarter, then the war would be superfluous. It was true, Hanover was not the sole cause of this rupture, but it was the main one, as the subsequent declaration of Prussia proved. The conduct of Great Britain to Prussia was therefore thus: Prussia, unable to resist the power of France, encroached upon us; we had, however, the option to pass over the just cause of complaint which we possessed in consequence, and leave untouched the only power in Europe which appeared capable of being the germ of an alliance hostile to the ambitious views of France. But the conduct of his majesty's ministers had been the converse of their policy. By that conduct, Prussia had been compelled to act without our advice and assistance, and to plunge into a war, of which, if our advice could not have prevented it, our assistance might at least have meliorated the termination. He did not mean to cast the slightest imputation on the diplomatic character of the noble lord employed by government on this occasion (lord Morpeth): no man was better fitted for the office, both from the qualities of his head and heart, and because no man had been a more constant advocate for the justice of the cause of this country; but would any man of common reflection say, that if the restoration of Hanover were the sole object, it was worth while to make war against Prussia? The British government had continued at war with Prussia as long as the Prussian resources were unimpaired, and her

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strength unexhausted; but as soon as there seemed the prospect of a war between France and Prussia, an ambassador was dispatched to Berlin, with instructions adapted to all possibilities, except that which was most probable, namely, that war had actually commenced; for that no provision had been made, an event of which the most common information might have shown the likelihood. As soon, however, as lord Morpeth returned, our government began to perceive their error, and to think that there was really something like war between France and Prussia, from the trifling circumstance that the Prussian army was annihilated! They then sent a few military men to their aid, and when the Prussian monarchy is destroyed, they will perhaps send an army. After a speech of very great length Mr. Canning moved by way of amendment, another address totally different from that already moved. The question being put that this amendment stand part of the address, without its being read from the chair

Lord Howick rose, and spoke to the following effect:—I am certainly, sir, not surprised that the amendment, considering its nature, has not been read from the chair; but I undoubtedly am surprised both at this and many other things which have fallen from the right honourable gentleman. He has asserted facts without any foundation, and reasoned on the assumed facts without documents moved for, without explanation called for, or any grounds to rest upon, and has brought charges against us, with respect to the army, the navy, and the finances. He has attacked our management of our foreign affairs, he has accused us of stirring up discontent in the army, and of having prostituted the name of our sovereign by a false assertion. For all these things, if he thought his assertions true, he ought to have moved for a committee of the house with a view to have us impeached; and yet after all this, the amendment is not of sufficient consequence, it seems, even to be read from the chair, and the right honourable gentleman will not press it to a divison, because, forsooth, if he did, there might be some appearance of a want of unanimity! He has very prudently, sir, with regard to himself, only prevented us from seeing what number of the members of this house, if there are any, would support this amendment. He appears to want an apology for his opposition on the present occasion. He disclaims that unanimity which is prejudicial to the interests of a free state, but approves of that which objects where it finds error, but objecting, still thinks proper to support the government. Whether this sentiment corresponds with the speech of the right honourable gentleman and the address which he has now offered, I leave it to the house to judge. Indeed, I trembled when he mentioned the word unanimity, for I well recollect that last parliament he disclaimed all intention to embarrass the measures of government, and a more vexatious opposition, a greater desire to embarrass, was perhaps never witnessed, than that which followed his declaration. He begins, sir, by a view of our foreign affairs. What have we done, he asks, with all our talents and abilities? From whatever quarter this description of us has

come, it certainly has not been from ourselves; but if I had been called upon before the death of that illustrious statesman, Mr. Fox, to say what I thought of the administration, I would affirm that, after the death of Mr. Pitt, there was, in Mr. Fox and lord Grenville, such an union of extensive and correct views, such an union of talents and abilities for business, such genius and greatness of mind, as could not be found any where else. Some of the gentlemen on the other side, would undoubtedly be an acquisition to any administration. But Mr. Fox and lord Grenville when united, were not to be equalled. Much of that praise is now, however, in the grave, where Mr. Fox lies by the side of his illustrious rival, to whom he was a political opponent, not a personal enemy; and, I trust, after all their differences are at an end, that they are now happy together. But even now, with the exception of such an humble individual as myself, I do not, on looking around me, see how an administration could be formed, more entitled to confidence than the present. We have been asked what we have done: we were told that we were on a bed of roses after the battle of Austerlitz! But it was impossible that we could have repaired those terrible misfortunes which for fifteen years had been desolating the continent. If we failed from want of exertion, or even from corrupt mismanagement, for that too seems to be imputed, then we deserve to suffer for it. But if the seeds of these disasters were sown through no fault of ours, then we are not responsible for what no exertion on our part could prevent. The right honourable gentleman has begun with Prussia, and stated the calamities which she has endured. With all his tendency to exaggeration, here he has not exaggerated, for he could not. We had before seen empires and armies overturned, but this destruction has been so rapid, as to be almost unparalleled. When empires fell before, it was not till after a long struggle, and repeated misfortunes. But now we see a power high in resources and in military renown, overturned in a single battle, and its monarch forced to seek for safety in flight, with only a few followers. In his address too he has alluded to the fate of the duke of Brunswick. He too was forced to fly; and at a distance from his capital, with a few melancholy attendants, affected more by the fate of his country and of Europe than his own, his great heart burst. Vengeance even pursued him to the grave. Cæsar and Alexander, after the battle was over, and the victory attained, were not inaccessible to pity. But here, when the request was made that the remains of this hero should be allowed to be interred in his capital, the request was refused with sarcastic malice, such as could only come from the lips of a savage, destitute of every noble and generous feeling. Though we have not adverted to this, let him not think that we do not feel it. He should not have said that such an omission was unprecedented. The reason for omitting it was simply this, that no precedent for it could be found. With regard to the right honourable gentleman's allusions to Hanover as the sole cause of the declaration of war by this country against Prussia, I am astonished that the honourable gentleman could hazard such an unfounded

founded statement. Indeed if the honourable gentleman had taken the trouble of looking at the terms of the declaration itself, he would have there seen, that, so far from Hanover being the only cause, the shutting of the rivers in the north of Germany against our commerce was the principal alleged ground of hostility, and upon that ground the house voted the address to his majesty, which approved the course pursued by government upon that occasion. But even supposing that the ports in the north of Germany were not closed against our shipping, was not the detention of Hanover by Prussia, upon such grounds as that power alleged, of such a nature as this government could not subscribe to? Was it not such a claim, indeed, as our government could not allow any power to insist upon in a negotiation, or to maintain without interruption? Would the honourable gentleman say that it was? But, combining the detention of Hanover with the shutting up the ports I have already stated, would the honourable gentleman, as member of a cabinet, hesitate to advise his majesty to declare war against the power which should be guilty of such aggressions; or would he advise his majesty to conclude peace with a power which, under such circumstances, should insist upon withholding Hanover? In the address which the right honourable gentleman has read to the house, I perceive that there are very many professions of personal attachment to our sovereign, and of anxious wishes for his interests. I would wish to know, then, from the right honourable author, or advocate of all these professions, whether he, as a minister, would conduct a negotiation, and conclude a war which should alienate from that sovereign an hereditary possession, wrested from him originally on account merely of a war between this country and a foreign enemy, and in which war that hereditary possession had no concern. Of the separate interests of this country and Hanover, I have read and heard much. Into the discussion, however, I do not now mean to enter: but, thinking as I do, that honour is the most valuable possession of any state, I have no hesitation in stating, that it would be highly injurious to the interests of England, because inconsistent with its honour, to leave Hanover to France or her allies, under such circumstances as I have already described. When Hanover was taken possession of by Prussia, it will be recollected that it was transferred to her by France, with whom she was in the closest alliance; and when this was connected with the original cause of the invasion of that electorate, I would appeal to this house, and to the world, whether it could be reconciled with any sentiment of magnanimity, honour, or justice, to allow its lawful sovereign to be deprived of Hanover in consequence of a war between Great Britain and France (A cry of Hear! hear!) I think, resumed the noble lord, that I have fully answered the honourable gentleman's observations upon this head, But there is another charge of the honourable gentleman's, which he has dwelt upon as the most serious, and to which I shall take leave to apply a few remarks. The honourable gentleman makes this heavy accusation, that we did not send timely assistance to Prussia. But how soon had we reason to suppose that Prussia was at all disposed to enter into hostilities with France?

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At the time we declared against her, she was in close connection with the French government. But notwithstanding our declaration, she had opportunities enough of communicating to our government any intention she entertained with regard to France. For, although war against Prussia was declared in April, baron Jacobi did not leave this country until the 15th of August. Of course ample means of communication with our government were open to Prussia. But still nothing transpired to indicate to us the disposition of that power to break her connections with France, and to commence actual war. No sign of the separation appeared: but as soon as it became evident to us that Prussia determined on war, I venture to say, that not a moment was lost to afford that power every aid the nature of the case admitted. That no intimation of the views of Prussia had been sooner received by our ambassador at Paris, was not at all attributable to any want of diligence, ability, and action, displayed on the part of the noble lord who had conducted that mission in a manner so eminently worthy of his character, and so well calculated (had an appropriate disposition existed on the part of the enemy) to bring it to an amicable conclusion. But no opportunity offered to that noble lord to ascertain the altered views of Prussia. When, however, the intelligence of the alteration reached this country, ministers were not slow to act upon it. Jacobi, whose proposals to this country turned out, after all, to be quite unsatisfactory, did not reach Hamburgh until the 1st of October, nor arrive in London until the 10th, nor communicate his propositions to his majesty's ministers until the 11th, and the battle of Auerstadt, it would be recollected, was fought on the 14th of that month. From this statement, the house and the country will be enabled to appretiate the right honourable gentleman's censure upon the conduct of his majesty's ministers in this transaction. That the conduct of Prussia towards the British government was not such as afforded the latter the least opportunity of affording her any timely or effectual assistance, must be obvious; but still more unaccountable was the course pursued by that court with regard to Russia, her ally, who was pledged by treaty to assist her. The resolution of Prussia actually to commence hostilities was first communicated to the Russian government by count Krusemark, who was dispatched with that intelligence to St. Petersburgh, which he did not reach until the 30th of September. The moment the tidings were conveyed to the magnanimous sovereign of Russia, orders were issued to set the troops in motion, and an army was immediately marched off under general Beningsen. Such was the procrastination of Prussia, even towards a court with whom she had no differences to adjust, from whom she had a right to call for immediate aid—and such was the course that rendered not only this country, but Russia, unable to afford her any effectual assistance: upon all the points referred to relative to Prussia, I believe I have satisfactorily replied to the honourable gentleman. Now, as to the right honourable gentleman's remarks upon the negotiation, the right honourable gentleman has declined to enter fully into the subject, but yet in stating, professedly with a view to inform ministers

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of the points upon which he should feel it necessary to require further explanation, the right honourable gentleman has not declined to indulge in a strain of animadversion very well calculated to produce an undue opinion of the case. Without waiting for the further explanation which he professed to think necessary, he has thought proper to assert, that the statement in his majesty's declaration, relative to the first overture for a negotiation coming from the French government, appeared to be unfounded. Does the honourable gentleman mean to argue that the first letter of my late right honourable friend, which related merely to the assassin, and which did equal honour to the head and heart of that illustrious person, had any reference whatever to a negotiation for peace? No, not a word about it. But as to the circumstance of making the first overture for peace, I perfectly concur with the right honourable gentleman, that there is nothing dishonourable in the thing itself, provided circumstances call for it. So far, indeed, am I from entertaining any such opinion, that were a promising opportunity to offer and any change to appear in the pretensions of the enemy, I should not be slow to make an overture for negotiation, from any fear of the reprehension that it might incur, particularly on the score of false pride. But with respect to the late negotiation, I am warranted in asserting, that when the person at the head of the French government told one of his assemblies that the first overture was made by this country, he stated that which was untrue. But the whole history of this negotiation will form the most complete answer to the honourable gentleman's objections, and the best antidote to the unbecoming sarcasms which the honourable gentleman has thought proper to deal out, particularly against the conduct of my illustrious predecessor, who is most unaccountably censured for a want of that simplicity and manliness of character which are most strikingly obvious in his letters. That my honourable friend made no concealment of a negotiation with France at the time he brought down the message relative to Prussia, because, in fact, no negotiation was then on the tapis—and that his conduct was in this, (as in every instance of his life) plain, open, and manly, a simple statement of the fact may fully demonstrate. The right honourable gentleman's attack, therefore, is powerless with regard to my deceased friend. But the attacks of the right honourable gentleman are general. Among the rest he has thought proper to level his shafts at me, not, however, in his speech. He reserved me for his address—where he complains of predatory squadrons being allowed to maraude without interruption among our West India colonies. He has not, however, stated the amount of these squadrons, the amount of the mischief they have done, nay, more, the means by which they were able to get out of port. Now, the fact is, that the squadrons alluded to by the honourable gentleman, were at sea before I was appointed to the admiralty: one squadron sailed in October, 1805, and the other, of eleven sail of the line, in December following: and when I came to the admiralty there was not a scrap of paper to be found that could inform us as to the destination of those squadrons; we had nothing whatever to guide our judgment,

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we were left to our own inquiry, and we could only send out squadrons in pursuit of them in every direction, where they were likely to have steered, or where any mischief could be done. In consequence of these and some other arrangements made of our naval force, the noble lord had the satisfaction to state, that not one ship of the squadrons before alluded to, had yet returned to France, excepting that of Jerome Bonaparte, which was obliged to fly for safety into a port, in which a ship of the line had never ventured before, and in which there is every reason to believe that it could not long survive. Not a ship of war either had been suffered to escape from French harbours within the present year, excepting the five frigates, of which sir Samuel Hood had captured four. The noble lord contrasted the conduct of the military department, under his right honourable friend (Mr. Windham), with that of his predecessor (lord Castlereagh), particularly upon the subject of expeditions prepared and dispatched to the continent; and dwelt upon the expedition sent off on the 21st of December last, under lord Cathcart, and recalled eleven days afterwards. He also entered into a comparison of the state of preparation in which the troops were sent out, and quoted some passages from the letters of lord Castlereagh to lord Cathcart, descriptive of the unprepared state of the troops. From this the noble lord proceeded to animadvert upon the expedition to Buenos Ayres, which, he showed, was never undertaken in consequence of any arrangement or order of the late ministers, nor, indeed, was any thing known in England of such an expedition, until dispatches were received from sir Home Popham, dated at St. Helena, and immediately afterwards orders were issued to send out reinforcements, which were ready in a fortnight, and would have sailed if the winds permitted. But the whole delay did not exceed a month. After the noble lord had recapitulated his principal arguments, he concluded, by expressing his readiness to meet the right honourable accuser of ministers upon the fullest discussion of each of the topics to which his speech and his address referred.

Lord Castlereagh reviewed the conduct and plans of administration, both since they had been in office, and during the long period of their opposition, declaring that the measures adopted by himself and his friends were of a very different nature from those of the opposition for the last fifteen years. The original motion on the address was then carried *nem. con.*

When the report of the address was made on the 20th, another spirited debate took place, in which lord Howick, Mr. Canning, Mr. Perceval, lord Henry Petty, and others, took a part, and the address was ordered to be taken up to his majesty.

On the 22d, the earl of Aylesford, in the house of lords, and lord Ossulston in the commons, reported that his majesty had been waited upon with the address, to which his majesty had returned a most gracious answer.

Lord Grenville then laid on the table of the upper house, several papers respecting the late negotiation with France, giving notice that he should on the 2d of January submit to their lordships a motion on the subject. His lordship next, after a neat and well-turned eulogium on the conduct of sir J. Stuart, his

his officers and men, in the battle of Maida, moved a vote of thanks to major-general sir J. Stuart, brigadier-generals Cole and Ackland, and the officers under the command of sir John Stuart, in the action of Calabria, on the fourth of July last; and also an acknowledgment of the services of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers engaged in that action: which motions were agreed to *nem. diss.*

In the house of commons, after the usual routine of business,

Mr. Secretary Windham, in stating that he rose merely in pursuance of a former notice, to move that the thanks of that house should be given to general sir John Stuart, the officers and men engaged under him, in the glorious battle of Maida, did not conceive that any thing more would be necessary to be said, on his part, in order to obtain the unanimous concurrence of the house in his motion. There had been so very general, so very lively, and so very proper a feeling manifested throughout the country on the subject, that he was convinced, that as no motion of this description had ever been agreed to with more perfect unanimity than this would, so none had ever more completely carried the feelings and approbation of the country with it. The action to which his motion referred was one of the most distinguished exploits that appeared in the annals of this or any other country. Every man must be so thoroughly impressed with its character and importance, that it was altogether unnecessary to dwell upon its value. If he ventured to say any thing upon the subject, it was purely from an impulse to give indulgence to his feelings. The character of the exploit itself, and the advantages that flowed from it, must present themselves to the sober reflection of every man; and, indeed, that house and country had already, by their admiration and gratitude, pronounced upon the value of the glorious achievement. There was not a single one of the various views in which this exploit could be considered, that did not rank it with the proudest achievements of our ancestors, that did not raise it to a level even with the venerable days of Cressy, Poictiers, and Agincourt. In mentioning these scenes of British fame and valour, he could not omit to state one peculiar character which belonged to this distinguished service, namely, the accession it produced to our stock of national glory, the most valuable possession of a great nation. Other services might cut a greater figure, in relation to their effect in adding to national importance, by acquisitions of strength, resources, or territory, though not of a character to call for the sort of honours and distinctions merited by achievements of this kind. In this respect the value and importance of the exploit was highly augmented, even in the midst of those splendid and brilliant triumphs to which this country had been so much accustomed. The glory acquired in this action had not often been equalled, and never had been surpassed in the records of military renown. Of what value it was to keep up this high character for military spirit, how necessary it was to encourage it with every honourable distinction of public approbation and gratitude, how impossible it was for any great country to preserve its character and independence without the possession of such feelings, these were topics upon which it was unnecessary for him to dwell. But if ever there had been a period of the

the world, when a strong military feeling was wanted for the preservation of the greatness and glory of a country, it was the present. It was this period, when the whole world had become, as it were, one universal camp; when all nations were occupied with military views, military fame, and military services; when these military pursuits were substituted in place of the civil arts of life; when no country could be safe that did not cultivate them, and when any country that did not cultivate them, could no longer hope to continue its independence. The immediate tendency and effect of the glorious battle of Maida was, that it would meet these opinions, and correct the error in which they originated. It was impossible to contemplate this glorious exploit in all its circumstances, and not give way to a feeling of triumph at the superiority of national valour displayed in it. The detail of the action exhibited merits of all sorts, equally honourable to the skill of the officers, and the firmness and valour of the soldiers. Having been led thus far by the natural pleasure one feels in speaking of so grateful a subject, he should not detain the house longer than whilst he could state some circumstances respecting the action, which were not generally known. By these circumstances it would appear, that the victory had been more decisive, and the defeat of the enemy more complete than was at first supposed. Sir John Stuart had correctly stated the amount of his own force as under 5000 men, but he had not the means of accurately ascertaining the force of the enemy, when he wrote his dispatch; in that it had been stated at nearly 7000, but it should have been stated at nearly 8000 men. This fact had been discovered from returns found upon the persons of some of the officers that had been killed. The next circumstance he had to mention, respected the amount of the enemy's loss; this was a consideration which they could not dwell upon with satisfaction, though it was an important evidence of the decisive nature of the victory; sir J. Stuart stated the number of the killed at 700, but it had been afterwards ascertained, by observations made upon the spot, that the number killed in the action amounted to 1300: fifteen hundred prisoners had been the immediate fruit of the action, and a considerable number more fell into our hands from the consequences of the action; so that thus a number, nearly equal to the whole of the British force, had been disposed of by this brilliant action. Another consequence of the exploit was, that it had set the Calabrians free from the presence of the enemy, and had totally broken up the force of general Regnier in these provinces, which amounted to 13,000 men. It was not perhaps necessary to have dwelt so much on the advantages that resulted from this battle, but the glory that had been acquired in it, he considered of infinitely greater importance than any immediate benefits that had been derived from the action; this it was that would carry the effect of the brilliant exploit beyond the single instance, by restoring the military renown of this country, which had been called in question. He who gives glory to his country gives that which is far more valuable to it than any acquisition whatever: glory alone is not to be taken away by time or incidents; ships, territories, or possessions, may be wrested from a country, but the mode of acquiring

acquiring them can never be forgotten, and the glory of the conquest is independent of all accidents. The acquisitions, that were the consequence of the glorious days of Cressy and Poictiers, have long since passed into other hands, but the glory of those illustrious achievements still adheres to the British name, and is immortal: it is that fine extract, that pure essence, that endures to all ages, whilst the grosser parts, the residuum, pass away, and are lost in the course of time. On this ground it was that he thought that the victory of Maida would stand as high as any exploits upon the records of our military achievements, and that the glory of general Stuart and his brave army would survive it to the latest posterity, unless the country should, at any time, sink to such a state of degradation, that the memory of former glory would be a reproach to existing degeneracy; even in such a state of degradation, he was sure that such an instance as this would be calculated to rouse a nation to emulate the exploits of its ancestors. The name of general Stuart will justly be ranked with the foremost in our military annals. He had felt peculiar pleasure in dwelling upon the various merits of this brilliant exploit because it revives and resuscitates, as it were, that half of our national character which had been called in question, and proves that Britons have the same superiority over the enemy by land as by sea. The right honourable gentleman concluded by moving—

"That the thanks of the house be given to major-general sir J. Stuart, for his distinguished ability manifested by him in the signal victory obtained on the 4th of July last, with an inferior force, over the army of the enemy on the plains of Maida."

A similar motion was made respecting brigadier-generals Cole and Ackland: to which was added

"That the house both highly approves and acknowledges the distinguished valour, intrepidity, and discipline, displayed by the officers and men in the glorious battle of Maida."

These motions were seconded in an excellent speech by sir John Doyle, and were agreed to without a dissenting voice.

On the 24th of December Mr. Biddulph moved as a resolution:

"That the assignment of a salary to any man as chairman of the committee of ways and means is unnecessary, and in the present circumstances of the country inexpedient." As a preface to this motion, he said he was not aware how it would be received by the house, but he was conscious, that, in submitting it, he had performed his duty. It was the first attempt at œconomy, as recommended so strongly in his majesty's speech, and as such he ventured to urge it. He said that the situation of chairman of the committees required no exertion beyond the capability of ordinary talents, and he thought that there were several gentlemen, who were already receiving salaries under the government, who might perform the office very well. He considered that the several junior lords of the treasury might do the office, and he would appeal to the candour of the members of his majesty's administration, whether the minds of these gentlemen came down overladen to the house, or their bodies over-harassed with the business of the day; or whether they did not come down as full of vigour and as capable of that duty as any

any member of the house. Objections might be made, but a change of system was necessary for the salvation of the country: the principle was a good one, and if followed up, it would convince the country that the house meant to act upon a rigid œconomy.

Mr. Robson seconded the motion: upon which lord Howick said, No person felt more deeply than he did, the propriety and the necessity of maintaining and prosecuting the plan of œconomy, as recommended in his majesty's speech; but he did not think that the principle recommended in that speech was ever intended to adopt such a resolution as the one now submitted by the honourable gentleman. As to the motion, he was persuaded that if it were carried, few would be found to execute the duties of the department, and the proverb, "What's every body's business, is nobody's," would be completely verified. At all events the resolution ought not to be moved till the end of the session; he should therefore move the previous question.

After a few words from Mr. Biddulph the motion was negatived: and on the 29th Mr. Hobhouse was voted to be chairman of the committee of supply and ways and means, with the usual salary.

On the 30th the house went into a committee on the act for regulating the leather trade; and on the motion of lord Temple, leave was obtained for bringing in a bill to repeal the act that prohibits the regrating of oak-bark, and to indemnify persons who had incurred penalties for regrating oaken bark. His lordship then moved for a committee to consider of the propriety of permitting sugar and molasses to be used in distilleries and breweries, in order to effect a relief to the West India trade: the committee being appointed, the noble lord next adverted to the woollen manufacture of the country, and moved that the laws relating to it be referred to a committee, and also the report of the committee of last session, which was agreed to.

Mr. Perceval asked for information relative to the correspondence between Mr. Fox and M. Talleyrand, which led to the negotiation.

Lord Howick in reply declared that the parts of the letters that had been suppressed were entirely of a private nature. He then entered a good deal at large on the subject, saying that it was his most anxious desire to put the house in possession of every document that could consistently with a sense of public duty be produced, in order to enable them to form a correct judgment on this important case.

Lord Yarmouth stated that the *uti possidetis* was the principle adopted by M. Talleyrand.

Mr. Canning and Mr. Sheridan said a few words, when the subject was dropped for the present.

Lord Grenville, on the 2d of January, brought in a bill for abolishing the slave trade, which being read the first time, his lordship moved that it be printed, and he took that opportunity of observing, that no person could be more sensible than he was of the great importance of the measure now submitted to the house, and of the propriety of giving full time for its due consideration; he therefore intended to give about a fortnight's notice before he should move the second reading.

Lord Hawkesbury said the resolution

lution of last session was followed by an address to the crown, recommending a communication with foreign powers, as to the means of abolishing the slave-trade. Some information on this subject, he thought, should be given.

Lord Eldon was of the same opinion: to which lord Grenville replied, that it was his wish time should be given to come to a grave and solemn decision, but not such a delay as would tend to defeat the accomplishment of the purpose of the bill during the present session.

The duke of Clarence avowed his determination to oppose the bill.

The motion for printing the bill being agreed to, and the order of the day being read, to take into consideration the papers respecting the late negotiation with France:

Lord Grenville rose and spoke: "My lords, having had the honour of presenting to your lordships the papers respecting the late negotiation between this country and France, it now becomes my duty to move your lordships to address his majesty on the result of that negotiation. My object is to move an address to his majesty, humbly and gratefully acknowledging his majesty's desire to restore to his subjects the blessings of peace, assuring his majesty of our conviction that the failure of the negotiation entered into for that purpose, did not arise from any failure in his majesty's paternal regard for the welfare of his people, but is wholly to be attributed to the exorbitant demands and ambitious views of France, and pledging ourselves to concur, in every effort, to support his majesty in the continuance of the contest. I will now, my lords, briefly notice a few of the leading principles which characterize the negotiation, which is the subject of our discussion. There can be no doubt that peace was desirable, if a peace could be obtained consistently with the honour and the interests of this country. It must always be desirable to put an end to the calamities of war, and every state actuated by enlightened views of policy, will necessarily consider the prosecution of war as the means of obtaining an honourable, a secure, and a permanent peace; of a peace which shall insure safety against the renewal of war, and safety in the conduct of it in the event of its renewal. There may be cases in which a nation, actuated by views of sound policy, may think it advisable to make great sacrifices for the purpose of obtaining a peace, which bears every promise of being permanent. If we look back to the treaties of peace formerly concluded by this country, we find that though, of course, they could not be considered as permanent, yet that they produced a considerable interval of tranquillity, an interval which might then be fairly calculated upon, and which, in as much as it served to recruit and increase the resources of the country, was worth making sacrifices to obtain. In this view of the subject, and with the moral certainty of obtaining a considerable interval of tranquillity, valuable sacrifices, I do not mean merely valuable in point of finance, of commerce, or of revenue, but valuable in point of strength, might, consistently with sound policy and expediency, be made for the purpose of obtaining a treaty of peace: but those who consider the state of Europe for six years, or I may say for thirteen or fourteen years past, must be convinced that there was no rational hope of any consider-

able interval of tranquillity following a treaty of peace with France. It became therefore an object in this negotiation, to seek out for an equivalent to set up against that want of permanence which must attend any peace made under such circumstances. Valuable sacrifices could not be made to obtain an unstable and insecure peace. I was therefore, my lords, of opinion, and still am of opinion, that the only basis upon which we ought to treat with France, was that of actual possession. We had made several valuable conquests by means of our maritime superiority, whilst France had made great and extensive conquests on the continent. Those conquests were, however, of a description totally distinct, and could not be exchanged with any prospect of advantage to either country. This country being a great maritime and colonial power, and France a great continental power, there could be no reciprocity of cession between the two powers, which could in any degree tend to their mutual advantage. The conquests made by this country could be of no use to France, unless she could become a great commercial and colonial power: the conquests made by France could be of no use to this country, unless she could become a great continental power. Thus, the state of actual possession appeared to me to be the only true basis of negotiation between this country and France, the only basis upon which peace ought to be established, under the circumstances in which that negotiation took place, the only basis on which it could rationally be founded, viewing the relative situation of the two countries, regarding also the situation of Europe, and the slender prospect of a peace concluded under such circumstances producing any considerable interval of tranquillity, and for the attainment of which, therefore, no valuable sacrifices ought to be made by this country, because they could not insure to us safety against the immediate renewal of the war. This was, therefore, the basis which I thought the only one which ought to be the foundation of a treaty of peace between this country and France, if such a treaty was to be attained, and this also was the opinion of those with whom I had the honour to act, amongst whom and myself the greatest and most perfect unanimity prevailed, previous to, and from the moment of the commencement of the negotiation to its close. During the whole procedure of that negotiation, from the hour it began till the moment of its breaking off, we had but one opinion upon the subject, and unanimously concurred in all the steps taken during its progress. My lords, when his majesty's present ministers came into office, they found a treaty concluded by their predecessors with Russia, in which each party bound itself not to conclude peace, without the consent of he other. I am not about to question the wisdom of such a treaty; on the contrary, I think it a wise measure. I am decidedly of opinion, that if what remains of Europe is to be maintained, if Europe is to be recovered, as I trust it will be recovered, it can only be by a firm bond of union, a strict alliance between this country and the powers of the continent. When I declare that a wise treaty, in which one party cannot make peace without the consent of the other, I am not to have extreme cases put for the purpose of showing that inconveniences may arise from such

such a stipulation. My answer to such an argument is short, that extreme cases ought not to be put. Extreme cases cannot be included in, nor ought they to be an objection to, a general rule; they must be met and provided for on their own specific grounds. An extreme case may be put, that Russia might demand, as a condition of peace, that half the old French monarchy should be ceded to her; in that case, it is not to be supposed that this country would continue the war on such a ground. Such extreme cases, however, may be put out of the argument, having no connection, in fact, with the broad and general principle on which such treaties are concluded. Even, however, supposing that the treaty with Russia, to which I have just alluded, had not been wisely concluded; still the sacred engagement of the sovereign having been given to Russia, his majesty's ministers were bound to act in compliance with the injunction of that treaty, and to fulfil its conditions. Thus, therefore, the negotiation commenced in compliance with the injunctions of that treaty, and at the same time with those views with regard to our other allies, which were dictated by justice and good faith. Amongst those allies were to be classed those to whom we were bound by treaty, and those to whom we were bound by the circumstances which had occurred during the war, and the situations in which they were placed in consequence of the events of that war. Of the former class of allies were Sweden and Portugal, and of the latter, Naples and the elector of Hanover; who, in this case, must be considered as a separate and distinct power. With respect to Sweden and Portugal, nothing more was required than to guaranty to those powers their state of actual possession; no conquests having been made by them which it was necessary to cede, nor any thing taken from them, respecting which it was necessary to enter into discussion. The king of Naples stood in a different situation: he had unfortunately, like too many other continental states, been deprived, by the power of France, of all his dominions on the continent of Europe. My lords, I have no hesitation in saying, that I would have consented to make sacrifices not merely valuable in finance, in revenue, or in commerce, but even sacrifice of safety and of strength, to procure the restoration to the king of Naples of the kingdom of Naples; but no sacrifices that we could make could have been an equivalent to France for the restoration of the kingdom of Naples. It therefore necessarily became a discussion of equivalents, with the view of indemnifying the king of Naples for the loss of his kingdom somewhere else. With respect to Sicily, the king of Naples was still in possession of that island, or rather, I would say, it was in the possession of a brave, and, as it has been proved, an invincible British army. That army had entered the island with the consent of the king of Naples, who had received them there in the full confidence that they would defend it bravely and gallantly against the enemy, and at the same time in the full persuasion that the island would not be given up to the enemy. Would it not, therefore, have been an indelible disgrace to this country to have given up Sicily to France upon their offer of an equivalent! Was it for us to traffic with Sicily, and to dispose of it, without the

of its sovereign? If the king of Naples chose to surrender his dominions for what he might consider a sufficient equivalent, upon the continent of Europe, he was, of course, at liberty to make such an exchange; but it was not for us to traffic with Sicily, and barter it away for any equivalent without the consent of its sovereign. With respect to Hanover, my lords, I feel some difficulty in addressing your lordships upon that topic—not that there is any doubt as to the clearness of the principle upon which our negotiation with respect to that electorate rests, or as to the injustice committed by the enemy upon the territories of that electorate,—but from a doubt that from some perversion or distortion of what is clear and obvious, there should be an idea entertained that our beneficent sovereign had for a moment wished to sacrifice any British interest to the re-attainment of Hanover. My lords, his majesty, with that beneficence which has always characterized his reign, had not the remotest wish that the least British interest should be sacrificed for the purpose of obtaining the restoration of Hanover. But, my lords, the restoration of Hanover to its sovereign was a point in which the honour of this country was deeply involved. It was said by a great statesman, now no more, after some remarks against Hanover, that if Hanover was invaded on account of its connection with this country, he would as soon fight for Hanover as for Hampshire, the honour of the country being equally involved in both cases. Hanover, my lords, was at peace with France, it was not connected in any way which could be a legitimate cause for war between France and that electorate; yet Hanover was seized by France soon after the latter power had declared war against this country, and for no other reason, than because it was thought by France a good means of injuring this country to invade and take possession of Hanover. Hanover was therefore sacrificed to injustice on the part of France for the express purpose of injuring this country. Would it not, therefore, be disgraceful in us not to insist upon the restoration of Hanover to its sovereign, from whom it had been taken solely on account of its connection with this country? The restoration of Hanover, thus unjustly seized, was therefore insisted upon as an indispensable preliminary to the negotiation. The French government felt the injustice of the act, and consented to restore it. This was consented to previous to the commencement of the negotiation, and never afterwards became an object of dispute. And your lordships are perfectly aware, as is clearly evinced by the papers on the table, that the rupture of the negotiation did not proceed from any discussion about Hanover, but arose from far different causes. My lords, the principle upon which his majesty's ministers acted during the whole of the negotiation was, that of good faith towards our allies. Without that no treaty can be concluded by this country, without disgracing ourselves. The principle acted upon by the French government invariably through the whole negotiation was, that of endeavouring to effect a separation between us and our allies. My lords, in all the procedure on the part of the French government, it is manifest that, from the first moment of the negotiation to the last, their only object

object was to endeavour to effect a separation between this country and Russia. Had Russia, my lords, insisted upon extravagant and immoderate terms, or had she insisted upon points trifling and uninteresting, it might have been a painful duty for me to stand up in this place and state the rupture of the negotiation in consequence of any such conduct on the part of Russia. But, my lords, the very contrary of all this was the case; the terms insisted on by Russia were moderate, even from all views of ambition, and were only directed to the security of her allies. She demanded the guarantee of Sicily to the king of Naples, and the evacuation of Dalmatia by the French troops. By holding Dalmatia the French turn the flank of the defence of Austria, and threaten the Austrian capital. Dalmatia, also, though not immediately connected with Turkey, is yet occupied by the French troops, with hostile designs against that power. Dalmatia is not necessary to the vast empire obtained by the arms of France, and can only be held by the latter power as a post of offence towards Austria and the Porte, and in hostility towards Russia. These were the only terms insisted on by Russia, not to gratify any objects of ambition, not for the increase of power, but to obtain security for her allies, to obtain that in which this country was equally interested. The guarantee of Sicily to the king of Naples was clearly a British object, and in which this country has a preferable interest. This evacuation of Dalmatia by the French troops, to which Russia confined herself, not making any demand of the territory, is also of importance to this country as well as to our ally. My lords, I should have rejoiced if I could have had the opportunity, instead of moving an address to his majesty upon the rupture of the negotiation, of moving an address upon the conclusion of peace. That I have not that opportunity, is wholly to be attributed to the enemy, to his views of ambition, to the principles upon which he acted, and which were utterly irreconcileable with those principles upon which this country must ever act, for the preservation of her interests and the maintenance of her honour. I am sure I shall have every heart and mind in the country with me, when I say that this country never can negotiate upon a principle of inferiority to France. An expression was used by the French ministers, which is stated in the papers, that if we had made peace at the period alluded to in the papers, the treaty of the confederation of the Rhine would never have been signed, or at least would not have been published. It happens, however, that supposing peace to have been concluded with the utmost rapidity after the arrival of our ministers at Paris, the treaty could not have been signed before the treaty of the German confederacy was published. Thus, this very confederation must unavoidably have preceded the treaty; and, supposing it to have happened the day after, it would necessarily have been a cause for war. My lords, I will only make one more observation respecting the stay of our minister at Paris. It was perfectly evident, that, when the chief of the French government set out to take the command of the army, it was impossible that the negotiation and hostilities against an ally of one of the parties negotiating could go on *pari passu*. The assembling of the

French army was, indeed, a sufficient cause for breaking off the negotiation; and when the chief of the French government set out to commence hostilities against the ally of Russia, it was clearly impossible that the negotiation and the hostile attack could go on at the same time. My lords, at the opening of the session, every thing like a pledge to his majesty respecting the result of the negotiation was carefully avoided, until the papers should be regularly before the house. Now that the subject comes regularly under your lordships' discussion, I intend to propose that your lordships should pledge yourselves to support his majesty in this contest, the continuance of which has been rendered absolutely necessary by the ambition of France." His lordship concluded by moving an address to his majesty; to the purport as stated in his speech.

Lord Hawkesbury. Although, my lords, we may differ in some instances, with respect to the particular mode and course pursued in this negotiation, yet, on the present occasion, there can be no room for difference as to the great principles and the result. I am convinced that, at this moment, while our enemy continues to pursue his aggressions, and to follow that system by which his conduct has been regulated since the commencement of his career, such a peace as we alone look to as affording security to ourselves and allies is utterly unattainable. I therefore most completely concur with the noble lord upon the great points which he has stated, and of course do not feel desirous of urging any material objection to the address. At the same time this address may, in some parts, be liable to ambiguity; and therefore, if I do agree to it, it must be with some qualification. But, my lords, I most particularly approve of the conduct of the government, in the good faith which it has maintained with respect to our allies. And if Russia had insisted upon the evacuation of Dalmatia by the French; and if that were the only point of difference between us and the French government, I have no hesitation in saying, that, upon that point alone, ministers would have been fully justified in breaking off the negotiation. I have always thought, and maintained, my lords, that if there was any point which ought to be attended to more than another, if there was any point which ought to be insisted on in preference to every thing except our own vital interests, that point was, that Dalmatia and Istria, formerly dependencies of the Venetian states, should be evacuated by the French troops. In these points, then, I most unequivocally agree with the noble lord who has proposed the address. But while I say this, I beg not to be understood as approving all that passed in the course of this negotiation. Where we approve of the general result, we may still differ materially as to some particular parts. At the same time I am perfectly ready to allow, that where we do approve of the general principles that pervade the whole, and of the practical result, we ought not to be too fastidious respecting modes, or too particular in searching out minute and comparatively trifling errors. This I declared on a former occasion, and I still adhere to the opinion which I then expressed. But when a declaration is solemnly made to the public, which is not borne out by the papers now on your table, I must confess that this appears to me

me no trifling matter, and therefore it makes a most material difference. I allude, my lords, to the declaration of his majesty, where it is stated that the French, from the outset of the negotiation, agreed to proceed upon the basis of actual possession, subject to the interchange of such equivalents as might be for the advantage and honour of the two countries. Now I confess, that, after a most careful examination of these papers, I have found nothing in the whole of them that can be considered as a certain and unequivocal foundation for such a declaration. Before the arrival of lord Yarmouth in London, the basis of actual possession was so far from being agreed upon, that another very different was expressly stated to be the grounds upon which the French government would enter upon a negotiation. Lord Yarmouth, indeed, gives a statement in writing as a conversation which he had with Talleyrand, and he, no doubt, firmly believed that Talleyrand had proposed the basis of actual possession. But in looking over the papers, and examining with all the attention in my power the written account which the noble lord has given of that conversation, I can find nothing that can afford a distinct, precise, and unequivocal proof that the basis of actual possession was clearly agreed to by the French minister. It was not sufficient, then, that lord Yarmouth understood that the basis of actual possession had been acceded to by Talleyrand. But you ought to have demanded a precise and categorical recognition of that basis as a preliminary step, before you gave full powers to treat to your negotiator. This would have avoided all obscurity. There could have been no room, at least no fair grounds, for cavilling after this. I do not by any means object to previous communications: these may be useful and even necessary. Neither do I object to their production; but, as they form no part of the essence of the proceedings, they cannot be admitted as the only proof of the particular basis agreed upon. This ought to be clearly seen from the written and essential documents, and of all others this is the point upon which precision is necessary. But more particularly in the present instance, the utmost precision is to be expected, after the declaration which has been made by his majesty, that the French government, from the beginning, admitted the basis of actual possession.

Lord Sidmouth contended that though the basis of *uti possidetis* was not distinctly laid down in the written communications of the French government, yet that the tenor of all that occurred during the negotiation, afforded such strong presumption as amounted to complete proof, when taken together with the circumstance, that lord Yarmouth had been authorised to state that principle as the basis on which the negotiation was to be opened. Adverting to the state of the continent, he allowed that we had nothing on which we could rely for co-operation in our future contests with France, but Russia; it was certainly therefore impossible to look at the continent without alarm, but he would admit that there was not any cause for dismay. While the connection between that power and this country existed, hope would remain. It ought also to be considered, that the power which France now possessed was chiefly to be ascribed to

the military genius of her chief. With his death it would decrease if not terminate, and even during his life it could by no means be regarded as permanent. If this man were not to be a sole instance of the immutability of fortune, a single reverse would be more fatal to him than to any distinguished conqueror of former times.

Lord Grosvenor approved the principles exemplified by ministers throughout the whole course of the negotiation.

Lord Eldon and lord Lauderdale spoke on the subject, when the address was agreed to *n. m. diss.*

On the 5th of January the same business was brought on in the house of commons; when

Lord Howick rose, and spoke in substance as follows:—"Sir, the papers relative to the late negotiation, which were laid before this house by command of his majesty, having been so long in the hands of every member, it now becomes my duty, in conformity to the usage on such occasions, to submit to you such propositions as the consideration of them naturally suggests, and to move an address containing the sentiments which the house, I flatter myself, must be disposed to convey to the throne upon a subject so interesting to the public. In rising to perform this duty, I cannot but feel a deep regret, a deep and poignant regret, at the failure of an effort, on our part made with sincerity, and pursued with good faith, to put an end to the war upon terms advantageous to this country, and to all Europe; a regret in any circumstances justifiable and becoming, but at present aggravated by the events which have lately occurred upon the continent, and which seem to render the attainment of that object more difficult and more distant than ever. But besides these subjects of regret and of sorrow, I feel myself affected by painful emotions of a more private and personal nature. It is impossible for me to forget by whom, had it so pleased God, this important business would have been opened to the house. I cannot therefore present myself to your notice on this occasion, without being reminded of the infinite loss I have personally sustained in being deprived of my friend, of my instructor, without whom I should have felt no confidence in myself; and in reflecting upon the worth and the talents of Mr. Fox, the loss which the public have sustained is irresistibly forced upon my recollection. But if any thing could support and encourage me in the discharge of the duty now imposed upon me, it is the knowledge I possess of the principles and opinions which Mr. Fox held upon this subject, till he ceased to think at all; it is a knowledge that every sentiment of his heart, every effort of his faculties, was directed to secure the power, the peace, and the prosperity of his country. If I could suppose that the object of the proposition with which I shall conclude, would obtain that general concurrence it has received out of doors, and which indeed it has received in another house of parliament, my task would be generally lightened. But I know too well the severity of criticism, which I must expect to encounter here; and aware of the doubts which some gentlemen have signified respecting the conduct of the negotiation, the best way of removing them will be to give a clear and detailed statement of the whole transaction, to show that on the

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one hand the honour of the crown and the interests of the country were not committed by any unworthy concessions; and on the other hand to satisfy those, if there be any such, who may be inclined to disapprove of the result, that no means were left unemployed to obtain such a peace as might be consistent with the honour, the interests, and the prosperity of this nation. I do not know whether it will now be necessary to employ any argument to prove that peace is always desirable, and that it was proper with the view of obtaining it to negotiate. The question however is, whether admitting the general proposition to be true, did we stand in such a situation at the opening of the negotiation, as made it advisable to conclude a peace upon such fair and reasonable terms as we had a right to expect? I apprehend, then, that after the failure of the third coalition, after the fatal day of Austerlitz, there are few who will dispute that peace was desirable, provided it could be obtained without any sacrifices of our honour, without stripping us of the means of renewing the war, in case it was rendered necessary by the conduct of the enemy. Nay, some may think, that, without calculating upon its long duration, peace upon such terms was desirable, to procure a temporary repose. If these were the views which our situation naturally suggested, what were the principles on which negotiation was to be undertaken? Here I may refer for an answer to the second letter of Mr. Fox, in which he says, that the object of both parties should be 'a peace honourable for both, and their respective allies; and at the same time of a nature to secure, as far as in their power, the future tranquillity of Europe.' These principles I beg the house to keep in mind in judging of the conduct of ministers in the whole of the negotiation. Out of these sentiments, so expressed by Mr. Fox, grew several other points, and the leading principles or basis of the whole transaction. First, it was implied that we were to negotiate in conjunction with Russia; and secondly, that we should negotiate on the basis of actual possession, because, in order to be honourable, the negotiation must be equal; and it could not be equal, unless it presumed that neither party was reduced to the necessity of making concessions for purchasing peace. A peace negotiated upon such a principle, as that indicated in the letter of Mr. Fox, necessarily must have been honourable to ourselves, because it preserved our honour and our good faith, and looked to the general tranquillity of Europe. That the first overture came from France, I believe will now hardly be disputed. On a former day the right honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Canning) told us, that though the cause of the country was clear upon the face of the transaction, yet it was necessary for the vindication of ministers, as the attorneys for the nation, that they should prove three points: first, that the offer had been made by the enemy; secondly, that it was an offer to negotiate on the basis of actual possession; and thirdly, that we had observed good faith to our allies. As I have said, that the overture came from the enemy will hardly be disputed. That in answer to Mr. Fox's letter respecting the assassin, an answer was received from M. Talleyrand, inviting a friendly discussion, is evident

dent from the papers on the table. But, say the honourable gentlemen, it was on a different basis from that of actual possession. To be sure, it was; but what was the answer of Mr. Fox? Did he accept such an offer? Did he not answer distinctly that such a basis was wholly inadmissible, and the basis of the treaty of Amiens must of itself lead to confusion and embarrassment; as, besides other objections, it was capable of being interpreted in four different ways? It is unquestionably true, that considering the state of things at the commencement of the present war, no good could be expected from a negotiation on the basis of the treaty of Amiens, and Talleyrand quickly gives it up; and, indeed, falls into a train of observation that necessarily implies a basis of actual possession. He says, that it was not this nor that which led to the rupture of the peace, but causes quite independent of any state of possession; while he says, in express words, 'the emperor desires nothing which England possesses. You are great at sea, France is powerful by land, and France is willing to make great concessions for the sake of peace.' What else could such observations lead to, but a recognition of the basis of actual possession? I do not, however, mean to say that the letters of Talleyrand make any direct offer of the basis of *uti possidetis*. I have quoted them in explanation of the sentiments he entertained, and illustrative of what afterwards occurred. The offer of treating on the basis of actual possession was indeed directly made in another shape; and Talleyrand's letters show that he himself was aware that it was the only fair basis applicable to the situation of the two countries. In the letters, indeed, between Mr. Fox and M. Talleyrand, the discussion was chiefly upon the manner of treating, whether jointly with our allies, or separately. The proposal to treat separately was distinctly rejected by Mr. Fox in his answer to M. Talleyrand's dispatch, which I have just quoted. Talleyrand in his reply still insists on separate negotiations, and resorts to arguments about the failure of the coalition, telling us that we had no concern in those transactions which the arms of France had discomfited, forgetting that formerly Great Britain had been held forth as the author and inciter of these wars; forgetting too the unparalleled achievements of the 19th of October, followed up by the success of sir Richard Strachan, by which France must have so deeply felt the share which this country took in the events of that war. Talleyrand, too, talks of the danger of being outvoted in some new parliament or congress of the different powers. But it is needless to dwell upon the sophistry and absurdity of these reasonings. They vanished before the concise and luminous statements of Mr. Fox in his letter of the 20th of April, in which he shows how little such matters had to do with the real merits of the discussion. But this dispatch of the 20th of April remained unanswered so long, that it was thought by this government that the overture made by the enemy would have no further result; and indeed it is evident from the last paragraph of Mr. Fox's letter that he considered the matter as all over. Here, then, I would ask, whether up to this period of the negotiation there is any thing which any man can blame, any thing which,

which, were it to do, any man would choose to alter? A right honourable gentleman, indeed, did choose to taunt ministers on a former occasion with their simplicity and credulity, and affected to ridicule their diplomacy. But is this what the right honourable gentleman thinks deserving of ridicule? If it be true that ministers had claimed from the country the praise of good faith, and dignity in conduct, and of openness and simplicity in diplomatic language, Mr. Fox's correspondence with Talleyrand might be held forth as their title to that merit. If the people of this country had expected to see a noble simplicity of thought and expression, combined with the most dignified manliness of proceeding, distinguish their diplomacy, they would find the example in Mr. Fox's letters. If the people of England expected to see a commanding superiority of genius displayed in its diplomatic transactions; if they wished to see the honour of their country strongly contrasted with that of France; could they wish for a better instance than the correspondence of Mr. Fox with M. Talleyrand? I am glad to perceive this opinion ratified by that of this house, as I am convinced it must be by the judgment, not only of this country, but of all Europe and of posterity. After Mr. Fox's letter of the 20th of April, the negotiation seemed to be at an end, as no answer was received till the 4th of June, about which time also lord Yarmouth arrived from Paris. The letter of Talleyrand, then received, reverts generally to former discussions, and does not distinctly admit, either the basis of actual possession, or that we should negotiate jointly with Russia; though, in point of fact, it was accompanied with a direct overture, satisfactory on both these grounds. Talleyrand, however, proposes to recur to the precedent of 1782, though, indeed, he evidently misapprehends the true nature of the proceeding. Yet it is nevertheless true, that lord Yarmouth came over distinctly authorised to make an offer of negotiation on the basis of actual possession, and to be carried on jointly with Russia. This, indeed, accounts for the delay which had intervened. Talleyrand sent for lord Yarmouth, and told him that he had been looking for a person to carry a confidential communication to the British government. It is clear, from this, that Talleyrand was unwilling to commit himself in writing particularly respecting Hanover, and for that reason delayed sending the letter of the 2d of June till it was accompanied with an explanation of points he considered as too delicate to be in the first instance put in a dispatch. Upon this point the evidence of lord Yarmouth is full and decisive; and after his explanation in the house a few days ago, it is impossible for any man seriously to doubt that he was fully authorised by the French minister to offer the *uti possidetis*, and, in substance, joint negotiation. I beg, therefore, that gentlemen will resort to this as the best evidence, and not carp at any particular expressions in lord Yarmouth's communication of the 13th of June, a paper not drawn up with technical precision, nor intended for the public, but as a memorandum in the office of foreign affairs. Will it then be denied that lord Yarmouth brought for the consideration of ministers an offer of negotiation on the basis of the *uti possidetis*, and jointly with Russia?

Russia? Is not the testimony of lord Yarmouth sufficient? But is not lord Yarmouth's understanding, that the proposal of France was such as he had described it, proved by the whole tenor of the papers on the table? In the first conversation lord Yarmouth had with Talleyrand, does the latter deny those points? No. He, indeed, by his silence admits them, and only says, that as circumstances had changed greatly, he did not consider himself bound to the extent of former proposals; that Russia was negotiating separately, and Sicily had been found indispensable to Naples. Such are the topics advanced by Talleyrand; but never does he deny what lord Yarmouth asserts. Nay, in a subsequent conference, when the acknowledgment of the French titles and establishments is waved, it is proposed that Sicily should be given up for Hanover; thus in substance recognising the basis of *uti possidetis*, by proposing that we should give up for an equivalent that which it was agreed should be ceded purely and simply. The fact was never denied, though the terms were often changed. There are, indeed, some expressions in one of the notes of the French plenipotentiaries, which indeed seem to contradict the fact of the basis of actual possession having been admitted. It is said that such a thing never could have entered Bonaparte's head; and that, if he had negotiated on such a basis, he must have continued in possession of Moravia, Austria, &c. forgetting that at the time of this negotiation the French were in possession of none of those objects, and their arguments are so absurd they betray the consciousness of a bad cause. Can any one doubt, then, that the basis of actual possession was proposed by the French? Can it be denied at least that we understood that to be the basis? Is there any trace of our, at any period, having admitted another? Look at Mr. Fox's letter of the 5th of July, in which he instructs lord Yarmouth to put an end to the discussion, if the French government will not 'revert to its original proposals with which your lordship was charged.' Here I ought to take notice of a slight omission in the papers, which escaped my notice till pointed out. I had thought that the words '*nous ne vous demandons rien*,' which lord Yarmouth mentioned as used by Talleyrand, and which Mr. Fox says had been employed by M. Talleyrand in one of his letters to him, were actually in a letter among the papers on the table. It has been observed to me, however, that Mr. Fox was too accurate to quote words which had not been used, though the sentiment is found in substance in Talleyrand's second letter. In reality it has been discovered, that in the private letter of Talleyrand the latter uses the very words in question, accompanied with other expressions explanatory of them, such as 'that the emperor had now greatly changed his views of things, and was convinced that the greatness of England was compatible with the greatness of France, &c.' Clear it is, however, that ministers acted upon the supposition that France offered the basis of actual possession."

His lordship then gave an historical account of the negotiation; and answered with great eloquence the charge that ministers had been duped by the French. Turning to the affairs of Europe, he said, that from

from the present situation of the French armies, we may hope that the stupendous power they have created may be overturned. "I own," says the noble lord, "I am far from indulging a very sanguine hope. What is to be is in the hands of the Disposer of events. If Europe is to be saved, it will be by England and Russia. We have done what our honour and duty called upon us to do. I should now have concluded, but there are two points, which in justice I cannot pass over. On the 30th of August the negotiation appeared to be at an end; but on the 4th of September my noble friend was invited to a conference. The note said to be delivered to him by the French was in fact never delivered. If such a note had been received by him, and he had his passports with him, he ought not, and I trust he would not have waited a moment longer in France, but would instantly have considered the negotiation as at an end. The other point is, the charge that a sudden change had taken place in the negotiation after the political death of Mr. Fox: it was said that the war party had obtained the ascendancy, and that we wished to break off the negotiation. This I most positively deny. My noble friend (lord Grenville) has too independent a mind to have been directed by any leader; and I can take upon myself to declare, that there never was the smallest difference of opinion on the subject in the cabinet. The last letter written by my deceased friend on this subject is that of the 26th of June: but then he all along approved of every thing that was done, and in his last letter expresses his strong sense of the cavils of the French government, and directed that our negotiator should proceed no further, except the basis at first agreed upon should be recognised. In the last conversation which I had with him, which was on the 7th of September, the Sunday before his death, three great cardinal points were insisted upon by him: 1. The security of our honour in which Hanover was concerned. 2. The Russian connection. 3. Sicily. The grounds on which the negotiation broke off, were in direct conformity with this opinion. On this occasion he told me, that the ardent wishes of his mind were, to consummate, before he died, two great works on which he had set his heart; and these were, the restoration of a solid and honourable peace, and the abolition of the slave-trade.

"I have now endeavoured to show from these papers that the first overture came from France: next, that the basis agreed upon for conducting the negotiation was that of actual possession: and lastly, that no terms could be procured that could be accepted, with a view to the interests of Europe, and the maintenance of the most inviolable good faith towards our allies. I shall move, That an address be presented to his majesty, to acknowledge with gratitude the benevolent effort made by his majesty to restore to the country the blessings of peace: that, while we lament the unsuccessful result of the attempt, we feel the fullest conviction that this failure can be ascribed only to the injustice and ambition of the French government, &c. &c."

Lord Yarmouth wished to trouble the house for a short time, in this early stage of the debate, as he had a few facts to state regarding

ing the negotiation in which he had taken so considerable a share, for the purpose of refuting certain attempts to throw blame upon his conduct. After briefly touching upon the commencement of the negotiation, he proceeded to justify himself for what he had been censured, producing his full powers. He found D'Oubril in Paris; and it was a fact, that whoever had been sent from England, could not have remained in Paris twelve hours without exhibiting his full powers. His lordship saw the first minister of France at once, who told him that circumstances were materially changed. He repeated to Talleyrand the basis of actual possession, and he was almost certain that no objection would have been started against it, or that it would have received any other construction than its fair and obvious meaning, had it not been for the melancholy event of the death of Mr. Fox. It was also a fact that, upon one occasion, Talleyrand in a passion declared he had never proposed the *uti possidetis*; but lord Yarmouth said he was positive as to the fact of his having proposed that as the basis, at least as one of the bases, for the conclusion of peace. He was ordered not to produce his full powers till the basis of peace was acknowledged: but at that moment D'Oubril had arrived in Paris; but whether that minister was authorised or not to subscribe the treaty between Russia and France, was a thing to which he could not speak, having no knowledge of the instructions with which that minister was intrusted. When that treaty was signed, then began the difficulties of his lordship's situation. A paper of Saturday, in detailing the debate in the house of lords on Friday, had said, "that so positive were ministers on this point, that lord Yarmouth had been desired not to produce his full powers, until he should have obtained a written document from the French government." His lordship answered to that, he had no such instructions; indeed, if he had, they would have been unavailing, as no minister can negotiate with a French minister without previously exhibiting his full powers; and it was impossible for him, in such circumstances, to refuse communicating his powers. His lordship next proceeded to notice the conduct of ministers in the terms they now seemed to adhere to in respect to peace with France. They had, in his opinion, thrown aside a peace offered them upon highly advantageous terms, and had resisted for two objects, neither of which could fairly be considered as genuine British objects. The first of these was the restitution of Sicily to its lawful sovereign; and the second was, the evacuation of Dalmatia by the French, an object more properly belonging to Russia. The noble lord enlarged upon these errors, and endeavoured to show their impolicy. He, however, concluded by supporting the motion for the address.

Mr. Montague could not assent to the address, on the principles advanced by ministers, in justification of their conduct in the recent discussions with France. He thought the negotiation should not have been commenced or carried on as it had been. The enemy had, *in limine*, a great advantage in the known predilection of Mr. Fox for peace. It was on this principle avowed, at the most unfavourable periods of hostility, that the French minister built his hopes

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of cajoling him into terms. He was, in fact, practising on the weak side of Mr. Fox. However he might have endeavoured, with this view, to impress the British minister with a notion of his being ready to treat on the basis of the *uti possidetis*, there was nothing in the papers to show that he had ever been distinctly brought to admit it. The only thing which appeared on the face of them was, that Mr. Fox, from his extreme anxiety to bring about a peace, was labouring throughout to bring the French government to some such basis. We had been duped and bamboozled by Talleyrand, who, whenever he chose, on a pretence of his going to St. Cloud to the emperor, stuck up the British negotiator, like a pin, to be stared at. The situation of lord Lauderdale, between Messrs. Clarke, Talleyrand, and their master, could be compared only to that of the man who was lately attacked in Bond-street by some prostitutes, two of whom held him fast while a third rifled his pockets. He was there only to give effect to the views of the enemy.

Sir T. Turton was of opinion, that the negotiation did not commence in the most dignified manner; but on looking at the papers on the table, he was convinced that it was too hastily broken off.

Mr. Whitbread, after making a few remarks on the extraordinary speech of Mr. Montague, proceeded to observe, that he could not without experiencing the bitterest anguish, entertain a difference of opinion on this negotiation, commenced by one sincere friend, and conducted by others for whom he felt the greatest esteem. When he read the documents which were lying on the table of the house, and perused them most attentively, he found in them parts of which he highly approved, and others of which he greatly disapproved. All that part which preceded the political death, as it had been called, of that illustrious man (Mr. Fox) claimed his approbation and support; but when death closed the eyes of his ever-to-be-lamented friend, he saw, between the beginning and the end of the negotiation, obvious characters which distinguished them. The honourable member opposite (Mr. Montague) had censured the letter of Mr. Fox respecting the assassin; but he was sure, that if any part of the conduct of his departed friend deserved to be held up to the view of his country more than another, it was that proof of his noble mind and characteristic humanity. When such a circumstance came to his knowledge, it was his duty to communicate it:—he, who knew Mr. Fox, would not suspect him of having made such a communication with a view of bringing about a negotiation, but must take it to be what it really was, the warm effusion of a manly disposition and most exalted feelings towards an enemy in such circumstances. It was this communication, however, which brought about the negotiation. Here he could willingly cease to trespass on the indulgence of the house, but should, even against his inclination, proceed to consider its progress. It would be perceived, from perusing the documents laid before parliament, that it was the first endeavour of that great man to get rid of all forms as much as possible; and, secondly, to stipulate that the terms should be honourable for the allies of both parties, &c. There was a jealousy in his mind respecting the part which this

this country should take in continental affairs: he was apprehensive that it was the intention of France to exclude England from interference on the continent; but his fears were removed on this head by the declaration of the French government, and the readiness with which the continental connections of Great Britain were allowed in the most unequivocal terms. The head of the French empire acceded to this general proposition, the instant it was submitted. The next question was respecting negotiation conjointly with Russia; on this the difference and difficulty arose; for on our part it was declared, that if France did not admit Russia as a party, the negotiation could not proceed. The house would observe, during this whole time there was no mention of the unfortunate words *uti possidetis*. The real ground, in the first instance, was the stipulation of honourable terms for our allies; and next, that Russia should be admitted to the negotiation, conjointly with this country. He had listened with the utmost attention to the speech of his noble friend; and either from perversion of understanding, or some extraordinary misapprehension, he could not make out that any thing more had been meant. He had also carefully read the papers, and they confirmed him in the opinion, that this was the outline or basis proposed in the beginning. He did not mean to say that his majesty's ministers did not wish for peace; on the contrary, he believed that every one of them was sincerely desirous of it; he knew it was the object nearest the heart of his illustrious friend, now no more; and he felt convinced that the rest of the ministers were equally anxious for its attainment: he should state at the same time, that he had no doubt of the sincerity of France in all her professions for the same blessing; he did not give any credit to the duplicity charged against the enemy on this subject; he conceived that all the assertions made respecting the tergiversation and deception of the French government were founded in error and misrepresentation of the fact. There was an obvious reason for his believing this to have been the case, namely, that France could gain nothing by protracting the war with this country. His noble friend contended, that our negotiation had not produced the smallest injury to the affairs of the continent. In this, however, he differed from him in every respect. Were we to suppose that the continuance of this negotiation, and the shape which it assumed, had not produced any of those events which caused the late disasters? Could it be said that it had not considerably influenced the confederation of the Rhine, and its consequences? In fine, if the negotiation had produced any thing, it was the war between France and Prussia; for the latter stated in its declaration, that France was negotiating to take from her the possession of Hanover, which she had guarantied already. This, in fact, was one of the essential points on which the war broke out between them. He did not blame ministers for that event. They had been placed between two evils, and they chose what they thought the lesser:—but to come to the negotiation itself. Here the honourable member went through the history of the business as it concerned lord Yarmouth. In this state of things, it was deemed proper to send

send over another negotiator, and no one, certainly, could be fitter for the discharge of so important a business than his noble friend (lord Lauderdale), notwithstanding the objections made to him by the honourable gentleman (Mr. Montague), from the noble lord's great talents, his natural acuteness, his habits for business, and more than all, his intimate acquaintance with the minister of France. When the noble lord went to Paris, he carried with him positive instructions, conformably to which he acted with the utmost strictness, and upheld thereby what was termed the honour of his country. If he had any objection to make, it was, that the noble lord had been too peremptory in forms; for it should be observed, that till that time the *uti possidetis* had not been made a *sine quâ non*. On his arrival, the noble lord presented a note in writing, stating the general terms on which the negotiation should be conducted; insisting, however, that first, the French government should return to the basis of the *uti possidetis*, otherwise that the negotiation must be broken off. When the French government considered the nature of these demands, and the tone in which they were made; when they reflected on the time likewise, and the peculiar circumstances attending it; when they coupled with these facts and appearances the political death of Mr. Fox, whose character, whatever may be thought of it in this country, was looked up to in the rest of Europe with veneration, it could not fail to have caused very great sensations in France and throughout the continent. Though his noble friend (lord Howick) had been amongst the ablest supporters of that astonishing man for many years, and he believed, as he had already stated, that all the ministers were sincere in their wishes for peace, yet it was in the nature of things that the French government, considering the whole of the men who composed his majesty's councils, should have contemplated a change of measures, and a departure from the system which they might have expected from Mr. Fox. He considered it unfortunate, therefore, that at such a crisis the noble lord should have been sent over with the abstract basis of *uti possidetis*, and that it should likewise have been so peremptorily demanded. He did not hesitate to say, that, under certain circumstances, a degree of allowance ought to be made; and though immediate compliance was not the result of his noble friend's application to the French government, yet a short delay and dignified firmness might have answered better than the intemperate note which was delivered in on the 9th of August, together with a demand for passports. In two days after, namely, on the 11th, came a note of a milder nature. Considering the moderation which this note exhibited, compared to that in answer to his lordship's first note, and viewing also the explanation which it contained, of the basis of *uti possidetis*, he thought it would be more advisable to have gone on with the negotiation, than to be occupied in discussing the abstract principle. He really thought, that after the receipt of the 11th of August his noble friend might have been a little more yielding and moderate. On the whole, he was of opinion that all the time which elapsed in discussing the abstract terms of the *uti possidetis* was completely

wasted, particularly when the general ground had been already well explained and fully understood, namely, mutual exchange and compensations for cessions. On the 18th of August his noble friend brought himself to listen to terms: but he lamented that what was done on the 18th had not been done on the 11th; if so, he thought peace might have been obtained on terms consistent with the honour and interests of this country, and, under existing circumstances, compatible perhaps with the tranquillity of Europe. His noble friend (lord Howick) stated, that peace could not be expected after Bonaparte had put himself at the head of his armies against Prussia. He did not wish to aggravate the calamities of those who were fallen; but this country could not forget the conduct of Prussia for the last fourteen years, when she was a spectator of those events which she might have prevented: but unfortunately she put herself at last into a situation which must unavoidably bring on her ruin. In speaking of the conduct of Bonaparte in respect to Prussia and other potentates, his noble friend indulged himself in terms of indignation and great resentment: when, however, we declaimed on the rapine, injustice, and oppression of the enemy, we should not be blind to the aggression, injustice, cruelty, and tyranny of other powers, who had perpetrated the foulest deeds, and outraged humanity! When his noble friend resorted to topics which could only inflame, he ought not to forget the state of Poland. How could the three powers who partitioned that unfortunate country, pass through it, or lead on their armies for continuing the subjugation of the people, without feelings of compunction and remorse? How could they take the field in defence of what they called their dominions, which consisted in reality of millions bending under the pressure of their despotism? Before we lashed others for their vices, we should look at our own conduct in many parts. What example did we exhibit, either of justice, mercy, forbearance, or good government, in the East Indies! We should not, with so many failings of our own, be too inconsiderate in our abuse of others; we should practise morality, virtue, moderation, and strict justice, if we wished to set ourselves up as an example of rectitude and inviolable honour to the nations of Europe—we should be in reality what we wished to exhibit ourselves. He would now ask, for what it was we went to war? Was it to repel and destroy the armaments of the enemy in his harbours? No such thing. He was one of those who supported the treaty of Amiens, which had been broken to preserve and secure the possession of Malta. How often had the ruler of France declared that he would not listen to any terms of peace but those of the treaty of Amiens! And on this point the war broke out; but now we see that not only Malta would be given up in full sovereignty to the king of England, but the Cape, Pondicherry, &c. together with Hanover, that jewel without which some persons think the crown would be imperfect. No, all this would not suffice; you must have Sicily. He granted, that having taken upon ourselves the security of that island for its sovereign, it was incumbent upon us to perform our engagement. But was there no way of bringing about

about an arrangement on that point? Surely it would not be contended, that war, eternal war, should be waged, for the sake of keeping Sicily for its sovereign. But this was not all, Dalmatia also must be kept; one reason was, that if it was in the possession of France, the armies and the intrigues of that country would foment discord, and encourage rebellion in Turkey, and therefore possession of it must be given either to Austria or Russia. But he begged the house to consider attentively, that by the treaty of Luneville, Dalmatia had been ceded by France to Austria; and such is the rapid and uncertain course of events, it was given back to France by the treaty of Presburgh, which followed the overthrow of the third coalition. He wished ministers to recollect the famous speech of Mr. Fox on the 21st of June, respecting the mediation of Russia, and particularly that passage in which he advised the minister to put himself in the situation of the power with whom he was at war, and at the commencement of a negotiation to ask himself, what terms he ought to accept, if he were placed as the enemy was? The application of this principle was obvious; he therefore begged of ministers to consider what they would have done after the battle of Austerlitz, and the destruction of the ill-formed and ill-executed third coalition. Let them condescend to put themselves in the situation of France, and he was sure they would not give up Dalmatia. But again, he would ask, can this country, can Russia take it from France? No: and if not, shall the flames of war continue to rage through and desolate Europe, because France will not surrender it? He was sorry for having trespassed so long on the time and indulgence of the house; but he should now conclude with stating that he disapproved of the address, as it was worded at present. He did not think we were justified in saying that the negotiation had wholly failed in consequence of the injustice and ambition of France: if it shall appear that we have thrown away the scabbard; and if others thought as he did, he felt it his duty to state that peace may still be made. There was not a man who would approach the throne with more enthusiastic veneration and loyalty than he should, in presenting an address of support to carry on war; but he wished, at the same time, that the way of peace should not be blocked up, nor the fountain of mercy dried up by the thirst of war. He then moved an amendment to the address, the object of which was to express the readiness of the house of commons to co-operate with his majesty in the vigorous prosecution of the war, and their hope, that his majesty would make every arrangement consistent with the honour of his crown and the interests of his people, for facilitating the restoration of peace.

The motion being seconded by Mr. G. Johnstone:

Mr. Canning expressed his surprise that no attempt was made by any of his majesty's ministers to answer the observations from the hon. gentleman. He confessed there was much of that gentleman's speech in which he coincided, while he was obliged to differ from him in his conclusions. He should now advert to the three points which the noble lord had, on a former day, animadverted upon as having been

stated and canvassed by him. The first respected the overture of peace coming from the enemy: the second, the basis of the *uti possidetis* which was adopted by the British government: thirdly, the nature of our alliance and connection with Russia, and our faith towards our allies. He was now perfectly satisfied that the overture first came from France: his having advanced a different opinion had proceeded from the interpolations and fabrications which marked the publication of the official documents by the French government. He must continue to think that the mode in which the correspondence was opened, appeared unworthy of the mind and character of the great man by whom it was commenced. As to the good faith which government observed towards our allies, it afforded him great satisfaction: he could not help thinking that Russia was made our debtor; while he was willing to confess, that if no such stipulations had united us to Russia as those with which we were bound, yet a large and liberal policy would have prescribed the mode of conduct with which we had acted towards her. There was, however, a great chasm in the correspondence, which must have left unexplained much of the nature of that connection and concert between the two courts. He was aware, indeed, that prudence and discretion might justify these omissions; and he was ready to give government credit for not disclosing it. He must, nevertheless, beg leave to observe, that while good faith was adhered to, the policy of the thing should not have been overlooked. It might be asked, what should be the result of a combined negotiation between two great powers? Not that they should be obliged to agree on every point; but that their conduct should convince the world, that their joint efforts were openly and steadily directed to rescue Europe from its present state of thraldom, and secure its independence for the future. These views it was not politic to conceal, whether we were to negotiate separately, as to form, with Russia, or jointly as to substance. The spirit and object of the negotiation should not only be known here, but be held forth to the knowledge of the whole world. Was this joint resolution made known, however, at Berlin? Was it known at Vienna? Was it known to Europe? Did not the notion entertained of it create despondency and despair at Berlin? See how it is mentioned in the Prussian manifesto, and attend to the effects which ignorance of it produced there. The stipulations were believed to be hostile to Prussia; and the distinct courses pursued by M. d'Oubril and lord Yarmouth gave sufficient countenance to such a supposition. With respect to the *uti possidetis*, the more he considered the subject, the more he was convinced that the papers on the table did not make out the charge urged against the enemy, viz. that he opened the negotiation on that basis, and that he departed from it. This was an issue of fact; and were the evidence brought forward in support, and laid before an ordinary jury, it would be found not proved.

Here the honourable member entered into an elaborate discussion of all the points that bore upon the subject, and thus concluded—

"Sir, I understand the amendment of the honourable gentleman (Mr. Whitbread) has been disposed of. It is hardly necessary to say, that

that my vote is given most cordially against it. I cannot agree with him, that such a peace appears to have been within our reach, as would alone justify his insinuation, that a favourable opportunity has been thrown away. I do not wonder at his indignation, at finding himself left alone in opinions which he has held for so many years in common with many of those who sit around him. Consistently with those opinions, the honourable gentleman had a right to press such an amendment, and to expect a very different reception of it. I certainly rejoice in that change of opinion which leaves him without support; though, perhaps, I, like him, may be surprised at it. But I am still more surprised that, having determined to make no peace but one of a very different character from that with which the honourable gentleman would have been satisfied, his honourable friends should have been eight months in making the discovery, that a peace of a higher character was not to be obtained. With respect to the address itself, I should be very loth indeed, upon any slight ground, to break in upon that unanimity which is so desirable in a vote which is to assure his majesty of the support of his people; and which may be considered as addressed, in a certain degree, to the enemy and to Europe. My only difficulty arises from those general expressions of lamentation at the issue of the negotiation, in which I cannot concur, without at least explaining and qualifying my concurrence. Regret or satisfaction at any event depends, in a great degree, upon comparison. We compare what we have missed, with what remains to us instead of it; and it is thus, in certain cases, very possible to rejoice at having missed what was positively a good, or to regret what would have been a positive evil. Thus, war is undoubtedly *per se* a great calamity, and peace an inestimable blessing; but war may yet be felt to be preferable to an inglorious and insecure peace. On the other hand, an inglorious and insecure peace is to be deprecated as an evil; yet it is possible that a war may be so conducted as to render even such a peace an object of desire. Ministers have so contrived as to make this a question of no small doubt and perplexity. They make the choice between peace and war difficult, or, perhaps, almost indifferent. When I peruse their negotiations, and see to what sort of a peace alone they could have led; with what chance of security, with what hope of permanence; I am inclined to congratulate myself on the escape from such a peace to a continuance of the war: but on the other hand, when I observe what sort of a war the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Windham) carries on, I can scarce refrain from casting back a wishful look at the negotiation. If the war were conducted with that ability which we had a right to expect from the character which the present administration gave of themselves, or suffered to be given of them by those nearest in their confidence, and from the unsparing censure and contempt which they lavished on the exertions of their predecessors in office; if it were conducted with that vigour which the country has a right to demand at their hands, trusting them as it does with all its means, and seconding them with all its zeal and exertion; if any blow had been struck against the enemy in the course of

the year, during which these ministers have wielded the whole strength of the empire; if every effort had been made, or even every disposition manifested, to give heart and hope to the nations of the continent, so that out of such a war might arise the promise of an honourable, a secure, and a permanent peace; unquestionably, in that situation of things the rupture of the late negotiation would be matter of unqualified joy, and I could not bring myself to concur in lamenting it. But if the war that is to come, is to be the counterpart of that which we have hitherto witnessed since the accession of the present administration; if the events and exertions of the last ten months are to be taken as the sample and the measure of our activity and achievements; if while the enemy insultingly tell us at every step of the negotiation, 'beaucoup se prépare,' and, telling us so, uniformly keep their word—on our part such opportunities are to be thrown away as have existed for the last three months, and which exist still had we the spirit to take advantage of them; if Bonaparte may traverse the continent of Europe to its furthest extremities, and drain France of her last man, relying as fearlessly and as securely upon our supineness, our sloth, and our despondency, as he could have done upon our faithful observance of the stipulations of the most advantageous treaty of peace; and, lastly, if that disheartening maxim, to which I have already had occasion to refer with sorrow and shame; that maxim which was so deeply impressed upon the mind of government, even so long ago as the beginning of the negotiation, that it overflowed in confidential communication to France herself; the maxim that there is nothing so chimerical as any new project of continental confederacy against France;—if that, I say, still prevails, and prevails with all the additional weight which it may have acquired from the unfortunate events which have taken place since it was first promulgated;—then indeed, seeing little to expect from such a war, conducted on such principles, under such auspices, and with no better hopes in the minds of those who have the charge of it, I can in that sense join in expressing my regret at the failure of the negotiation; and with that explanation I am willing to vote for the address as it stands."

Lord Henry Petty, in a speech of considerable ability, endeavoured to prove the existence and the importance of the basis of actual possession. "The existence of it," he said, "was every where to be collected from the replies of M. Talleyrand, and its importance and utility were abundantly proved by the unfair attempts made by the French negotiators to get rid of it, when circumstances arose that seemed to justify the assumption of more favourable ground." He concluded by defending his majesty's ministers from the charge of their having been duped by the enemy.

Mr. Perceval, lord Howick, and Mr. Whitbread spoke also on the subject; when the address was agreed to, and ordered to be presented by such members as belonged to his majesty's most honourable privy council.

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CHAPTER II.

Debates on the Ordnance Estimates—on Lord Grenville's Motion for the Abolition of the Slave-trade—Lord Castlereagh's Motion on the State of the Army—Debates on the Army Estimates—Motion respecting Colonel Cawthorne—Army Estimates continued—Lord Folkestone's Motion respecting the Marquis of Wellesley—Mr. Swan's Motion on Pensions and Sinecure Places—Freehold Estates' Assets Bill—Mr. Wilberforce's Motion on the Slave-trade—Lord Henry Petty's Plan of Finance—Debates in the House of Lords on the Abolition of the Slave-trade—on Mr. Biddulph's Motion on Sinecure Places—Lord Castlereagh's Plan of Finance.

WE have the satisfaction of recording in this chapter, the debate which led to the passing of a bill, in the house of peers, for the total and almost immediate abolition of that iniquitous traffic, the slave-trade. The subject must be resumed in the following chapter, when we shall see that measure accomplished, which has agitated the whole country, more or less, for the last twenty years. The plans of finance proposed by lord Henry Petty and lord Castlereagh will be deemed of great importance; and on that account we have given, among the public papers, in another part of the volume, their resolutions at large, that posterity, as well as the present generation, may judge of the wisdom and excellence belonging to each scheme.

The house of commons, on the 7th of January, resolved itself into a committee of supply; when

Mr. Calcraft, in moving the ordnance estimates, said, he felt much satisfaction in being able to inform the committee, that there was a considerable reduction in the estimates he had now to submit to them, compared to those of last year: he did not mean, in stating this, to claim any extraordinary merit as due to the present board of ordnance: he rather thought that the present reduction might more justly be imputed to the adequate supplies of former years, which, in facilitating the progress of public works, had lessened the grants of money necessary to support them. If the board of ordnance had any claim to merit, it was for the uniform zeal with which the board had resisted all the projects of expenditure that had been submitted to them, and consulted upon all occasions the most practical œconomy. The principal reductions were owing to the completion of those great works in Kent, and upon the coast of Sussex, which, while erecting, were productive of an expense of no inconsiderable magnitude. The sum now required would be found to be 600,000*l.* less than that voted last year, and this, too, notwithstanding the increase of men in one battalion of foot artillery, the increased expense of the establishments of engineers, and the augmentation of pay to the artillery, granted by his majesty. The diminution in the ordnance estimates for Ireland would be found

to be in the same proportion, and to be ascribed to the same cause; and he felt warranted in saying, that whoever should have the honour of discharging the next year the duty he was now called on to perform, would then have a more pleasing task, as the reduction would, by that time, be still greater, as the lines of Chatham, and the great works now carrying on at Dover and on the coast, would then be completed.

The following sums were voted without any further observations:

	£.	s.	d.
To defray the charges of ordnance for the year 1805, not made good by parliament,	301,406	9	8
To do. for 1806	262,365	14	2
For charge of ordnance, 1807,	2,278,197	0	10
For do. for Ireland	479,246	19	7

On the next day Mr. Johnstone said, that, in looking over the estimates, he had observed that there was a charge of 54,400*l.* for ordnance for the island of Ceylon, which appeared exorbitant. One of the items of this charge was for powder. It was, surely, unnecessary to send powder from this country, as it could have been procured infinitely cheaper from our settlements in the East Indies. Another circumstance which struck him with surprise was the charge of 1000*l.* for worms, turn-screws, &c. for England, while the charge for the same articles for Ireland exceeded 7000*l.*

Mr. Calcraft, in answer, on a subsequent day, said, that the governor of Ceylon had required a supply of English gunpowder in preference to that of our eastern settlements, owing to the superior quality of the former. As to the apparent disproportion of the charges for worms and screws for England and Ireland, it was to be considered, that of the supplies hitherto furnished for the service of England, 9,100*l.* remained unexpended; so that towards the customary annual supply there was but a deficit of 900*l.*, whereas there was no remainder to supply the yearly demand for Ireland: this statement, however, as it stood, made, in this case, the ordnance estimates of England to those of Ireland in the ratio of 7 to 9, which was by no means in due proportion. As to the officers of ordnance in Ireland, they were entitled to every praise for the strictest œconomy, and the most laudable attention to the duties of the department.

The estimates were accordingly agreed to.

In the house of peers, lord Grenville moved, on the 12th of January, the second reading of the bill for the abolition of the slave-trade: upon which

Lord Hawkesbury adverted to the resolution of the last session, to address his majesty to make such communications to foreign powers as his majesty should deem advisable, with the view of procuring the abolition of the slave-trade: he thought the house ought to be informed of what had been done in pursuance of it. There were five powers who were materially interested in the slave-trade, viz. Portugal, and the united states of America, France, Spain, and Holland: Denmark and Sweden had also some interest in the trade, but

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it was of a subordinate nature. With respect to Spain and Holland, he could readily conceive that there had been no means of making any communication on the subject with these powers. He did not know whether, during the late negotiation with France, any communication had been made on the subject; but it was a point of which he thought the house ought to be informed: so also with respect to the united states of America, and Portugal. He therefore moved an address to his majesty, requesting him to order copies of all communications which had passed between his majesty and foreign powers, respecting the abolition of the slave-trade, to be laid before the house; which, after some conversation with lord Grenville, was agreed to.

On the same day, lord Castlereagh, in the other house, moved for a monthly return of the effective amount of our regular force, from the 1st of March 1806 to the 1st of January 1807, distinguishing the amount of the several corps; also distinguishing the number of our forces at home and abroad, with a monthly return of the English and Irish militia. If those papers, he said, afforded no proof of the superior efficacy of the right honourable secretary's military plan, he could not expect those who felt for their country's safety and military character would permit a plan to go on undisturbed, which changed the foundation upon which our military system had so long and so securely rested; that they would suffer that change to continue, which, upon the right honourable gentleman's proposition, was introduced last session into the mutiny-act. If it should appear that the new root which the right honourable gentleman had then planted, instead of producing an immediate increase or procuring a permanent supply to the army, was likely to produce discontent and ultimate weakness; surely parliament would not hesitate to have it torn up. What the papers referred to might show, he would not say; but unless he were at present very ill advised, by persons competent to judge upon military questions, the change alluded to would be found to have had a mischievous operation, and to threaten more mischief if it were not removed, and the system restored to which our army was indebted for its prosperity, its strength, and long-established character.

This motion, after some conversation in which Mr. Windham took a part, was carried; and

On the 21st the house went into a committee of supply, to which were referred the army estimates presented by the secretary of war, who said, that as the estimates he had to move were, with very few exceptions, made conformable to those of last year, it would not be necessary for him to trespass upon the house, at any considerable length, in stating them minutely. In the multiplicity of services comprehended in the estimates, some variations in the charges must occur; but the variation was small; the difference was in point of number of men 5,284, and in point of charge 9,176*l.* There was thus an excess in this year, but still there was a nearer coincidence than in any other two years. Here the honourable member went into the details, and concluded by saying: On the whole view of the estimate, there was ground for congratulating the country on an augmentation

tation of the number of forces, and a decrease of the expense of the establishment of 150,000*l*. The additional expenses upon the whole, inclusive of the additional pay, were but 451,000*l*. On the full consideration of the estimates, he was of opinion, that the honourable gentleman, who had the other night given notice of a charge against ministers for the waste of the public money, would be very much at a loss for any foundation in the military departments. In 1806, when the present ministers had first come into office, if they had proceeded according to the system before acted upon, without any reformation, the total charge would have amounted to no less than 14,800,000*l*. He did not mean to state, that his majesty's late ministers would have come to parliament for that sum; but that they must have asked for that sum according to the former scale, unless certain reductions, of which he was not aware, should have taken place. Thus there would have been, according to the last scale, an additional charge of 640,000*l*. There were only two or three other points upon which he would have to claim the indulgence of that house. The general training he should leave to his right honourable friend, who had formed the plan, and to whose department it belonged. He should therefore content himself with stating, that the returns had been made, and that every thing was ready for carrying it into execution whenever his majesty's ministers should think fit. The next point was that of the volunteers; and it was matter of satisfaction to him to state, as he was sure it would be to every person in the house to hear, that all the gloomy apprehensions that had been formed, and all the dire predictions that had been put forth, of the whole dissolution of that respectable body, in consequence of the reductions made in its expenditure in the last session, had been completely falsified in the event. During the agitation of the public mind, and of the volunteers, which had been produced by misrepresentation and studied irritation, while the subject was under discussion, some symptoms of disinclination to further service might have appeared; but, on better consideration and better understanding, these ill-advised discontents subsided, and the same ardour for the service of the country prevailed, without any material defalcation in point of numbers. By the papers on the table it appeared, that the diminution in the effective strength of the volunteers was very inconsiderable; but he would state the amount of the establishment rather than the effective, as that would afford the fairest means of judging of the effect of the operation of the late regulations. At the present moment the apprehension of invasion, that had called forth and stimulated the volunteers, had subsided, and some relaxation of activity may have arisen in consequence; but there was no doubt that this highly estimable description of the public force would again display its characteristic zeal and spirit, if a renewal of the enemy's menaces should call for a similar ardour and energy. The honourable gentlemen opposite seemed to triumph in this testimony to the merit of the volunteers, as if it was a sort of inconsistency in his majesty's present servants. But the present ministers had found fault, not with the volunteers themselves, but

but with the manner in which the honourable gentlemen opposite had organized them. Certainly the present ministers had never been guilty of uttering any charge so disrespectful, as that so pertinaciously upheld by the honourable gentleman opposite, that the volunteers would disband themselves in the event of any reduction of their pay or allowances. He was confident, that the volunteers were still actuated by the same steady attachment to the cause of their country, and equally ready to expose their lives for its defence, though their pay was diminished. He thought the proper way of judging this point was, to take the amount of the establishment, which would best show the numbers that had disbanded themselves from disaffection with the new arrangement. The whole number that had retired from this, was 11,886. The number that remained on service was 363,400. The next point was the alteration in the system of recruiting, a point which had been discussed more than any other. The explanation of what had taken place on this head belonged more properly, perhaps, to a person much more able than he; but in consideration of the anxiety which the house naturally felt upon it, he thought it right to say something with respect to it here. It would be remembered by many gentlemen, that so long as twelve years ago, he had urged the propriety of adopting a measure of this kind for the melioration of the army. It would be remembered also, that he never expected, from the adoption of it, any sudden effect; but rather a gradual melioration in the recruiting of the army, leading finally to the most beneficial effects. He was of opinion that the measure, so far as it had now been tried, gave full appearance of the benefits he had anticipated; and he was satisfied that, while it continued to be tried, it would be found more beneficial every year. It was no argument against the permanent benefit, that no rapid improvement had yet been felt. It was not till last October that the measure had been regularly carried into effect; consequently there had not been a fair trial in the last year. It would perhaps be taking too much credit to this measure, to impute to it the whole of the improvement in the recruiting department that had taken place since October; but it was certain, that it had been eminently successful in the two great objects of obtaining a greater number of men at a lower bounty. It had also been eminently successful in another great and beneficial point of view, the diminution of desertion. These great advantages were conspicuous in the short period of the last year, in which the new system had been acted upon; and if it had been tried in the other eight months of the year, he was certain the beneficial effects of it would have been more conspicuous.—These were the only topics he felt it his duty to notice. If any gentleman required further explanations, he would most readily give them. He concluded with moving, that 113,795 effective men be granted to his majesty, for guards and garrisons in Great Britain.

Lord Castlereagh rose. He said he had listened with great attention to the statement of the right honourable gentleman; and though he did not mean to enter into the items, he confessed he certainly

tainly felt considerable difficulty in entering into this discussion, from the circumstance of the estimates not being printed, and still more from the want of any distinct specification as to a great part of the expense that had arisen out of the new measures adopted in the last session. It was difficult to come prepared to state an opinion generally upon a large branch of the public expenditure, when a great part of the expenditure of that branch remained wholly unexplained. He thought parliament was unnecessarily subjected to this difficulty, and that a more full explanation might have been afforded before the estimates were called for. The right honourable gentleman who had opened this debate was not in the immediate councils of his majesty; but he held a high and responsible situation, and ought, therefore, to be able to assign sufficient grounds for the manner in which he acted. In the last year, the right honourable gentleman had brought forward the army-estimates four times, instead of once, in order to allow time to mature the arrangements which were then under contemplation. He wished to know, why the same space might not be now allowed for the completion and elucidation of arrangement, and what occasion there was for the present unexampled precipitancy? There was on the notice-book, an intimation from the right honourable gentleman at the head of the admiralty, that he meant on Friday to move for 10,000 additional seamen. He did not suppose that he should resist the motion; but he thought it would have been better to complete the arrangement for the year before any yearly estimates were submitted, rather than to come forward with an imperfect estimate in the first instance, and a supplementary estimate after. He was sorry to see the house called upon by the present proposition to sanction, by implication, the new military measures, the charges for which were included in the vote without any explanation as to their effect or their distinct expense. He, for one, thought that system could not possibly be persevered in. It was particularly improper to call on a new parliament, at the close of the Christmas holidays, when members were not in full attendance, to approve those measures, without a full explanation of their effect, and a distinct specification of the expense. This precipitancy was the less excusable, as there would have been no difficulty to vote any necessary sum on account, in order to allow time to place the whole subject, in all its branches, fully under the view of the house. The right honourable gentleman had made his statement with great candour; but he had, in his opinion, taken too narrow a view of the subject; and much of the last part of what the right honourable gentleman had said, made him sorry that the custom of building upon establishments had been resorted to. The effective force on foot should be looked to; and then it would be to be considered, whether ministers had an army adequate to the expense to which they put the country, and whether there was any reason to hope for a force sufficient to consume what parliament was called upon to vote. This boasted national saving, always excepting the new expenditure, was an œconomy upon establishment alone, and not upon the effective force serving against

against the enemy. He should be extremely glad to see in his majesty's ministers any indications of vigour, which would justify him in looking forward to the efficient expenditure of a great part of their supplies, which could not possibly be expended in the present state of the army. He was sure the right honourable gentleman opposite had too much fairness to arrogate credit for œconomy upon the comparative establishments, taken at different times and under different circumstances. Though the right honourable gentleman was not in the cabinet, he ought to be able to state fully the grounds of any vote he proposed. The total absence of ground for the demand was enough to render it indispensable with him to refuse the grant, however unwilling he was to do so. It was the duty of ministers to adopt measures calculated to carry the effective strength of the army to the height at which it ought to be; for, in all the discussions this subject had undergone, in all the diversity of opinions as to the means, this one principle, at least, was universally agreed upon, that the effective strength of the regular army ought to be carried considerably beyond its present amount. Nothing had occurred since the agitation of military subjects in that house, in March last, to induce any wish to diminish the force of the country. If our operations could not be directed towards the continent, our troops might be employed in maritime attacks. It was true, that in March last the French armies were on the borders of Hungary, and that now they were on the banks of the Vistula; but this was not a circumstance that should lead us to be remiss in our exertions. If the internal security of the country were a matter of concern to the right honourable gentleman opposite (and that right honourable gentleman had formerly expressed himself very gloomily on that subject), he wished him to consider, in what situation Great Britain might be placed, if the French emperor, having obtained his object in Poland, was enabled, either by peace or by war, to liberate his army from that country. Prussia had been moved from the military map of Europe. The power of the enemy would envelop us from the Baltic to the extremity of Europe. If, therefore, at the period to which he had alluded, the right honourable gentleman agreed that great exertions were necessary, every thing that had since happened, every thing that was now happening, should prompt him to increase those exertions. To what had the late ministers pledged themselves on this subject? Not merely to a general augmentation of our military strength: they had specifically stated the manner in which that strength should be effectually increased. When he had himself declared it necessary (at the time when he had the honour of a seat on the opposite bench) to add 20 or 25,000 men to our army, the right honourable gentleman ran before him on that subject; and when that right honourable gentleman came into power, his determination appeared to keep pace with his former opinion, and he expressed his sanguine expectations of obtaining an army great as the important crisis in which we were now placed demanded. The late right honourable secretary for the war department had also gone so far as to express indignation at the

the limits which he (lord Castlereagh) had proposed to set to the augmentation, and spurned the idea of any bounds to it. He had called on the country to rouse from the slumber in which it had so long been sunk, and endeavour to regain its antient military character. Under all these sanctions, he was justified in contending, that it was the general opinion, that the national interests imperatively required a great augmentation of the army, and that no means should be left untried to accomplish this important object. The country had a right to expect the accomplishment of this object from his majesty's present ministers. Above all, they had a right to expect it from the right honourable secretary for the war department, who, both in the late administration and in that of lord Sidmouth, had said that those administrations should be disgraced and degraded for the inefficiency of their military measures. He had contended, that they should be successively displaced. For what?—To make room for a government having his countenance, and in whom the empire could repose with confidence their trust of forming an army adequate to the interests of this country, and the situation of Europe. What had been the increase of our military strength? He would compare it with the right honourable gentleman's idea of the increase necessary: he would compare the right honourable gentleman with himself: he would compare his administration with the administrations that had incurred his pointed censures. Here the honourable member went into a long detail of particulars respecting the military act of administration, which would be uninteresting to our readers; and then referring to Mr. Windham's plan, he asked, What would be the situation of the right honourable gentleman when he came to disband the army, or to reduce it to the peace establishment? Did he consider the nature of the discretion which he would then be called upon to exercise? He would have three classes into which to distribute his discharges; but how, without saddling the country with an expense which it was not equal to pay, could he avoid making his discharges out of the first class? and yet, by doing that, he would discharge the flower of the army. Among the regulations of the warrant, it was stated, that those who were discharged should receive their pensions; but that they should be bound to obey the directions of Chelsea hospital, and come to serve in the veteran battalions when they were called upon. In the course of a few years, however, these veteran battalions would be composed of men in the prime of life, and possessing a complete knowledge of their profession. How could government then avoid considering those battalions as most fit for active service, for foreign service, and more particularly for West-India service, for which they were peculiarly fitted? And thus, all the motives held out, and by which men were to be seduced into the army, would cease to operate. He repeated, that he was little disposed to consider the situation of this country in a gloomy point of view. He had great confidence in its strength, he had great confidence in its resources, and he was happy to find that the gentlemen opposite began to think with him on this latter subject. But if ever there was a moment

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in the history of any country, in which pecuniary œconomy was more indispensably necessary than in any other, this was the moment, and Great Britain the country. The right honourable gentleman, he was sorry to observe, had shown himself indifferent, not only to the œconomy of money, but also to the œconomy of time. Adverting to the capture of Buenos Ayres, he expressed his anxiety to know, why so long a period had been suffered to elapse before the reinforcements had been sent to secure the possession of that valuable province? Early in June, government received advices from St. Helena that the expedition had touched there, on its way from the Cape. He was convinced that, within ten days of the time when those advices were received, three regiments of infantry might have sailed; and, whether the place was tenable or not, it would not have embarrassed his majesty's service to have sent that reinforcement, as it was necessary that troops should go to India: unless they sent a letter of recall to the forces at Buenos Ayres, ministers had no option but to send a reinforcement. Instead of doing this in the middle of June, they did not send a man till October, that was, until lord Lauderdale's return to this country: thus plainly showing, that his motions were the governing principles of their actions, and evincing a culpable neglect of their duty, by abstaining from a vigorous exercise of the power and resources of the country intrusted to them, at the moment when energy would have been particularly serviceable. His lordship concluded by declaring, that he should not oppose the passing of the resolution; but that he had deemed himself bound to state to the house what he thought of the present military establishment of the country, and the dreadful evils which, he was convinced, would result from a perseverance in the right honourable gentleman's military plans.

Mr. Windham entered into a full justification of ministers, ably defending their measures, and showing the superiority of his military plans over the army of reserve and parish acts.

Mr. Perceval also spoke at some length; when the several resolutions were put, and agreed to.

Jan. 23. General Porter rose, to bring before the house the case of one of its members (Mr. Cawthorne), who had been expelled by a former parliament, and was now again returned. In doing so, he hoped that the house, and the member alluded to, would do him the justice not to consider him as an oppressor, actuated by low or personal motives. His proceeding was perfectly disinterested, and he acted solely from a sense of public duty, which led him to maintain the honour and purity of the house, and particularly of the profession to which he belonged, unimpaired and unsullied. He paid many compliments to courts martial, and observed, that Mr. Cawthorne had been tried on sixteen charges, and been found guilty of fourteen. These charges he moved to be read.

Colonel Cawthorne spoke of the injustice of punishing a man twice for the same act. He was willing to rest his case on precedents and the law of the land; and there was no rule of that law more sacred and inviolable than this, that when a person

a person had been once tried, acquitted or condemned, he should not be tried again by the same judicature and for the same offence. Mr. C. then referred to the unanimity of his election, and to the case of Mr. Woolaston in 1698, contending, that all precedents, and the law of the land, were against the agitation of the question.

Lord Howick said, the only question was, whether colonel Cawthorne was a fit person to sit in that house. He entered at large into the question, and moved for a committee to search into precedents; and after the report of that committee should be laid on the table, then his honourable friend would have an opportunity to propose whatever he thought becoming the dignity of the house, the honour of the profession, and the interests of the public.

Several members spoke on the same side, and the motions were carried. A petition was then presented from the electors of Lancaster, entreating that colonel Cawthorne might not be expelled. This gave rise to a conversation of some length, some members wishing it not to be received, and others were desirous of disfranchising the petitioners: upon which

Mr. Speaker said, that it was the invariable custom of that house to open wide its doors to all petitions from the king's subjects, upon their alleged grievances, whether real or imaginary. The petition was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. T. Grenville stated the necessity of an addition of 10,000 men for the sea-service. He spoke at large on the necessity of œconomy in the public finances, and said that the attention of government had been directed to a new classification of naval accounts. The motion, after a short conversation, was put and carried.

Upon the report of the army estimates,

Mr. Pulteney said, the new military system, instead of being productive of an immediate supply for the army, had occasioned a diminution. In order to make room for this system, which had only produced 5000 men in a year, we had repealed a former system which had produced 15,000. As to the training bill, if it was a good one, it ought to be carried into effect; but if in the opinion of parliament it was a bad bill, it ought to be repealed.

General Doyle, in an animated speech, endeavoured to show the superiority of the new training bill, and concluded with the following character of Mr. Fox: "At the head of the foreign department was that minister whose loss the nation justly deplores;—a man, who, amid the endowments of a mighty mind, was peculiarly gifted with those qualities which fitted him for negotiation in difficult times. To a vast, comprehensive, and cultivated understanding he joined the most intimate knowledge of the various interests of Europe: a suavity of manners, and a spirit of conciliation, engaged foreign ministers to treat, while his probity and known honour insured the confidence of their masters. Devoid of guile, he had nothing equivocal in his conduct, nothing ambiguous in his language. He moved straight onward to his object, without turning aside into the winding ways of crooked policy or left-handed wisdom. There was nothing counterfeit in him, his affability

fability flowed from the heart, his natural greatness required not the aid of assumed arrogance to give him consequence: he was too great to be haughty, too wise to be cunning. He was one of the few statesmen who knew the value of that adage, which, though homely, is as true in politics as in morals, that 'honesty is the *best* policy.' Far be it from me to attempt his praise: it would require powers gigantic as his own to do him justice. Were he living, I should be silent. I never received favours at his hand. I leave to those who have, to treat his memory lightly. I speak of him as a man who loves his country must do, whilst deploring its brightest ornament. If Mr. Fox were qualified for negotiation in general, circumstances rendered him peculiarly so for that with France. His character stood as high on the continent as at home; and a former acquaintance with the prime minister of France gave a facility in his case, that would not have applied to other ministers however capable."

Mr. Johnstone said, that he had too little information about the estimates to undertake, upon them alone, to ground charges of want of œconomy to the present ministers. He had stronger and clearer grounds to go upon. They began by increasing their own salaries, and they went on by continuing or creating new sinecure places to provide for their friends and dependents. He should ask, for what other purpose were two muster-masters-general in Ireland, when the office of muster-master in this country was a mere sinecure?

Lord Henry Petty vindicated himself and his friends. Several other gentlemen spoke on the subject, after which the resolutions were agreed to.

On a former day, lord Folkestone had given notice of his intention to move for reprinting certain papers which had been printed last session, relative to the charge exhibited against the marquis of Wellesley. This motion he made on the 26th of January, which he prefaced by saying, that he merely undertook the arduous task until a more able and experienced gentleman would embark in it, conscious of his own inability to give the cause that effect it merited; and therefore, whenever Mr. Paull should return among them, it was his intention to resign the task over to him. The printing of the papers would expedite the business, and he was convinced it must be the wish of the house, as it was the interest of the noble marquis himself, that as much expedition should be used as could be accomplished, to bring the matter to an issue; and therefore he trusted no objection would be made to the motion, which was, that certain papers relating to the affairs of the nabob of Oude might be printed.

Lord Howick asked, if it was the intention of the noble lord to proceed to any other charges besides that relating to Oude.

Lord Folkestone said, it was not his desire to follow up the proceedings of the house with moving for articles of impeachment, but leave that, or any other mode that might be adopted, to their discretion: whether he meant to go into any other charges, he then felt a difficulty of answering. As to the Carnatic business, a right honourable gentleman opposite to him (Mr. Sheridan) had promised to undertake it some years ago; but

he had certainly thought fit, for some private reasons of his own, to relinquish the matter; and if no other gentleman would attempt it, he would undertake to do it.

Mr. Sheridan said he was prepared to declare, that if any other person would bring forward this question, he would most distinctly pledge himself to give that person his most zealous, sincere, and strenuous assistance, and to exert as much of his ability in favour of the motion, as if it were actually brought forward by himself. In another part of this conversation, Mr. S. said, when the question should be brought before the house, he would be prepared to show the guilt of all whom he had before charged, viz. lord Wellesley, the Madras government, the board of control, but above all the court of directors.

Several other gentlemen delivered their sentiments on the occasion; after which lord Folkestone's motion was carried.

Jan. 27. Mr. Swan moved, that there be laid before the house an account of all the pensions granted by the crown, from the first of April 1805 to the first of January 1807, as far as regards Great Britain; and an account of all the new offices and additions to salaries, whether in the shape of fees or otherwise, granted during the same period, and similar motions respecting Ireland.

The solicitor general on the 28th of January moved for leave to bring in a bill to make the freehold estates of persons dying in debt, assets for the payment of simple contract debts. He said, that gentlemen must be aware, that, by the laws of England, a man seised of a freehold estate might contract debts to any amount without subjecting that estate to the responsibility of the debts incurred, provided the debtor had passed no securities under seal. Book-debts, and bills of exchange, which were not under seal, did not affect freehold estates. If then a man, owner of a freehold estate, of extravagant habits, and of that unmeaning profusion that prompted him rather to be generous than just, should die indebted to creditors in an enormous amount, and, instead of having left sufficient means to satisfy their just demands, should have transferred to some unknown and undeserving heir that entire estate, which was the source of their confidence, and ought to have been their remuneration; what must be the sentiments of such an injured body of men as the creditors in such a case? Instances, in the present age, had occurred, of men possessed of freehold estates, who, finding themselves overwhelmed with an accumulation of debt, had resolved upon the desperate alternative of depriving themselves of existence; and thus, by a sort of posthumous injustice, put out of the reach of their creditors every means of redress or recompense. This rule is peculiar to England. On the continent, heirs are subject to the debts of those from whom they inherit. In Scotland, except in the case of entails, the law is the same. Why, in this country only, another rule existed, was what he found it difficult to account for. To trace its origin, it was necessary to recur to feudal times, when allodial property was annihilated. The relations between the vassal and the lord rendered all alienation of property impracticable; so that the law may now be said to have survived for 500 years the reason

reason that produced it, and therefore to have been 500 years, if not mischievous, at least useless, and yet (what all useless laws ought to be) not obsolete. He could not help remarking upon the inconsistency of this law, loose when it was desirable it should be strict, and in other respects rigid to a degree almost censurable. In the case of personal goods, and all species of chattel interest, the operation of this law in enforcing the payment of debts was known to be summary, decisive and efficient. He could not say much in favour of the impartial application of that law which, while it screened the freehold estate of the idle, the dissipated, or dishonest debtor, gave up the person and property of his perhaps struggling creditor to all the fatal consequences of some unforeseen vicissitude of trade. As all debts due upon negotiable securities were simple contract debts, the object of the bill to be proposed would be to put all simple contract creditors upon the same footing with special creditors. Gentlemen of that house who were not conversant in his profession, might not be aware that a court of equity was the only court in whieh real estates could possibly be made liable to simple contract debts. This serious evil courts of equity have endeavoured to remedy by a mode of proceeding which professional men understood by the term "marshalling of assets." He concluded with reading his motion.

A bill was accordingly brought in, and read a first and second time. On the second reading there was a debate of some length; but as the bill was thrown out on the third reading, we shall think it sufficient to give a sketch of Mr. Canning's speech, who was in opposition to the passing of a law which was deemed by the solicitor and attorney general wise, salutary, and even necessary.

Mr. Canning observed, that though feelings of veneration for every institution of our ancestors ought not to be carried to excess and bigotry, they ought to operate so far as to prevent any rash alterations. Innovations of this nature ought be regarded with the utmost jealousy, and to be examined with the utmost scrupulousness. Without meaning any disrespect to the honourable and learned gentleman who proposed this bill, he must say that a measure of this kind ought to have originated in the other house, where it might, in its first stages, have undergone the revision of the great law magistrates. The particular object of this bill was to meet the cases of fraud with regard to freehold estates but he admitted that with regard to copyhold and entailed estate, the room for frauds would still be left open. He insinuated, however, that this was only meant as a preliminary step to similar alterations with regard to copyhold and entailed estates. In this view he had strong objections to the bill. The honourable and learned gentleman admitted that one door would be left open for fraud in the purchase of copyhold estates; he would ask him whether previous debts were intended to supersede subsequent settlements of freehold estates, and to be good against purchasers? If they were not, the object of the bill would be evaded; if they were, then you would only be doing away one opportunity of fraud in order to create a stronger. The honourable and learned gentleman stated, that this was be-

coming in a great degree a commercial country, and that, in this respect, its situation was very different from what it was when this law with regard to property had been established. This was true; yet he did not know that commercial interests ought to be promoted, at the sacrifice of the permanent landed interest. Why did not the learned gentleman apply it merely to the landholder engaged in commerce, and confine it to the first purchasers of freehold estates? The object might be secured by extending the bankrupt laws to these cases. But as to the general doctrine of the adaptation of laws to the supposed state of the country, it would open a door for all reformation. In the reign of the philosophers of France, there was nothing venerable in antiquity that was not attacked, before the great revolution, which rendered these changes odious to all the world. If we were to look generally at the fitness of things, he would undertake to prove to the conviction of speculative men, that there was nothing that had hitherto been held venerable in our law that did not require reformation. He would prove that the right of primogeniture ought to be abolished, and that it was improper to leave almost the whole to lazy drones of elder brothers, and let the rest make their way in the world as they could. If we began with these notions, there was no end to them. He had, therefore, his doubts about the propriety of passing this law, and he rather thought that he must be under the necessity of opposing its ultimate success. [Accordingly on the third reading, March 18th, the bill was thrown out.]

Jan. 29. Mr. Wilberforce, adverting to the resolution which the house had passed towards the close of last parliament relative to the propriety of a speedy abolition of the slave-trade, thought it necessary to have it read. From this it would appear that the last parliament pronounced it inconsistent with principles of justice, humanity, and sound policy, to continue this odious traffic one moment beyond that period at which the abolition could conveniently take place, and that it ought to terminate as soon as possible. In consequence of the proceedings which were now in progress in the other house of parliament, he was of opinion that it would be better to wait the result of these proceedings, before an attempt was made to originate any measure in this house. If, however, considerable delay should arise before the result was known, he should feel disposed to bring the question forward.

Lord Howick said there was nothing more deserving the attention of the house than this subject, but he thought it would be advisable to wait the issue of the proceedings upon this question in another house of parliament: he concurred however in thinking that it was necessary to the character and honour of that house, that the question should be taken up in due time, so as to accomplish the object in view, within the present session.

On the same day, upon the motion of Mr. Vansittart, accounts were ordered and laid before the house of the net produce of the permanent revenue for three years, ending the 1st of January 1807, distinguishing each year, and of the net produce of the war taxes for the same period. Lord Henry Petty then moved the order of the

day

day for resolving the house into a committee upon the finances of the country, and that the accounts before the house upon that subject should be referred to the said committee, together with the several acts which relate to the redemption of the national debt. The same being ordered, and the house having resolved itself into a committee,

Lord Henry Petty addressed the committee to the following effect: "Though I feel as I must the embarrassment and anxiety that the extraordinary occasion on which I am called upon to address you is calculated to inspire; though I feel the full weight and oppression that inevitably arises from the vast magnitude of the subject on which I am about to enter; yet I derive consolation from that circumstance, well aware that in proportion to the magnitude of the undertaking am I justified in expecting the indulgence of the committee. When I am engaged in making a statement of those national resources upon the preservation and judicious application of which must depend in a great degree our national prosperity and strength; when I am dwelling with just satisfaction upon those means which cannot now be considered as a subject of idle boast, or vain congratulation, but as the pillars and foundations of our present greatness and future existence; as that upon which must depend the support of our national independence, the security of our individual freedom; I can have no doubt of meeting from this committee a due degree of attention. Let me hope that this indulgent attention will not be done away by the dryness and prolixity of some parts of the statement which I shall have to submit. Upon no part shall I attempt to detain the committee longer than appears to me essentially necessary to a clear understanding of the subject. I am perfectly aware, that in the course which I am taking on this occasion in bringing forward a statement of the supply and ways and means for the year, at this early period of the session, I am doing that which is unusual, but yet not unprecedented. It has been the custom to postpone this statement until the conclusion of the loan, in order that provision should be included for the payment of the interest upon each loan; but from the nature of the project which I have to communicate to the committee, that postponement becomes unnecessary. Before I enter into that project I shall, without further delay, proceed to state the supply, and the ways and means for the year, the greater part of which have been already voted." Here the noble lord submitted the following statement:

SUPPLIES.

Navy (exclusive of ordnance sea service)							£16,977,837	9 3
Army	Great Britain	£10,202,967	8	5				
	Ireland	3,445.130	17	3				
					13,648,098	5 8		
Barracks	Great Britain	506,237	0	0				
	Ireland	469,450	12	6				
					975,687	12 6		
Commissary general's department					841,526	6 5		
Extraordinaries, as in 1806, after deducting vote of commissary general's department	Great Britain and Ireland				2,758,474	13 7		
				Total army			18,223,786	18 2
Ordnance	Great Britain including Ordnance sea service 421,500*l.*				3,264,469	4 8		
	Ireland				479,246	19 7		
							3,743,716	4 3
Miscellaneous	Great Britain				1,700,000	0 0		
	Ireland				666,000	0 0		
							1,866,000	0 0
Vote of credit	Great Britain				2,400,000	0 0		
	Ireland				600,000	0 0		
							3,000,000	0 0
				Total joint charge			£43,811,340	11 8

SEPARATE CHARGES OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Deficiency of malt 1805	200,000	0 0	
Services not voted, paid in 1806	280,000	0 0	
Interest on exchequer bills 1807	1,200,000	0 0	
Five per cents. 1797, to be paid off	350,000	0 0	
			2,030,000 0 0
Total supplies			45,841,340 11 8
Deduct Irish proportion of supply and civil list, &c.			5,314,275 0 0
Total to be defrayed by Great Britain			40,527,065 11 8
Deduct on account of Ireland 2-17ths of the above sum of 43,811,340*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.*	5,154,275		
Deduct also 2-17ths for civil list and other charges, the same as last year	160,000		
	5,314,275		

WAYS AND MEANS.

Duty on malt, pensions, &c.	£2,750,000
Surplus of consolidated fund	3,500,000
War taxes	19,800,000
Lottery	450,000
Exchequer bills on vote of credit	2,400,000
Loan	12,200,000
	41,100,000

The noble lord, as he proceeded in this statement, commented upon several of the heads. He noticed the separate charge for the commissary-general's department from that of the barracks, the principle of which arrangement had been already explained to the house, and the

the practice would, he had little doubt, be highly advantageous Of the amount of the sum specified as a vote of credit, he stated that 1,500,000*l.* was to be applied to the purpose of subsidizing foreign powers; 1,000,000*l.* of this was already due, in consequence of existing treaties, and the remaining 500,000*l.* was to be further applicable to subsidies, if it should be required. That formed the whole of the sum which ministers calculated upon as likely to be wanted for this description of service, in the course of the present year. It was thought that such a sum might be required, but there was no reason to be certain. Upon this point, however, he did not mean to commit himself. In proposing the interest upon exchequer bills to be issued this year as a part of the supplies, he followed the principle established in the last parliament, namely, that of fairly stating at once all the expenses likely to arise within the year, and not leave the interest upon the unfunded debt to be provided for in a subsequent period. The noble lord accounted for the amount at which he took the war taxes for the present year, as contrasted with that of the last, particularly by a reference to the actual produce, and probable increase of the property tax. He was happy to state that this tax had been much more productive than even its warmest advocates expected. The effects of the arrangement concluded last year with regard to this tax had been such, as to exceed the most sanguine calculation. Therefore, instead of 10,500,000*l.* at which he took this tax last year, he would now reckon upon it as 11,500,000*l.* and that with the produce of the other war taxes, he set down at 21,000,000*l.*; but for a reason which he would by and by state, he would only take the war taxes at 19,800,000*l.* To this a still further sum would be added by the operation of an arrangement, which was in contemplation, but which it would not be proper at this time to anticipate. He therefore for the present declined to mention it. But it was rather a matter of regulation than taxation. And he had no doubt that, when communicated to the house, it would meet general approbation He felt himself warranted in taking the whole produce of the war taxes for this year at 21,000,000*l.* but he would set them down in the ways and means at 19,800,000*l.* The total amount of the supplies being 40,527,065*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.* and the ways and means being 41,100,000*l.* the noble lord stated the necessity of providing this excess of ways and means above the supply, in order to guard against the excess of expenditure above the estimate. This provision he thought it adviseable to make, although the estimates were in general founded upon the highest calculation of probabilities, because no one could well foresee the fluctuating effects of war, particularly in the prices of provisions, naval stores, and other articles which may be influenced by the changes to which such a period is liable. "Now, sir," observed the noble lord, "having fully stated the amount of supply and ways and means, I feel that were the times of an ordinary nature, I might have been justified in taking a narrow and confined view of the exigencies of the moment: I might, indeed, even here close my labours, dismissing the subject for the year, and releasing you from the necessity of further at-

tention. But I should think that I had very ill attended, indeed, to the duty I owe to my country and to its government, if in the present crisis of the world, in the situation which we occupy in the state of Europe, with the eyes fixed upon us of all European nations, that still preserve their independence, or wish to regain the independence they have lost, I had attempted to stop here. No: at a time when every exertion is necessary to resist the formidable danger that stalks abroad, the ample means of this country to support that exertion shall be made known. If extraordinary efforts must be made for the deliverance of Europe, and for our own security, it must be a satisfaction to the country, and to all who are interested in the success of these efforts, to know that our capacities are fully equal to these efforts; and a judicious use of these capacities is alone necessary to insure our object, and to surmount all the dangers that threaten us.—I confide in our powers; but yet I would not carry that confidence to the extent of encouraging any degree of inaction. I would leave nothing undone or untried that did promise to promote our safety. I would contemplate the amount of our danger, not with alarm, but with circumspection and caution. A great cloud has passed over us; but no human eye can penetrate the gloom which still remains, and which is such as to call for every provision that the foresight, wisdom, and activity of man can contrive. To protect the country with which our fate is bound up, against any evil the present conjuncture menaces, or that can possibly arise out of it, must be our duty, our interest, and our wish. To prevent the prolongation of the dreadful conflict in which we are engaged, no effort should ever be left untried that is consistent with our honour. The course we have heretofore followed, let us still continue to pursue; but while we are obliged to prosecute the calamities of war, be it our care to maintain the contest with every possible degree of energy and exertion. And from the prospect before us, which holds out no promise of the near termination of that contest, it becomes necessary that his majesty's government should not now confine itself to the mere proposition for the supply of the present year, but that I should, as its organ, submit to your view the means which are thought advisable to meet the future exigencies of the country. In proceeding to this I do, of all things, think it my duty to state to you, not only the favourable but the unfavourable points in our financial situation. Beginning with the latter, though I do not agree that our resources, in point of taxation, are at an end; yet my surprise has not so much been that no objectionable sources of taxation could be found, as that taxation should have gone on so long. This surprise was indeed very natural, when I recollected the history of our taxation. It will be remembered that in 1786 the amount of our permanent revenue was but ten millions, and yet the great statesman, to whose conduct the finances were at that time intrusted, found it difficult to make any addition to that sum. In fact, in the course of that year he felt himself obliged to withdraw some additional taxes that he had imposed, and on that occasion he acknowledged the difficulties under which he laboured to devise a substitute. Yet this permanent revenue

nue was so raised, that at the end of the last war it amounted to 28,000,000, and at present it was not less than 32,000,000*l*. It must be matter of satisfaction to find that our means have thus grown, so as to keep pace with the exigencies of the country—that they should have gone on advancing without intermission. At the same time that I state the difficulty which would occur in the attempt to devise new taxes, I beg to be understood, that considering the resources of the country, and the disposition of the people, I am still confident that means could be found, not only for the present, but for future years, if it were not deemed proper to introduce a change of system. There was danger, however, that one tax might be productive by occasioning the diminution of another, and that but few would be productive by other means, and therefore a change of system has been determined upon. In this change a view is taken, grounded upon the assumption of the continuance of the war almost to an indefinite period. Indeed, no sanguine calculation as to the time of its continuance can be indulged. Chimerical notions may be formed, and eager hopes may be entertained; but no man, arguing upon rational principles, can come to any conclusion as to the period at which peace may be restored. Looking therefore to the future with no other expectation than that which circumstances warrant, we have had to consider the means by which the great object was to be provided for, keeping always in view the justice and necessity of relieving the people from any further incumbrance. As the sinking fund forms a material part of the basis of the project, which I purpose, before I sit down, to submit to the committee, I hope I shall stand excused in stating shortly the progress of that fund, which forms so prominent a feature in the political and financial history of the country, and which perhaps is one of the most valuable and important features to be found in the history of any country in the world. The first establishment of this fund took place, it will be recollected, in 1786, introduced under the auspices of that great statesman who is now no more, to the honour of whose memory it forms an immortal monument; and the introduction of this, perhaps the greatest, the most valuable and extensive plan that ever was adopted in the country, was marked by the coincidence of great statesmen, who were generally in opposition upon other points. It was remarkable that those two great statesmen, the loss of both of whom the country was within the same year condemned to regret, and whose loss must be deplored, as their greatness must be admitted by all men, whether friends or enemies—when I speak of enemies, I mean of course, political enemies—threw aside all party feelings, and completely concurred upon this great measure: therefore it came to us recommended by all the weight and authority of both those illustrious men. In the first instance, one million was to be set apart annually for the creation of this fund; and the principle of it was, that it should go on to accumulate, until it amounted to four millions; and from that time the surplus was to go in aid of the public service, or be applied in relief of the people from the most grievous taxes. This went on to the period of 1792, when a new arrangement was made,

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and 200,000*l.* was added to the million; and when the war broke out in 1793, it was found expedient to set apart and appropriate one per cent. on the capital of each loan, as a particular fund for the redemption thereof, so as not to interfere with the original sinking fund, and which one per cent. was to redeem such loan in forty-five years. These sinking funds went on in their separate progress, until the arrangement was made by lord Sidmouth in 1802, and which was rendered necessary by the measure which Mr. Pitt had recourse to, of raising a great sum within the year by a triple assessment; a measure which I certainly thought most grievous, but which had the good effect of leading us to the policy of raising a great part of the supplies within the year. But the measure of pledging the income tax for a number of years, left a sum of anticipation to the amount of 56,000,000*l.* which hung upon our resources, and which must have continued the income tax for nine years more: this Mr. Addington, by a bold and decisive step, got over by meeting the evil. He at once made an addition to the funded debt of the nation to the amount of 96,000,000*l.* and found taxes to cover the interest; but in doing so he united the two sinking funds into one; did away the limitation of it to four millions, which was to take place in 1808, and ordered by his act that the whole should be amalgamated, and go on generally to the redemption of the whole debt, without distinction of old or new. By the measure taken by Mr. Addington, in 1802, the great measure of the income tax was left as a resource for future emergency; and accordingly, at the breaking out of the present war in 1803, we had recourse to it with considerable improvements. The great addition which was made to it last year, and the knowledge now acquired of the means of collecting it, have had a wonderful effect: and though I felt the extreme irritation to which the step of raising it to 10 per cent. would give rise, yet I could not shrink from my duty, and the result of it has been to bring us to the favourable point from which we may now set out on a new and more auspicious career. I have stated that the sum wanted for the year is under 32,000,000*l.* and we may take that sum as the sum which we shall have occasion to provide every year during the continuance of the war. Of this sum of 32,000,000*l.* I might take 21,000,000*l.* of war taxes, but I stated before that I should only take 19,800,000*l.* and borrow 12,000,000*l.* on the security of 1,200,000*l.* to be deducted from the war taxes. The committee will see that this is setting apart 10 per cent. on the amount of the sum borrowed, taking the price of the stocks, as they now are, at 60; and I beg the committee to observe, that in all the statements which I shall lay before them, my calculations are made on the supposition that the stocks shall be at 60. The result of this will be, that borrowing 12,000,000*l.* at 10 per cent. 600,000*l.* will pay the interest of it, and 600,000*l.* will, by the operation of compound interest, redeem the whole in 14 years. The same sum will be borrowed in the year 1808, and on the same terms; and again the same will be repeated in 1809. In the fourth year I should borrow on the same footing 14,000,000*l.* and in the ten following years 16,000,000*l.* making in all 201,000,000*l.* It may be said that

that by this plan I shall exhaust the war taxes: but it will be recollected that my provision is made for 14 years, and that upon the fifteenth year the 12,000,000*l.* borrowed in the first year will be discharged, and may come again to renew the same course, and so on in each succeeding year upon this principle of renovation and rotation; and so, indeed, it may go on to an infinite series. It is, however, material that I do not propose that the property tax shall be pledged beyond the war, and that upon the day of signing the definitive treaty of peace that tax will cease to exist. The committee will observe, that in so much as is taken from the war taxes a deficiency will be created in the same to the amount of the temporary revenue applicable to the war expenditure. A supplementary loan will be raised to make good that deficiency; and these will increase in proportion to the increasing sums detached from the war taxes; and these supplemental loans will be made on the principle of a sinking fund of one per cent. on the nominal capital. Thus, in the first year, the supplemental loan will be 200,000*l.* and the interest upon it 13,333*l.* leaving a sinking fund for its redemption of 3,333*l.* per annum. The small interest of these loans might be raised by taxes, but it so happens that even for these we have no immediate occasion. For the first three years the charge will be defrayed by expiring annuities. In 1807, 15,515*l.*; in 1808, 370,000*l.* making the sum of 385,515*l.* which will amply provide for the loans to be made in the first three years from this time. For the next seven years, taxes to a certain amount will be required, which, upon an average, will not amount to more than 293,000*l.* per annum, a sum in itself extremely small in comparison with the enormous load of taxes which were yearly accumulated before the measure of the war taxes was resorted to. After three years of rest, we may be prepared to meet seven years, at less than 300,000*l.* per annum, with the certainty that, at the end of the period, we shall arrive at the epoch of complete relief from all further taxation. Provision is thus made, in the first instance, for ten years of war, if it should be necessary, with only two millions of taxes in the whole period. At the close of that period of ten years, our situation will be most essentially mended; we shall then have a sinking fund of 22,720,000*l.* whereas we have now a sinking fund of 8,335,000*l.* Consequently at that period we come to the proper time for a new operation." His lordship then proceeded to make various calculations respecting the operation of his plan for the second ten years, and then recapitulated the principal features of the plan as follows: "Now to recal the principal features of the plan which I have proposed. During the first three years the loans will be twelve millions annually; for the following year, 1810, the loan will be fourteen millions; and in each of the ten succeeding years the loans will be sixteen millions in each year. For the first three years, from this time, no new taxes will be imposed. This is the first period. During the second period, comprising seven years, some new taxes will be necessary, especially if the prices of the naval and military stores, and other requisite articles, should be materially increased, or if there should be new demands from abroad. But,

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on the average of seven years, supposing that there shall be no material increase of prices, nor any new demands of consequence, all that will be necessary from 1810 to 1816, both inclusive, will be only 300,000*l.* annually—amounting in all to two millions one hundred thousand pounds. During the third period, including ten years, there will be no new taxes whatever. All this will be attended with an improved state of the sinking fund, guarded against any partial operation; the whole founded on the means which the energy and industry of the country have furnished. The propositions which I have had the honour of submitting to the house, however impossible it may be to guard against the effects of chance, and the mutability of events, are recommended by the most positive experience, and depend upon causes which have been already ascertained to be constant and steady in their operation. If the plan itself then be unobjectionable, if the reasoning be just, if the calculations and results should be found unexceptionable, we are justified in looking, if not with certainty, at least with confidence, to the advantages which it offers. Important as the advantages are which this plan presents, both in the present relief which it affords, in a season of great and unprecedented difficulty, and in the prevention of those future evils which the unlimited operation of the sinking fund must ultimately occasion, yet its principal benefit consists in the impression which it must make both in this country and out of it, where it will be seen that, without any further material pressure on the resources of the country, and by a perseverance only in its wonted exertions, parliament now finds itself enabled to meet with confidence all the exigencies of the present war, to whatever period its continuance may be necessary, for maintaining the honour and independence of the empire. Our enemy, indeed, may still continue to consider our subjugation practicable, while he thinks our resources for war can be exhausted; what neither diplomatic artifice nor military power has been able to accomplish, he may still look forward to as the result of the continued and aggravated pressure of taxation: but here too we possess the means of parrying the mortal blow, and defeating the favourite pursuit of insatiable ambition. If no interval of repose is to be allowed the harassed world, unless accompanied by humiliation and by servitude; if new schemes of aggression, conquest, and tyranny, are still to desolate Europe, it will be found that Great Britain wants not the means to maintain the contest to the last; that her resistance will be proportioned to the efforts that are employed to subdue her, and her exertions unremitted till peace can be obtained in consistency with her honour, her security, and her independence. God forbid, sir, that any thing coming from me should be so far misconstrued or misunderstood as to convey an impression, that I meant to contend that any situation, however prosperous, any system of finance however plausible, any temptation to war, if such temptation could be supposed for a moment to exist, should lead us to protract its evils longer than we may be compelled to do by the injustice of our enemy! Far from me be any such assertion, or any such idea! Let our enemy employ his power in destruction, if it shall continue to be so permitted;

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to us it belongs to use the means with which we are intrusted to protect and to save, to defend ourselves from this wide-spreading pestilence, and to support those to whom our assistance may yet be useful. Disclaiming, therefore, every idea of employing the resources we possess to protract the evils of war; disclaiming entirely any intention to assert that an improved system of finance ought to operate as a motive to impair the resolution to which I trust we shall invariably adhere, of earnestly and industriously embracing every occasion that may serve to restore to the world the blessings of peace; I may yet be allowed to say, that it will be not a little satisfactory to reflect, that if we should again fail in our future, as we have failed in our past attempts to accomplish that great work, we have amply the means of continuing the war, if war shall be unavoidable. If nothing can bring our enemy to moderation; if nothing will satisfy him short of the destruction of all that remains of independence in Europe; it is consoling to reflect, that, if we cannot at once subdue our present difficulties, we may at least survive them. By combining and applying the great resources which the state of the country now affords, we may at least hope from our efforts, that if the devouring flame which already has laid waste the fairest portions of the world, should be still permitted to spread its destructive influence, blasting all that it reaches, and threatening all that it approaches; we, through the excellence of the institutions under which we live, and the blessing and the protection of an overruling Providence, way walk unhurt amidst the conflagration, and transmit to our posterity, and the descendants of those continental nations which have been accustomed to look, and may again look, to us as the last bulwark and defence of liberty and law, when invaded by tyranny and violence, the most important and sacred trust that it was ever the lot of man to guard and preserve; the splendid inheritance we have derived from our ancestors, the undiminished glory and independence of our country, and last and best of all, the pure and unsullied faith and honour of the British character and name." The noble lord concluded with laying a series of resolutions on the table, and proposed that the consideration of them should be adjourned till Wednesday se'nnight.

[These resolutions will be found among the public papers in another part of this volume.]

Mr. Rose suggested, that the annuities which the noble lord mentioned as one of the means for carrying this measure into effect had already been actually applied by law to the sinking fund.

Lord Henry Petty said, that in 1786 they had been so applied, but in 1802 they had been detached from this purpose. The debate would properly take place after the resolutions were printed. Conscious as he was, that in the speech which he had just delivered many particulars had been omitted, and many things obscurely stated, he declared it would give him pleasure to afford every possible information to the house on the subject.

Mr. Johnstone thought one observation necessary, because, if the impression made by the speech of the noble lord were allowed to go abroad, the country might be induced to entertain an opinion which could never be realized. The noble lord had displayed great talents

talents and great eloquence; and the display of those talents, and of that eloquence, had been clearly evinced by his leading the house, at such a moment as the present, when the income tax pressed so hard upon the necessities of the people, and when every alleviation of the burthens imposed by that tax had been so unprecedentedly and so steadily refused, to listen to a detail of the mischiefs which would arise from the payment of the national debt, and from the relief from all their taxes. All the noble lord's conclusions proceeded on the supposition that the annual expenditure of the country would not exceed thirty-eight millions. Grant him that, and the rest followed. What had been the consequence of a similar hope held out at the beginning of a war, namely, that the war could be carried on without any increase of debt, by the operation of the sinking fund? But the result of those expectations was, that in the fourth year of the war our debt had increased fifty millions on account of England, and seventeen millions on account of Ireland; being at an average rate of seventeen millions annually. He feared that a similar result would follow the noble lord's calculation.

Lord Henry Petty replied.

Mr. Hiley Addington, Mr. Parnell, and Mr. Corry took part also in the debate; after which the chairman reported progress, and obtained leave to sit again.

In the house of lords, on the 5th of February, lord Grenville, on the subject of the slave-trade, rose and spoke as follows:—"In stating to your lordships, in detail, some of the arguments on which this important measure rests, I hope I shall be excused by your lordships if I should feel myself obliged, in some instances, to tread over the same ground which has become so familiar to you in the course of a discussion which has lasted for twenty years. After the investigation this subject has already undergone, it is scarcely possible to avoid repeating, in some instances, the same arguments to which we have so long been accustomed. I will, however, my lords, proceed to the discussion without further introduction, and, in the first place, to state that argument which is the principal foundation of this measure, namely, justice. This measure rests upon justice, and calls imperatively upon your lordships for your approbation and support. Had it been, my lords, merely a question of humanity, I am ready to admit that it might then have become a consideration with your lordships as to how far you would extend or circumscribe that humanity. Had it been simply a question involving the interests or welfare of the British empire in the West Indies, it would then certainly have been a question with your lordships, how far and in what respect you should legislate. But in this instance I contend, that justice imperiously calls upon your lordships to abolish the slave-trade. I have heard some opinions urged to the effect, as if justice could contain opposite and contradictory tenets. Justice, my lords, is one, uniform and immutable. Is it to be endured that the profits obtained by robbery are to be urged as an argument for the continuance of robbery? Justice is still the same; and you are called upon by this measure not only to do justice to the oppressed and injured natives of Africa, but also to your own planters; to interpose between the planters of your own islands and their

their otherwise certain ruin and destruction. You are called upon to do justice to your own planters in spite of their prejudices and their fears, and to prevent them by this measure from meeting that destruction which is otherwise certain and inevitable. Was it, therefore, a trade which was in itself lovely and amiable, instead of being, as it is, wicked, criminal, and detestable, that you were now called upon to abolish, this would be an unanswerable argument for its abolition, that its continuance must produce the ruin of our planters. But, my lords, when it is considered that this trade is the most criminal that any country can be engaged in; when it is considered how much guilt has been incurred in carrying it on, in tearing the unhappy Africans by thousands and tens of thousands, from their families, their friends, their connections, and their social ties, and dooming them to a life of slavery and misery, and, after incurring all this guilt, that the continuance of the criminal traffic must end in the ruin of the planters in your islands, who vainly expect profit from it; surely there can be no doubt that this detestable trade ought at once to be abolished. We have heard, however, statements adduced for the purpose of attempting to prove that the present state of the population of the islands cannot be kept up without fresh importations. We are then to be told that that law of nature, which has hitherto been considered as universal, meets with an exception in the West Indies, and that there alone the increase and multiplication of the human species does not take place. Let us therefore examine how far this statement agrees with facts. Some years since I was engaged in calculations respecting the population of the West India islands, along with a person who to many great and brilliant qualifications added a complete knowledge of political arithmetic: I mean the late Mr. Pitt. The result of those calculations was, with respect to Jamaica, that the population of the island is perfectly competent to support itself. It is remarkable also, that in Dominica, although a newer island, and although fresh lands are known to be inimical to the increase of population, there is an excess of births above the deaths. But then we are told that fresh importations are necessary in order to cultivate new lands. My lords, according to a very moderate calculation, to bring into cultivation the waste lands in the island of Jamaica, the slave-trade must be continued for two or three centuries longer, and, to cultivate nearly the whole island of Trinidad, a much longer period; whilst it would take a million of those unfortunate beings from Africa to cultivate each island; to cultivate Trinidad even a greater number. Were it possible, my lords, that these two millions of human beings could be collected together at the same time, and that they could be contemplated with the reflection that they were to be torn from their families and their friends, that every social tie was to be broken asunder, that they were to be delivered over to barbarity and oppression, and were to endure the greatest misery that it is possible for human beings to suffer; would it be endured by any one of your lordships, that a traffic productive of so much misery should be continued for an instant? would it not soften the obdurate heart of the greatest barbarian that ever tyrannized in a slave-ship? Some years since, it was thought that a gradual

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abolition was the best mode of destroying this trade: the advocates, at that period, of gradual abolition, must now declare for a total abolition; for the period has arrived to which they looked forward, namely, when the population of the islands would be able to support itself. Nothing but a total abolition will now satisfy justice. Let us not think that any regulations in the islands can be carried into effect with a view to abolition: on the contrary, abolition must take place with a view to regulations. In the year 1792, when the proposed abolition of the slave-trade was negatived, it was agreed to address his majesty, praying him to send instructions to the governors of the colonies to procure the adoption of measures for the better protection and the better treatment of the negroes. What was the consequence? My lords, I wish not to inflame, and therefore I will simply refer your lordships to the correspondence upon the table relative to that subject, and particularly to that of my lord Seaforth, the governor of Barbadoes. Three most horrible and dreadful murders of slaves were committed in that island, attended with circumstances of barbarity, which I will not shock your lordships by detailing. Lord Seaforth of course instituted an inquiry, upon which it was found that the murder of a slave was only punishable by a fine of eleven pounds. That noble lord, in conformity to the instruction he had received, and with a proper regard for the British character, immediately proposed to the legislature of the island, to enact a law, which affixed the punishment of death to the murder of a slave. How was this proposition received? It was received, my lords, with insult; and the council and the house of assembly returned answers in language fitting, as they conceived, to the insult which had been offered to them. What then is to be expected from regulations to be adopted by the colonial assemblies? It is but right, however, that I should state, that I have heard it reported that the legislature of Barbadoes have since adopted the course which justice pointed out, and have affixed the proper punishment to the murder of a slave. Still, however, if the evidence of a slave is not to be received against a white, is there not given to the master an opportunity of tyrannizing over his slaves, and inflicting on them dreadful cruelties without the possibility of bringing him to justice? Let us, my lords, abolish this criminal traffic, and we may look forward to the period when the slaves, become in a great degree natives of the islands, will feel the benefits of the protection extended to them, and the good treatment they experience, and will evince a corresponding attachment to the country from which they receive those benefits. My lords, I look forward to the period when the negroes in the West India islands, becoming labourers rather than slaves, will feel an interest in the welfare and prosperity of the country to whom they are indebted for protection, and of the islands where they experience real comforts, and when they may be called upon to share largely in the defence of those islands with a sure confidence in their loyalty and attachment. My lords, the measure now proposed for the abolition of the slave-trade is one to which I cannot think that any one who dispassionately considers the subject, can give a negative. What right do we derive from any human institution, or any divine ordinance, to seize the natives of

Africa, to deprive them by force of the means of labouring for their own advantage, and to compel them to labour for our profit? Of the desolating influence of the slave trade in Africa, and its effects in keeping the country in a state of barbarity, we have sufficient evidence in the travels of Mr. Park on that continent, although the work was edited by a person known to be one of the most active opponents of the abolition of the slave-trade. Yet we find in that work, that it is towards the interior of the country that population and civilization increase, and that on the coast barbarity continues to prevail, which can only be attributed to the influence of the trade which your lordships are now called upon to abolish. My lords, an argument was used against this measure last session, which I cannot conceive entitled to the least weight. It was said that we ought not to abolish this trade, unless other powers would agree likewise to abolish it; that is to say, that we should not do an act of justice, unless other powers would consent; or rather that we should continue to commit injustice, and persist in guilt, in criminality, because, if we did not, other powers would. As well might it be said, that a man could be justified in robbing another, because, if he did not, he knew there was a banditti ready to commit the robbery; or that an assassin would be justified in committing murder, because he knew that, if he did not, others were ready to perpetrate it. This argument, however, bad as it is, fails in its own grounds. The united states of America, who had fixed the period of the abolition to take place in 1808, have anticipated that period (I wish we had had the glory of being the first in the race); and there is already, according to the last accounts, a bill in its unresisted progress through the legislature, for the immediate abolition of this trade, in which it is declared that death shall be the punishment of those who deal in the blood of their fellow creatures. With respect to the European powers, how are France and Spain to carry on the trade? Sweden never engaged in it. There remains only Portugal, and how is that power to carry on the trade? Is it to our own islands, where we prohibit it? is it to the French islands, which we block up? is it to the Spanish islands, where we prevent it? and where is Portugal to find capital to carry it on? Another objection advanced by a noble and learned lord (Eldon) is, that this measure does not come up to the resolution passed last session, and that instead of the abolition of the African slave trade, we are only abolishing the British traffic in that trade: but is it to be contended, my lords, that because we cannot embrace all the good that may be done, that therefore we are not to effect a partial good? If that were the case, we could never effect any good whatever. My lords, in calling your attention to this great measure, let me entreat you to consider that the whole country looks to the parliament to wipe away the stigma attached to its character in continuing this detestable traffic; that it looks not merely to parliament, but to your lordships' house. Twice has this measure failed in this house; and if this iniquitous traffic is not now abolished, the guilt will rest with your lordships. We have to lament the loss, in the other house of parliament, of some of the ablest and most distinguished advocates for

the abolition; we have also to lament in this house, the loss of some of its able and strenuous supporters. Still, however, if your lordships should agree to the abolition of this inhuman trade in blood, as I trust you will feel it due to your own character and to the character of the country to do, it will meet in the other house of parliament with the strenuous support of a person to whom the country is deeply indebted for having originally proposed the measure, and for having followed up that proposition by every exertion from which a chance could be derived of success. I cannot conceive any consciousness more truly gratifying than must be enjoyed by that person, on finding a measure to which he has devoted the labour of his life, carried into effect,—a measure so truly benevolent, so admirably conducive to the virtuous prosperity of his country, and the welfare of mankind—a measure which will diffuse happiness amongst millions now in existence, and for which his memory will be blessed by millions yet unborn. My lords, I have to apologise for having troubled your lordships so long; but upon a measure of such importance—a measure, for the completion of which I have been labouring for the last twenty years—the ardent zeal which I felt for the attainment of such an object, will, I trust, plead my excuse." The noble lord concluded by moving that the bill be now read a second time.

The duke of Clarence assured their lordships that he had ocular proof of the manner in which the planters behaved to the negroes; he had been in almost every island in the West Indies, he had conversed with the people themselves, and the result of all his observations and all his inquiries was a most clear and positive conviction on his mind, that there was not the least foundation in fact for the charge which had been brought against the planters of ill-treatment to their slaves. He most seriously called upon their lordships to consider what might probably be the consequence of such a re-assumption of power, by the natural enemy of this country, if at the same time we were to have abolished our only mode of supplying our islands with labourers. Would they not, with an island of so great extent at their command, would they not continue to import; and if they could not frustrate our views of abolition by smuggling, would they not at least, on the first appearance of misunderstanding between them and Great Britain, foment disturbances in our islands, and endeavour to accomplish that most prevailing wish of their present ruler, by the destruction of British commerce?

The duke of Gloucester.—My lords, I cannot find language sufficiently strong to express my abhorrence and detestation of this abominable traffic in human blood; and I think the present question is the most momentous that ever came before your lordships: for what question can be more momentous, or come more closely home to our bosoms and our feelings of humanity, than that which concerns the welfare, the happiness, nay even the lives of myriads of our fellow creatures? Adverting to the resolution of last parliament, now on your lordships' table, declaring that the slave-trade is contrary to justice, humanity, and policy, can you still allow British subjects to carry on what has been thus solemnly declared to be unjust, inhuman,

inhuman, and impolitic? It has been told us from the opposite side of the house, that the mortality among the slaves has of late years decreased, and that the negroes were flourishing; but I can tell your lordships the real cause of that decrease in mortality; it arises not from the situation of the slaves having been actually meliorated, but from the encouragement given by some planters to the breed of free negroes, instead of purchasing slaves. They find from experience that the former, though perhaps the slower method of procuring a supply of labourers, is yet by far the most beneficial in the end to the planters, as it is also more consonant to the feelings of humanity. As to the ruin that will fall upon the merchants engaged in this traffic, if it is put a stop to, I have to observe, that there are many new branches of trade that might be opened in lieu of it. I have been on board of and inspected several of the vessels employed in these inhuman voyages, and I do not think there are any ships in the world better qualified for transports for conveying troops than they are. It has been also urged against the present bill, that the passing of it would destroy one of the finest nurseries for our seamen; but this cannot be correct, for I know, from an actual examination into the subject, that only one half of the seamen employed on any one slave voyage, returned to this country, the rest generally dying on the voyage. In fact, there are two-thirds more seamen lost to this country in this manner than the boasted nursery of the African slave-trade produces. It has been said against the abolition, that the natives of Africa would murder the prisoners they brought down to the coast with the view of exposing them to sale, but I do not think that one single life would be lost in this manner. His highness concluded with repeating his abhorrence of the trade, and gave his warmest support to the bill.

The earl of Morton opposed the bill, and recommended to their lordships to pause, and to consider whether the abolition of the trade would not be attended with worse consequences, in the view of humanity, than its continuation.

The earl of Westmoreland said, that in the British West India islands the life of the slave was protected by the law as well as that of any other inhabitant. The house had been told that they should prevent the continuance of oppression and cruelty; but the question was not as to how far we ought to exert ourselves to put an end to practices of that nature, but how far any thing that was in our power was capable of effecting that purpose. Portugal, for instance, had no other means of working her mines than by the employment of slaves; could we suppose that she would give it up? indeed nothing had been said about her. Of France there had been something like a whisper that she would relinquish the trade, and it was then inferred that Spain would follow her example. America had promised, but had not yet given up the traffic; and who could answer for Carolina, that it would agree to the resolutions of the other states on that head? If we abandoned this trade it was certain that some others would take it up, who might not act with so much humanity as the British traders; and with it we should abandon the employment of one million capital, about six or seven hundred ships, and from six-

teen to twenty thousand seamen.—This, he maintained, would occasion the loss of nearly one-third of the amount of British imports and exports. He had a stronger objection yet to make against the adoption of this measure, namely, that if such a system were acted upon, no property could be reckoned safe which could fall within the power of the legislature; upon such a principle as this the tithes of the clergy, and the very freehold estates of the land-holders, might be sacrificed to field-preaching and popular declamation. His conduct, however, should never receive the smallest degree of influence from such powers as those; and, though he should see the presbyterian and the prelate, the methodist and field-preacher, the jacobin and the murderer unite in support of it, in that house he would raise his voice against it.

The earl of Selkirk could not reconcile to his mind the distinctions made by the noble earl who had just sat down. In countries where the means of human subsistence were proportionate to the number of inhabitants, the increase of population had always been found progressive. This principle had been acknowledged by all writers on the subject, and had been unanswerably explained in the able work of Mr. Malthus upon population. The noble lord proceeded to discuss the causes which were likely to increase or lessen the black population in the West Indies, and concluded with the inference, that after the proposed abolition, the West India planters woud naturally look to moderate profits, and a progressive increase of the negroes on their estates; whereas, the thirst of immediate gain, and the opportunity of speedily supplying a deficiency of labourers, was, under the present circumstances, a strong incentive to over-work the negroes, and, consequently, to curtail the population.

Lord Sidmouth felt it a painful duty to be obliged to differ from some of his noble friends, particularly on a subject which involved questions of justice and humanity. To the measure itself he had no objection, if it could be accomplished without detriment to the West India islands; but this he did not think possible, under existing circumstances. Instead, therefore, of abolition at present, he begged leave to suggest, that the best plan would be to throw certain difficulties in the way of the trade, which may finally, and perhaps at no distant period, operate as a bar to it altogether. For this purpose, he would suggest that a tax be laid on every slave imported into any of the islands, gradually raising this impost, till the merchants should of themselves give up the traffic. With respect to the West Indies themselves, he would recommend the advice of that great man (Mr. Burke,) viz. that churches should be built for the negroes in the islands, and that they should be instructed in the morality and doctrine of the Christian religion; he would also have them united by the ties of matrimony, as the first step towards civilization, and the future improvement of their condition. With these advantages, and the blessing of being protected by our laws, he thought that the time would arrive for emancipating them.

The earl of Rosslyn said, he was convinced that the immediate abolition of this odious traffic would be attended with no injurious effects to the colonies, to the culture of which the negroes already imported

ported were fully competent, if properly treated. Such treatment, it might be said, it was the obvious interest of the planter to give the negroes, and therefore it might be inferred that they experienced it already, and yet that importation became necessary to keep up the supply. This, however, he was prepared to contradict. It was only from the strongest impulse of self-interest, from the most cogent persuasion of necessity, that men of such habits were likely to adopt the practice of humanity. When unable to procure any more negroes, they would feel the urgency of taking care of those they already had. With regard to the statement of the noble earl (Westmoreland,) as to the various description of persons who concurred in a wish to produce the abolition of this trade, he thought that formed a forcible argument in favour of the measure before the house. For the concurrence of men of all religions, of all political parties, and even of those who professed no religion, in support of this measure, served to show, that to all who were susceptible of a sentiment of humanity, who were capable of discriminating between the beauty of virtue and the deformity of vice, this traffic was abhorrent. With such an unanimity of sentiment, with such a combination of powers, could that house, without fixing a stain upon its character, without incurring universal odium, hesitate to accede to the motion of his noble friend?

Earl St. Vincent deprecated the measure, which, if passed, would, he was satisfied, have the effect of transferring British capital to other countries, that could not be disposed to abandon such a productive branch of trade. As to the humanity so much contended for, it would be well if noble lords reflected upon this question, whether humanity was consulted by the abolition. If it were, their arguments would be well founded.—But, from his own experience, he was enabled to state, that the West India islands formed Paradise itself, to the negroes, in comparison with their native country. Knowing this, which, upon due inquiry, it was in the power of any noble lord to ascertain, he was surprised at the proposition before the house; and, considering the high character and intelligence of the noble proposer, he declared that he could account in no other way for his having brought it forward, but by supposing that some Obi-man had cast his spell upon him.

Lord King and lord Northesk spoke in behalf of the abolition, and lord Eldon against it.

The bishop of Durham supported the abolition, and considered the slave-trade as wholly inconsistent with the spirit of the Christian religion. He reminded the house of the story of Themistocles, who proposed a measure by which the enemies of the Athenians might be destroyed without hazard to themselves; which was referred to Aristides the Just: it was to destroy their fleet, while they thought they were in safety. Aristides said to the Athenians, it could be done; but that it was unjust: upon which the people, with one voice, said it should not be done, for that the Athenians would not owe their safety to injustice. The British people should not be surpassed by the Athenians in a love of justice; and therefore, if there were any profits to us in the continuation of the African slave-trade, we should

forgo them. We were a people more favoured by Heaven than any other nation had been from the commencement of time to the present hour; but we should beware how we forfeited the protection of Providence, by continual injustice; for, if we did, we should look in vain hereafter for the glories of the Nile or of Trafalgar.

The earl of Moira was for the abolition, and lord Hawkesbury was decidedly against it.

Lord Holland said, that the arguments of the learned lord (Eldon) respecting the opinions of former statesmen and legislators, lord Somers, Mr. Locke, &c., would, in their application, put a stop to all improvement. But could it be supposed that so great and wise a man as Mr. Locke, after reading the evidence which lay on the table respecting the slave-trade, would give it his sanction? The evil was now exposed, and could not be defended. As well might we be told that the reformation was unnecessary, as it might be said, Could a reverend prelate be more wise than sir Thomas More, or more learned than Erasmus? It was in vain, therefore, to say that the slave-trade was justified by the authority of those whose attention had never been called to its enormity. The Christian religion had tended to abolish slavery in Europe, and its principle equally led us to abolish the detestable traffic in human beings on the coast of Africa. The noble lord contended, on the authority of Mr. Park, that the demand for slaves tended to perpetuate wars in the interior of Africa, and maintained that if the market were taken away, the horrors which led to its supply would cease. He insisted that, if the trade were abolished, the stock of negroes in the West Indies would be kept up by the ordinary means of increase, which could not be the case while the trade continued, and the interest of the planters found its account in a different system. He maintained that it was impossible to believe that the state of a negro in the West Indies was such as to lead him to prefer it even to slavery in Africa, and it was absurd to think so, considering the new kind of labour to which he was condemned, when he had never been accustomed to such habits, and when he must be torn from his country and connections. He was convinced, too, that, far from weakening, the measure would tend to the security of our islands; and he showed from the instance of Barbadoes, and that in the cases where the importation of negroes was the least, the proportion of whites to blacks was greatest. The noble lord concluded with a pathetic allusion to the sentiments of Mr. Fox on this subject. Mr. Fox had often told him that, the two objects nearest his heart were, the restoration of peace, and the abolition of the slave-trade; and when, by the shuffling of the French government, he anticipated disappointment in the former, he consoled himself with the hope that the latter might be obtained. The noble lord mentioned with approbation the exertions of others in this cause, and particularly of Mr. Wilberforce, whom, though he was hardly acquainted with him, he should always consider, notwithstanding any past or any future differences of opinion on other points, as an honour to his country and to human nature, on account of the zealous, able, and persevering efforts

efforts he had made for the abolition of this odious traffic.

The earl of Suffolk said a few words in support of the bill; after which their lordships divided,

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On the sixth, the subject was again debated, as it was on the ninth and tenth; when it was finally passed in the house of peers, and sent down to the commons: of the proceedings there we shall give an account in our next chapter.

In the house of commons, on the 10th, Mr. Biddulph, in pursuance of his promise, called the attention of the house to the subject of sinecure places, useless offices, and extravagant salaries of some, and the exorbitant amount of fees of others, who held situations in the law and the state. He was induced to bring this matter into consideration, no less from the propriety and utility of it, as far as regards the revenue of the country, but because in this season of war and calamity the reduction of any one sinecure place must be beneficial to the community. He was inclined to think, that if his motion should be agreed to, the number and amount of those places would be found of much greater magnitude than the house was apprised of. The motion which he should submit, would embrace every office, place, pension, and sinecure, of what kind soever the same might be. When he adverted to the 27th report of the committee of finance, and to that part of it which relates to courts of law, he there found that places of an useless description, the salaries whereof amounted to twenty-six thousand pounds, ought to be abolished; but that none of them had been cancelled from that hour to the present time. It was justly and wisely observed by the great sir Matthew Hale, "If offices be useless, why are they continued? If they can be done by deputy, why not at the expense paid to the deputy?" And as he could not give greater effect to the sentiments of that distinguished lawyer by any thing he could say, he submitted them to that house, to show how much it was the duty of statesmen, as it was the opinion of all good men, that such offices and places should be extinguished. If this committee be appointed, it may enter into every mode of expenditure, provided it should be endowed with the like authority as the committee of 1797, and its services would have all the beneficial effects which that committee afforded to society. He then moved "That a committee be appointed to see whether any, and what saving might be made in the reduction of sinecure places, the abolition of fees, offices, and pensions, and in the detection of all abuses in the expenditure of the public money."

On the question being put—

Lord Henry Petty observed, that although in some particular and political points he differed with the honourable gentleman, yet, on this occasion, he had the utmost satisfaction in saying, that he agreed with the honourable gentleman to the fullest extent of the principle that actuated him; and he could take upon him further to say, that every member of the treasury coincided with him therein; and he was free to say, that if at any period the investigation suggested by the honourable gentleman appeared necessary, there was no period wherein an administration

more readily concurred in the object, because there never was a crisis, certainly, when that œconomy recommended by his majesty from the throne at the commencement of the present sessions of parliament was more required: but any measure comes well that has this desirable point in view, and especially from that honourable gentleman, whom he certainly believed to be actuated by the purest principles and motives. But if he had the satisfaction of agreeing with him on the great principle that actuated him, it was another thing to go all the lengths suggested by him in the course of his speech; for it must be admitted, that in every country of such extended interests and power, arising as well from arts as from arms, as this, there must be reserved some resources to reward valour and distinguish merit. In the public offices of the state there should exist a certain number of situations to reward its faithful servants. How, otherwise, could any government give due regard to long services, when age, merit, talent, and infirmity, seek their aid, and in a manner call upon them, as in justice, for consideration? The only point they have to attend to is, how far they ought to proceed on such occasions, with an equal eye to private emolument and public good. His lordship, after referring to what had been done by former administrations on this subject, observed, that he had the satisfaction to announce, that in the customs and excise all sinecure offices are abolished; in the exchequer all but those the fees and emoluments of which have either been regulated by act of parliament or by the committee of finance: the auditors and tellers of the exchequer are limited in their incomes to a fixed sum, except those he already mentioned, and that of the collector, outwards, of the port of London, a place held by a noble duke, (Manchester,) and for very good reasons continued to him with all its ancient privileges, fees, &c.: so that, all things considered, the amount and number of those offices are not of that magnitude which might be supposed, allowing for the wealth and resources of a country like this. The only offices granted in reversion were those of the register of the high court of chancery, and the clerk of parliament, which it was the determination of ministers, when that reversion ceased, to end altogether. In Ireland, the same plan of œconomy that prevailed here is pursued; thirty-eight sinecure and useless offices are abolishing; and from the known discernment of the noble duke who presides there, as well as from the acute and wise discernment of the right honourable gentleman who is chancellor of the exchequer there (sir J. Newport), the happiest conclusions may be expected in that part of the empire, from their joint zeal and endeavours. He availed himself of this opportunity to state, that the administration with which he had the honour to act, had come to a resolution never to grant a place in reversion; they never did, they never would. Already ministers had issued orders to the auditors of public accounts (which orders the noble lord read) to inquire into all abuses, and to report them to the treasury board, and he had no doubt but that these orders would be punctually obeyed. The noble lord then proposed the following amendment to the motion, viz. "That all the words after 'appointed' be left out, and the following inserted

inserted in their stead: "to examine and consider the regulations and checks established to control the several branches of the public expenditure in Great Britain and Ireland, and to ascertain what measures might be adopted for reducing the public burthens, and diminishing the amount of salaries, where the same may be done without injury to the public service."

Mr. Wilberforce agreed with most of the sentiments urged by the chancellor of the exchequer, but not in that which would prefer the overthrow of ancient offices, and the substituting pensions in their stead. There were men who had made great sacrifices by giving up the best professional prospects, in order to devote their time to the public good, and who might reasonably look to one of those sinecure places as a provision for old age. The fact was, that if a notion had gone abroad that public services were overpaid, it was a very mistaken notion; for, on the contrary, when the rank of the persons was considered to whom those public offices were usually intrusted, and also the persons to whom they were associated, it would be found that, instead of being overpaid, they were usually underpaid. He concluded by a warm panegyric on Mr. Pitt, who showed, by his uniform practice, that it was his wish as far as possible, to abolish sinecure places. He had refused, although it was not known to the public, the reversion of several offices, and had left it to his successors to abolish them.

Mr. Fawkes, the new member for the county of York (in a maiden speech), declared that this was a motion upon which, consistently with his own principles, or his duty to his constituents, he could not content himself with giving a silent vote. Notwithstanding all the efforts that had been made, and all the expenses incurred, in endeavours to rescue our neighbours from subjugation, there still remained in this country sufficient means and resources to enable us to cope with all the adversaries with whom we had, and might have to contend, if only they should be wisely administered and œconomically applied. He was persuaded that the country possessed ample means to meet every emergency, and to secure us against every possible danger. But the only means of obtaining this desirable end, was, that the government should show to the people that they were determined to rectify every abuse, and manifest a determination to meliorate the condition of the people. When he considered the actual state of the country, labouring under a grievous weight of burthens, when he called to mind the declarations made at different times by persons high in office, that the people would be called to sacrifice, not only some of the comforts, but some of the necessaries of life, for the support of the present contest, he should not think that he performed his duty to those who sent him there, if he did not give his entire and cordial support to the motion then before the house, and every other motion of the same description. The noble lord on the bench below him had said, that it was desirable to continue some sinecure places, as rewards and retreats for meritorious public services. Whenever gallantry should be displayed—whenever diligence should be exerted—whenever talents should be exercised in the service of the country—whenever eminent merit should be manifested

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in the conduct of its affairs and interests at foreign courts, he should not be disposed to quarrel with the grant of adequate and liberal rewards in such cases. But these were times when the public money ought not to be lavished upon persons who had not performed any service to deserve remuneration. The people of this country were fully aware of the blessings they enjoyed, and of the dangers that threatened them; and they would be ready to make every effort in support of the present contest.—But they had a right to expect indemnity for the past, and security for the future; they had a right to expect a rigid œconomy in the future application of the public money; not, however, that paltry œconomy that would narrow the scale of public exertion, and paralyse the efforts of the country,; but such an œconomy, as, without confining the indispensable services of the state, would husband the resources of the nation. For the practice of such œconomy he looked with confidence to the gentlemen on the bench below him. He had no hesitation in uttering this sentiment, because it flowed from a pure source; the conviction which arose from the manner in which they had received and treated this motion. He trusted that the plan of reformation which had been so often talked of, was now at length commenced; and that as ministers had declared their intention not to grant places in reversion, they would put an end to the abuse for the present, and prevent all future ministers from adopting the practice. They appeared to him disposed not only to preach, but to practise.

Mr. Ellis, Mr. Calvert, and Mr. Baker having delivered their sentiments, the motion, as amended by lord Henry Petty, was carried.

On the 12th, lord Castlereagh offered to the house another plan of finance in opposition to that proposed on a former night by the chancellor of the exchequer, by way of introduction to the resolutions which he submitted to the house, and which will be found among the public papers in this volume: he said, that in the whole course of his parliamentary experience, he had never felt more difficulty in rising to address the house than on the present occasion. He had to review the new and extended plan of finance proposed by the noble lord opposite (lord Henry Petty), and to compare it, in all its parts and all its bearings, with the present system. When he considered with what deliberation the noble lord must have prepared his plan, and what able assistance he had to complete it, it was so disagreeable a thing for an individual like himself to state any thing in opposition to it, that nothing but an imperious sense of duty could warrant or induce him to offer himself to the house with that view. But the difference between his opinions and those maintained by the noble lord was so great, that there must be some material errors on one side or the other. Considering the advantages the noble lord had with respect to the means of viewing the subject, the errors were probably on his own side; but such was the conviction in his own mind of the truth of his own views of the subject, that he felt it a paramount duty to give the house an opportunity of comparing his opinions and calculations with those of the noble lord. He by no means wished to depreciate the noble lord's

lord's plan on any general grounds. The facts and the reasons upon which his opinions were formed, he would state specifically to the house; and as he had felt it impossible to follow the noble lord opposite in the statement he had made on a former night, in a manner so creditable to him from its clearness, it was his wish to follow the example of the noble lord, and to leave his opinions open to the examination of those who possessed the best means of correcting any errors they might contain, and to give an opportunity to them to come to parliament, on the further consideration of this great subject, with the most correct views, formed upon the most deliberate and extensive examination. He hoped that, from these considerations, the house would grant him its indulgent construction, to aid him in the task he had to perform, in calling upon parliament to weigh the grounds upon which he was led to doubt of the solidity of the system proposed by the noble lord. He was anxious that the difference between him and the noble lord should not be taken to be greater than it was. There were many views and many general principles in the noble lord's statement, which he was not disposed to question. No principle was more clear, than the propriety of considering at what time, consistently with equity towards the stock-holder, the produce of the sinking fund, in a certain proportion, might be diverted from its original destination, and applied to the current service. If the sinking fund were allowed to proceed in its operation to the extinction of the whole public debt, a new order of things would be created, and the relative value of every thing as it stood now would be destroyed. He therefore agreed with the noble lord, that at some time parliament would be called upon to consider what ought to be the maximum of the sinking fund to be applied to the extinction of the debt. He was ready also to allow, that the time might come when the principle of raising the expenses of war within the year might become oppressive, and proper to be got rid of. He was therefore prepared to say that a maximum might be put to the sinking fund in time of peace, and that even in time of war it might be proper at some period to limit it, and to apply the surplus to prevent war-taxes from being pushed to the extreme. It was difficult to say at what point all the bearings of this question might be made to meet. That was too nice a question for him to discuss here. But the noble lord having built his system upon calculations involving that principle, it became the duty of every man to examine the point, and to state his motive for differing with the noble lord, or for supporting him. He was actuated, not by a wish to differ from the noble lord, but by a fear, that the superstructure which the noble lord's plan went to rear was not built upon any solid foundation. Any one who looked to such an extended system of warfare as the present must be convinced, that it would be unwise not to prepare ourselves to follow it to an indefinite length. He was not displeased, that the noble lord had thought it right to go the length of calculation upon a probable duration of twenty years; but it was too much to incorporate the calculation of the expenses of such a length of time into arrangements to be adopted at present.

It

It was impossible that parliament could now provide for occasions so distant, and events so uncertain, without involving itself in infinite contradictions and embarrassments. He therefore owned, he wished the arrangements for the present year had been built on an extensive view, without calling upon parliament to adopt arrangements of the same extent, which it was impossible it could do with information or judgment. He admitted, that unless data were assumed, it was impossible to reason or to arrive at any determination; but what he feared was, that by the assumption of fallacious data, far from being enabled to proceed consistently through a series of twenty years, we should be led into continual errors. The noble lord, in looking to so small an expenditure as 32,000,000*l.*, hoped, not only to be able to cover that expenditure, but to provide for its incidental excesses; but the expenditure of 32,000,000*l.* was an expenditure cut down from 41,000,000*l.*, and in putting it forward as the probable amount of our war expenditure, the noble lord should take care not to mislead the country as to the amount of the burthens it would have to bear. He was sure the noble lord must have derived, from the source with which he was so honourably connected, principles which would be very far from disposing him to render his countrymen the "penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos." He was sure the noble lord would be sorry to think that we should be prevented from co-operating, even by money, to the exertions which might still be made for the deliverance of the world from the common enemy. If the noble lord had looked to the average expense of the last war under this head, if he had looked to the average expenses of the last four years in particular, he would have found that there was an annual contingent charge of 3,700,000*l.* for expenses, which he had left wholly out of his calculation; and therefore, on this ground, he was sorry, without entering into the prospect of twenty years, that the noble lord had calculated for the present circumstances only. There were at the present time very strong motives for calculating on a different plan. He thought it too much to calculate, that we could hold out for a war of twenty years duration on an expenditure of 32,000,000*l.* without any increase. But he was more inclined to close with the noble lord's data, and to come to issue upon his principles, leaving the particulars to be discussed in the committee, where some friends of his, better acquainted with the details of these subjects than he was, would make some observations upon them. He thought he had the means of proving, that the noble lord's plan, if acted upon and carried fully into execution, would be the means of involving the country in great embarrassments, if not in complete ruin, and, what was still worse, in unnecessary and gratuitous ruin. He was sensible of the difficulty of the task he had undertaken. But he trusted, that the arguments with which he should endeavour to establish his opinions would be received with indulgence and liberality, from the consideration that the points to which they referred, deserved the fullest attention.—Here the noble lord went into a long train of calculations, into which we cannot follow, and concluded with saying, "The system of raising money by double loans,

resembled

resembled the usurious terms upon which a distressed man raised money to defray the interest of sums borrowed antecedently. When the noble lord erected his superstructure of two stories on such a basis, he might as well have reared his castle to as many more, like the Indian pagoda, and by borrowing the interest of the interest of his supplemental loans have carried his principle to its ultimate point. It was certainly a most satisfactory consideration, that the noble lord, and those who acted with him, now admitted that war might be maintained for twenty years, without adding greatly to the existing burthens of the country. What he had already stated, would save him the necessity of examining the fifth head of comparison, upon which he had proposed to state his sentiments, namely, the comparative state in which the country would be placed by the noble lord's and the present system. He had made out a good case, that the system by single loan, with the ordinary sinking fund of one per cent. on the capital borrowed, would answer every object proposed by the noble lord, in the course of twenty years, and that the system of double loans was in the last degree usurious. The noble lord had dwelt much on the necessity of preserving faith with the stock-holder, and he agreed with him that, though the stock-holder had no right that considerations for him should fetter the decisions of parliament, he yet had a considerable claim on the attention of that house. But the plan of the noble lord was unsecured, both with respect to the stockholder and the public, because, by his own statement, there would be a defalcation in his sinking fund in the last ten years. The relief would be given to the stockholder in the first ten years, rather than in the last, as after the year 1820 his sinking fund would be declining; and in the year 1826 the amount of the debt would exceed the aggregate of his sinking fund by six millions. The stockholder would prefer a sinking fund of eleven millions, and a loan of twelve millions, to a sinking fund of twenty-six millions, and a loan of thirty-two millions, which would create a capital of from fifty to sixty millions. However the noble lord might mask his principles under the machinery of this bill, the machinery was calculated to take money out of the pockets of the country, and to dilapidate its resources. He had thought it his duty to submit his views on this subject to the house, not with any intention of derogating from the merit of the noble lord's plan, for he felt a sincere respect for that noble lord, and he felt the reverse of any wish to detract from the value of his proposition. But though he had explained at some length his objections to the plan of the noble lord, he was still anxious to submit them in a more precise form to the house, in the shape of resolutions. He had as high an opinion of the resources of the country as the noble lord; and he was happy to receive from the noble lord on a former night, his liberal testimony, not only to the extent of the resources of the country, but to the transcendent merits of the great statesman who had laid the foundation of the system which had been so strongly fortified by the vigorous financial measures adopted by the noble lord last session, as well as by the efficient

ficient operation of the measures instituted by a noble member of another house (lord Sidmouth) at the conclusion of the late war, and at the commencement of the present. With this system the brightest hopes, and best future prospects of the country were intimately connected. He had said in a former session, that, as far as a powerful navy, a powerful army, though not so powerful as under better and wiser regulations it might have been; and as far as legitimate, steady, and unbounded resources were concerned, no country had ever been handed over by any ministers to their successors in a more triumphant situation than this country at the late change.—Whatever might be the want of authenticity in the statement, as coming from him, he had met with a considerable personal rebuke. But he had to express his gratitude to the noble lord for bearing out all his statements, which were rather below than over the truth. If he had then stated what the noble lord did now, that the war might be carried on by the system of double loans without any great increase of the public burthens, he might have been open to animadversion, but certainly his nerves were not equal to that statement. He had then only to submit his resolutions to the house, which he hoped they would receive with the same indulgence with which they had heard him. He offered them rather as his objections to the system of the noble lord, than as principles upon which he should be disposed to found any system. If they were incorrect, the noble lord would be able to expose the fallacy of them. The noble lord then concluded with moving his first resolution, proposing that the debate should be adjourned to Monday next.

Lord Henry Petty did not feel it necessary to say more than a few words on the present occasion, because it was neither desirable for the house nor for himself that he should follow the noble lord through his very able speech, and the clear view he had given of his objections to the new financial system that had been submitted to the house on a former night. It was, however, necessary for him to make a few observations upon one point, which had been touched upon by the noble lord, in order to prevent any misconception of what had fallen from himself on a former night from going further. The great objection of the noble lord to the system that had been submitted to the house was, that it went to legislate for the future. Though the noble lord admitted that it would be right to look to the future in the arrangement of any system, he did not think it desirable that any legislative enactment should be resorted to for that purpose. He had himself stated, that it would be necessary for the house to look prospectively to the situation of the country, in the adoption of any system; but that it would not be desirable to make any legislative enactment on an assumption of future events, which might prove contrary to all calculation, and were solely under the control of Providence. He had expressly asserted, that if any essential alteration were to take place in the plan, it would not arise from any such alteration of events, or of the circumstances of the country. What were the changes that were likely to take place? An increase of ex-

penditure,

expenditure, from the demand for foreign subsidies from without, or from the rise of labour, or of the price of stores within. He had particularly adverted to contingent circumstances, and stated, that in proportion as any increase took place in the expenditure from either of these causes, that increase was to be provided for by an increase of the supplemental loans, and an increase of the interest thereon. Another change which he had adverted to was one which might arise from the failure of any of the duties imposed; but for this there was a provision in the plan, because parliament was pledged to make good such deficiency by other duties. Having stated this, he had only to request of the house, and of the country, that they would receive his proposition such as it was, and as it candidly professed to be, and not look upon him as responsible for any alteration that might take place. If he continued to fill the situation which he then held, it would be his duty to explain the cause of the change when it occurred.

Mr. Rose did not propose to enter then into the discussion of the resolution: he was not satisfied with the data of the noble lord opposite, or those of his noble friend, though the latter seemed less liable to objection. The plan of the noble lord, however, appeared to him a permanent one; and if once adopted, it would not be possible to make any alteration in it for twenty years, without convulsing the whole system.

The debate was then adjourned to Monday.

CHAPTER III.

Debates in the House of Commons on Mr. Ashton Smith's Motion respecting the Hampshire Election—Lord Hawkesbury's Motion on military Affairs—Lord Grenville on the Administration of Justice in Scotland—Debates on the same Subject in the House of Lords—Debates in the House of Commons on Finance—Mr. Robson's Motion on the Barracks—Mr. Whitbread's Speech on the Poor Laws.

THE most important part of this chapter is unquestionably that relating to the poor laws.—The speech delivered by Mr. Whitbread on the occasion was replete with sound argument, founded upon undeniable facts, which were admitted by the house and the nation. That a subject of so vast a magnitude, which had for years employed the thoughts of Mr. Pitt, Mr. Rose, and others, should be liable to no objections could not be expected. The general principles could not be disputed; and it will be regretted by every lover of his country, that circumstances should have arisen to have set the question

question at rest before its merits had been discussed, and its advantages fully explained. The condition of the labouring poor; of those who, in addition to poverty, are drinking deep of the cup of affliction, requires and demands the attention of parliament; and we trust that, whatever party assumes the reins of government, this subject may no longer be neglected.

On the 13th of February, after the usual business in the house of commons, in the course of which several petitions against the abolition of the slave trade were presented and received:

Mr. Ashton Smith, according to the notice he had given, rose to call the attention of the house to the petition lying on the table, complaining of the undue influence of certain members of the government, in the late election for members to serve in parliament for the county of Hants. The honourable member then desired the petition to be read; which being done, he desired the clerk to read the resolution of the year 1799, December 10th, which constituted it a high breach of the privileges of that house, for any member of the government, or peer of parliament, to interfere in the election of any commoner to serve in parliament. He then proceeded to the object of his motion. It was a difficult and irksome task to be obliged to call in question the conduct of any of the members of the government; and it was doubly so when, as in this case, the person adverted to was a gentleman for whom he individually entertained the utmost esteem; and as he had previously acquainted him with the nature of his intended motion, so he now assured him, that he bore him no personal dislike, and he would conduct no charge against him but what should be fair and open. The charge exhibited in the petition against him, was that of applying to the barrack master general, to exert his influence in favour of the court candidates, at the then ensuing election for Hants, and which influence was so exerted that it succeeded as it was designed; by which means a very worthy gentleman lost his election, who had served his country with fidelity for upwards of sixteen years (Mr. Chute). This, he said, was a matter of the most serious concern to the county; it was of the most important consideration to the country at large, and to the constitution. It was a gross violation of our civil rights, and such, as far as related to the county of Hants, as must operate to sacrifice it for ever to government. He was a witness to the effects of it himself, and he never beheld a county so panic struck, as when these effects were traced to their cause. The credit of ministers was at stake, and their reputation was deeply involved in the matter. It certainly was in their discretion to grant the nation that redress which the subject loudly demanded; and trusting in the persuasion that the boon would not be refused, he should move that a committee be appointed, and that the committee should be a committee of privileges, to which the said petition should be referred, and that such committee do report their proceedings to that house.

The motion was seconded by sir Henry Mildmay, who complimented the last speaker for the moderation, candour, and talent with which he conducted the business. The interference was in direct defiance, and in the teeth of the resolutions

lutions of that house, and his honourable friend called upon that house to assert their rights and maintain their own resolution; he hoped gentlemen would do so, as then they would establish the principle of that resolution, which would never be violated again with impunity. There was no county in the kingdom so susceptible, or so liable to be affected by ministerial influence, as the county of Southampton; it was so circumstanced that it must have infinitely greater weight there than elsewhere. It abounded with church and collegiate property, it had dock-yards, and was one of the great arsenals of the kingdom. The dock-yards alone possessed upwards of four hundred voters, exclusive of the number of gentlemen and others employed under the comptroller of the navy, and navy contractors, together with their several connections, all under government influence; and when, in addition to these, the whole phalanx of the barrack department is annexed, the interference of the government, when applied, must ever prevail, and, if continued, must constitute that respectable county a complete ministerial borough, and no independent man would ever venture as a candidate to represent it. He would do the gentleman opposite to him (Mr. Freemantle) the justice to believe, that the corrupt influence did not originate either with the secretary of the treasury, the comptroller of the navy, or the barrack master general. No, it was a settled and arranged plan of the government to turn out a man who had uprightly and honestly served his country sixteen years. (Here the honourable baronet read an extract from the first letter of sir William Heathcote to the Hampshire club, stating the application of lord Temple, authorised by lord Grenville, to himself, intimating to him, that government would not oppose his re-election in the event of a dissolution, if he did not coalesce with Mr. Chute, against whom government proposed to set up a candidate, Mr. Chute having put himself in systematic opposition to government.) The honourable member then read a copy of a letter from Mr. Freemantle to the barrack-master general, to support the cause of Messrs. Herbert and Thistlethwaite (at this instant there was a general cry of Hear! hear! from the opposition benches.) He said, that in pursuance of this instruction, and in compliance with the request, major Davis was commissioned to exert his efforts in the isle of Wight, Lymington, and Southampton; and the major's answers state, that his success was beyond his most ardent expectations. In addition to these letters, the honourable gentleman read a correspondence beteen the barrack-master general and major Davis, wherein it was set forth that the expenses of his journeys must be defrayed by himself, as they could not possibly be introduced in any of the public accounts. He animadverted with much asperity on what he supposed might therefore exist, a public and a private account of the moneys of the people: if such prevailed, and indeed the mystery with which the subject seemed to be communicated justified the supposition, then that alone was ground abundant to bring the question before the commons of Great Britain, and call for redress. He next adverted to a letter, which involved the name of a nobleman of such high reputation, that he could hardly bring himself to think

he would allow himself to interfere in such a business; he who, when himself a member of that house, most probably lent his patriotic aid to fix on its journals that record of manly dignity, that in the year 1799 first graced its records. He stated to the house the written evidence in support of this case, and he undertook to prove at their bar, that the barrack office carried into effect the commands and instructions of the honourable gentleman. He had several facts to establish what he asserted; that which he had already recited was, however, enough for the house to grant the motion:—"Ex uno disce omnes." This is a question of magnitude, it strikes at the vitals of the constitution, and "comes home to men's business and bosoms." Their honour and dignity demanded an inquiry, and he emphatically asked, who would pay any attention to the resolutions of that house, if one of such importance should, with impunity, be violated? He then concluded with drawing a comparison between the letter of the duke of Chandos, in 1799, which caused that resolution to be recorded upon the journals of the house, and argued, that the letter of Mr. Freemantle was infinitely more dangerous to the people.

Mr. Freemantle being especially called upon, as he considered, to repel the unfair accusations made against him, availed himself of the first opportunity that presented itself, to acquit himself in the eyes of that house, and the world, of the foul aspersion, and convince mankind that he was not that culpable person which the petition would induce them to suppose. He acknowledged that he entertained fears and apprehensions on the occasion, but they were those alarms that proceeded not from any consciousness of guilt, but from the dread he felt of being incapable to do justice to himself when he was attacked in a way that involved his character, honour, and fame, and every thing that was dear to man. He therefore supplicated the indulgence of the house, whilst he should endeavour to justify himself in that way, which if not ornamented with talent or eloquence, would, nevertheless, be founded upon truth. The honourable baronet tells the house, that the paper he read, which contains the matter complained of, was a copy of a letter; he appealed to the house whether such an instrument could be held forth as evidence against him! He would, however, produce the original letter, which he obtained from general Hewitt, and he would justify it. Here the honourable gentleman read the letter, which was dated the 22d of September last, some time previous to the dissolution of parliament, and contained, for the most part, much of the matter specified in what purported to be a copy of that letter. He then appealed to the house, whether this was written in his public or his private capacity, and whether there was any token of official import about it. It was marked "private," as was his uniform custom when writing on private business, and was written in behalf of an intimate friend. He then adverted to the petition, which charged him with writing the letter in his official capacity; but he trusted he had fully removed that insinuation. He could in like manner tell the house that he was a freeholder of the county of Hants, that he had had that freehold many years, and that his connections

nections and relations there are as respectable and as opulent as any who had signed that petition; and if he understood that his mere support as a private gentleman was to disfranchise him of his right, because he happened to be secretary to the treasury, he would not hold the office five minutes. He asked the house, was there any law that prohibited him, as the secretary to the treasury, from interesting himself on behalf of his private friends? If this were law and right, he from henceforth must be at a loss how to conduct himself in any capacity, much less that of secretary to the treasury. He concluded by appealing to the feelings of the house.

Mr. Jeffery of Poole said, he did not intend, at coming into the house, to take any part in the debate; but he was obliged to change his mind, in consequence of the assertions of the honourable secretary (Mr. Freemantle) in vindication of the character and purity of ministers with respect to elections. He could state stubborn facts, which would prove that the government had exercised its influence; he could inform the house, that he was told by the honourable secretary of the treasury, that he should lose his patronage in the borough and town of Poole, on account of the opposition he had given: and it was added, that Michael Angelo Taylor, esq. was to receive the whole weight and authority of administration, to back him against the other candidate. This fact, which clearly exhibited the conduct of government, must be sufficient to excite the disgust of the house, and of the country!

Mr. Tierney had to thank the honourable gentleman who proposed the question, and also the honourable baronet who seconded it, for the several documents which they produced and read; for, as the case now stood before the house, gentlemen were acquainted with all the papers and information which could be referred to the committee of privileges: being capable of exercising its judgment on what was read, he did not think that the house would come to the resolution of referring this case to a committee. The petition contained only one charge, and that against his honourable friend Mr. Freemantle. He was at a loss for the reason which could induce an honourable member (Mr. Jeffery) to bring a charge against another member (Mr. M. A. Taylor) in his absence. He never heard such improper language, not only from one member to another, but from one gentleman to another. (Order! order! from Mr. Stanhope, who said he never heard such unparliamentary language during the time he held a seat in the house, as that used by the right honourable gentleman, who seemed inclined to provoke the parties to shoot each other.) (A cry of Hear! hear! and Order! order! followed.)

Mr. Speaker thought it would be more regular, if the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Tierney) had not used the last expressions.

Mr. Tierney begged pardon of the house, and assured the honourable gentleman who called him to order, that he had not any such intention as that which he ascribed to him in the use of those objectionable words. He could not refrain from observing that it was extraordinary, in the search of the honourable gentlemen for precedents, they could only make out this one charge; and what did that amount

to? To this merely, that his honourable friend's letter was dated from the Treasury; this was the whole offence. If he had had the experience of an old treasury practitioner, he would have dated it from his house in Stanhope-street, which would have saved him and the petitioners the trouble of proposing and making it. But the words 'treasury chamber' imported, at present, something so terrible as to make the right honourable gentleman (Mr. G. Rose) quite aghast. He conceived that it would be trifling with the dignity and the time of parliament to go into a committee on this unfounded and paltry charge, which no opposition but the present would exhibit: there might, however, be some excuse for such conduct. Perhaps the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Rose), knowing the use which had been formerly made of the influence of government, assumed that it might have been exercised on the occasion alluded to by the present government. At all events, it must excite disgust to see this petition brought forward from such a quarter.

Mr. Canning hoped the right honourable gentleman would allow him to qualify his astonishment by saying that the surprise and disgust of the country must arise at the opposition of the right honourable gentleman and his colleagues to the further hearing of this petition. Fortunately for the empire, the right honourable gentleman and the other supporters of parliamentary reform had come into office; but being once vested with power, and holding a high situation, the notions of the right honourable gentleman were suddenly altered. What was the first proof which he gave of his idea of reform?—That all the principles and practices which he formerly censured and reprobated, should not be wholly removed, but used against those who had themselves when in power endeavoured to practise them: his only ambition seemed to be, to have the satisfaction of retorting upon preceding administrations the abuses which they might have encouraged, but which the right honourable gentleman, at the time to which he alluded, had condemned with the greatest virulence, as subversive of the constitution of the country. The right honourable gentleman gave a proof of his system of purity by stating, that he did not think it a crime for the secretary of the treasury to solicit with every appearance that was official, the head of the barrack department in Hampshire. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Tierney) justified its rejection, by adducing similar abuses formerly practised; his argument went to prove that one government should make reprisals, as it were, upon another; for he stated in substance, that Mr. Chute had been defeated and turned out of his seat by the abuses which had been practised in the same place by preceding governments. This was a terrible denunciation against the county of Hants; for, granting that the electors of every other county may obtain redress, yet the electors of Hampshire are to endure the existence of abuses for ever, without a hope of redress: in fact, they were to be told, that having been in the habit, under every change of government, to see their favourite candidate removed by court influence and ministerial intrigue, they have no right to complain; that the present government has as good a right to resort to those practices

tices as any that went before it; and, of course, that the electors must bear the consequences. There was this peculiarity attached to the case of Hampshire, namely, that it was the undue influence of the government exercised at a general election, which caused the resolutions now entered on the journals against such practices in future. The right honourable gentleman, in confirmation of what he advanced on this point, read the letter of the duke of Chandos, on which the resolution of the house was founded, and concluded with expressing a hope, that although the petition was not manufactured to the taste of ministers, yet that it might be suffered to go to a committee.

Mr. Perceval thought it highly improper that the government should have exerted its power in influencing elections. He accused the ministers of having abandoned their former pledges, and of committing those very unconstitutional acts which they formerly made the grounds of accusation against the then ministers. It was argued, that the letter from the secretary of the treasury was perfectly innocent; it was written by the honourable secretary in his private character, as a freeholder of the county of Hants. A little attention to the facts would set this matter in a proper light. To whom was it sent? It was addressed to lieutenant-general Hewitt, barrack-master general, whom he had not understood, from the honourable secretary to the treasury, to be also a freeholder, nor, even if he were, a personal acquaintance; it certainly did not appear from the style of the letter that any intimacy subsisted. It began, coldly and formally, with "Sir;" it then proceeded to charge the recollection of the persons to whom its contents were to be imparted, with the expected dissolution of parliament, and mentioned the names of the candidates to be supported, Mr. Herbert and Mr. Thistlethwaite, adding, "I take the liberty of recommending these gentlemen to your favourable influence." Then they were not to be recommended to the freeholders, but to major Davis, assistant barrack-master general, "or any other gentleman within your department." Was the house to be gravely told that this was an ordinary letter, written by one freeholder to another, mixing with it no undue influence, exercising no authority connected with official arrangements? Was this private intercourse between one freeholder and another? It was yet to be learnt if the scene exhibited in Hampshire was not to be discovered in every other part of the kingdom. Perhaps the honourable gentleman had not only a freehold in Hampshire, but in various other counties; or, if he had not, other secretaries under ministers might exercise this same privilege of freeholders, in every other district of the empire. Was this practice to be thus generally diffused? Was this language on the sacred franchise of Englishmen to be employed? and by these boasting reformers, who only waited to be invested with power to establish the freedom of the country on an immovable basis. "Provided I do not give hard money, or harder threats, I may use any influence I please to defeat the purposes of this franchise."

Lord Howick contended, that there had been no unconstitutional interference, either on the present or any other occasion, on the part of government. If there was any

improper interference, it was on the other side of the house. This charge, like many of the others, he considered as frivolous. "Ex uno disce omnes." He was persuaded that the house would not think it right to go into the inquiry. He had already said, that if the charge could be proved, his majesty's ministers deserved the censure of the house: but if not, that it ought to be marked by the manner of rejecting it. The charge had been brought forward, and a more frivolous one he had never heard of. He called upon the house therefore to dismiss the petition out of the court. He was as anxious as the honourable gentleman could be to secure the independence of parliament, but he could not consider that there was any impropriety in a secretary of the treasury doing that which had always been done. His lordship concluded by asserting that nothing had been fairly laid to the charge of government; and he trusted that the house would not only calmly and dispassionately view the subject, but would entirely dismiss the motion.

Mr. Biddulph, Mr. Rose, Mr. Herbert, and several other gentlemen spoke: on a division, for the motion 57, against 184. Majority for the minister 127.

In the house of peers, February 16, lord Hawkesbury moved for an address to his majesty for papers consisting of returns of the military force of the country, number of men enlisted, desertions, &c. which being ordered, a short conversation took place between the earl of Westmoreland and lord Grenville, respecting a motion made by the former for printing of certain papers relating to the West Indies, to which lord Grenville objected on account of the expenses. The motion being abandoned by the noble earl,

Lord Grenville rose, pursuant to the notice he had given, to introduce a bill for the better regulation of the courts of justice in Scotland, and for introducing the trials by jury in civil causes, in certain cases. In doing this, he thought it necessary to endeavour to remove the false impressions that had prevailed on the subject. This measure was very extensive in its nature; but it was not just to prepossess the minds of persons against it, by attributing to it objects which it did not embrace. It had been said, that it was intended by this bill to introduce a complete change in the civil jurisprudence of Scotland, and to assimilate it altogether to the law of England. When he first introduced the subject to their lordships' notice, he had declared that he entertained no such intention, and he was still of opinion, that nothing could be more impolitic and unjust than such an attempt. The bill which he had to offer, made in fact no alteration in the law of Scotland, but related solely to the manner in which the law ought to be administered. His lordship then, in a very detailed manner, proceeded to explain the purport of the bill, and went over all the topics upon which he touched when he moved the resolutions on the same subject towards the close of the last session. The general outline of the change now proposed may be briefly stated. The bill relates to three objects. 1st. To divide the court of sessions, which consists of fifteen judges, into three chambers of five judges each, having concurrent jurisdictions.—2dly, To introduce, or rather to revive, in Scotland, the trial

trial by jury in civil actions of a certain description, namely, those which relate to personal rights, all questions relative to landed property being left to be decided in the usual manner.—3dly, To constitute an intermediate chamber of appeal, between the court of sessions and the house of lords. In forming this chamber of appeal, his lordship proposed to empower his majesty, by the bill, to make one new lord of session; and also to make the lord chief baron a member of the same court, in order that he may also sit in the chamber of revision. One member from each of the other three chambers, will make five judges, for the chamber of revision. And as it might happen that the judge belonging to the chamber from which the appeal may be made, would not choose to sit in the chamber of revision, there would always be four judges remaining to decide on the appeal. It was his lordship's intention to propose, that the bill should not be read a second time until this day three weeks, that further time might still be afforded for considering the subject. He concluded by moving, "that the bill be now read a first time."

The duke of Montrose doubted whether it would not be better to divide the court of session into only two chambers than into three. He had at first thought favourably of the establishment of an intermediate court of appeal, but he had since altered his opinion. Upon reflection, he did not think that such a measure was likely to prevent the accumulation of appeals before the house of lords; it would only be one more step through which the litigants would have to go, before they came to their lordships' bar. He was also of opinion, that in discussing this subject, their lordships ought to have the assistance of the judges from Scotland.

Lord Eldon and lord Hawkesbury gave their approbation in general to the measure, but reserved to themselves the right of proposing alterations in the details of the bill. Lord Eldon was desirous that the bill should not be read until this day three weeks; and both these noble lords doubted whether it was practicable to introduce the trial by jury into the law of Scotland in civil cases.

Lord Ellenborough declared his decided approbation of the measure, and stated with great energy the inestimable advantages which this country derives from the trial by jury in civil cases, and the great boon which its introduction into Scotland would confer upon that country.

Lord Suffolk also approved of the measure, and thought that the salaries of the Scotch judges ought to be increased.

Lord Grenville wished the bill to be read a second time this day three weeks, in order that it might go through the committee before Easter; but he was willing that it should not be committed until this day four weeks.

After a few words from lord Eldon and the lord chancellor, the bill was read a first time, and ordered to be printed.

On the 10th of March lord Grenville, anxious that the house should be in possession of all the necessary facts on this business, moved that the clerks should prepare an account of the number of appeals brought to that house, distinguishing those from the courts here and from Scotland, with the

number decided upon, dismissed, &c. from 1794 to 1801; and also the like account of appeals, distinguishing those from Scotland and Ireland, from 1801 to the present time.

This motion being agreed to, the lord chancellor stated to the house the receipt of a paper, purporting to be a memorial from the college of justice in Scotland, respecting the bill brought in, and requested their lordships' instructions respecting it. It was, after some conversation, agreed that the memorial could not be received, although the sentiments of the lords of session upon this subject would be highly desirable. They must, however, if they wished to address the house, do it in the form of a petition in their individual characters as lords of session, and not as a body. This the lord chancellor undertook to communicate.

To this subject lord Grenville adverted on the 12th, observing, that though he was decidedly hostile to any proposition for receiving the opinions of the lords of session with respect to the expediency of the bill as a legislative measure, he still thought it of importance that their lordships should have the opportunity of putting questions to the judges of the court of session, with respect to the practical effect which might be produced by any of the provisions of the bill: he therefore moved that the lord president of the court of session, and the two senior lords of that court, do attend the service of the house with all convenient speed. This motion was agreed to.

March 16th. On the order of the day being read for going into a committee on this bill,

The duke of Montrose expressed himself decidedly hostile to the measure in its present shape. He conceived the proposed division of the court of session into three chambers, with a superior court of appeal, to be an infraction of the articles of union, inasmuch as the court of session would thus no longer be the supreme court of Scotland, but would be rendered inferior to another court, namely, the court of appeal. The division into three chambers might also be productive of serious inconvenience: a case, for instance, decided by a majority of ten judges to four, might, by the operation of this bill, be again decided upon by four judges in one of these three chambers, and these four might happen to be the minority on the former decision. The chamber of review would, he thought, also defeat the object sought to be attained, namely, the more speedy administration of justice, by again narrowing the channel of that administration; and he had little doubt that this new court of appeal, if established, would soon be as much overloaded with appeals as that house was at present. He thought it would be much more adviseable to divide the court of session into two chambers, consisting of eight judges, and seven, from each of which three judges might be detached into the outer house, to do the business there in a manner more complete than that now practised. The judges might take it in rotation every year to go into the outer house. If this mode were adopted, and the courts were empowered to give possession in consequence of judgement, and to order the payment of money, or to take good security in case of an appeal; and also, if in that house costs were given on appeals to the extent of the expense actually incurred,

curred, together with damages for any injury sustained, there would be no necessity for an intermediate court of appeal, and appeals to that house would become much less frequent. With respect to the introduction of trial by jury, he thought it an experiment replete with difficulty and one that ought not to be tried without the most mature consideration: at least, the experiment, he was of opinon, should be confined in the first instance to the city of Edinburgh.

Lord Redesdale considered the present measure as a breach of the act of union, as, if it was carried into effect, the court of session would, in fact, no longer exist.

The earl of Selkirk contended that it was perfectly consistent with the act of union to make regulations for the better administration of justice in Scotland; and this measure did nothing more. He could not conceive that the establishment of an intermediate court of appeal would tend to increase appeals, as experience in this country, with respect to the court of exchequer chamber, proved directly the reverse.

Lord Eldon was of opinion that the proposed division of the court of session into three chambers was not consistent with the spirit of the act of union. He thought that much might be done by the mode proposed by the noble duke, by establishing two chambers, whilst, at the same time, the act of union would not be infringed. His lordship examined different provisions of the bill, and contended that they were extremely defective with respect to the directions given for resorting to trial by jury, and appeared to have been framed without a due consideration of the nature of pleadings in the court of session, which were so different to those adopted in the courts of law at Westminster-hall. He had considerable doubts respecting that part of the bill which related to trial by jury, and thought it would be better to separate it from the other. It was a most important subject, and called for the earnest, serious attention of their lordships.

Lord Grenville said, the objection that this measure was an infringement of the act of union did not appear to him to be in the least well founded. It was clear that there existed an absolute necessity for remedying the evils which resulted from the accumulation of business in the court of session more than that court could possibly get through, and the accumulation of appeals in that house. The necessity of some remedy was so evident, that those noble lords who objected to this measure, proposed as a substitute the division into two chambers. If the division into three chambers was, however, an infringement of the act of union, it was perfectly clear that the division into two chambers was also an infringement. He, however, could not conceive there was any doubt that parliament had the power of making enactments for the better regulation of the court of session: it was a power recognised by an act of the Scotch parliament, and reserved by the words inserted in the article of the act of union.

Lord viscount Melville declared himself friendly to the principle of diminishing the number of lords of session. He had formerly proposed a bill for diminishing their number to ten: but he confessed he thought the proposition of the noble

noble lord for dividing them into three chambers much preferable. He doubted, however, the propriety of establishing a court of review, which he thought an infringement of the act of union, whilst, at the same time, it would not tend to diminish the number of appeals to that house, as the litigants would still be anxious to appeal to the last resort. With respect to the trial by jury, he did not think it would be productive of those beneficial effects which were looked for by the proposers of the bill: it was ill suited to the habits of the people of Scotland, neither did they wish for its introduction.

The earl of Lauderdale quoted the 18th and 19th articles of union, for the purpose of proving that the present measure was no infringement upon that act, there being an express reservation that regulations might be adopted for the administration of justice, consistently with public policy, and for the evident utility of the subject. The division of the court of session into three chambers, and the establishment of a court of review, were questions of public policy, respecting which, parliament had undoubtedly the power of deciding. The court of session had formerly established regulations by acts of *sederunt* for the more speedy administration of justice, and it were absurd to suppose that parliament had not the paramount power to enforce regulations for the better administration of justice. The introduction of the trial by jury formed part of the resolutions passed last session; and since that period no petition had been presented to the house from any part of Scotland against that part of the plan; he was therefore warranted in supposing that there was no objection to its introduction.

The earl of Mansfield, after modestly apologising for offering himself to the attention of the house upon such a subject, expressed himself of the same opinion with lord Melville, and cited an opinion delivered by that great lawyer, the earl of Mansfield, that the introduction of the trial by jury in Scotland, so far from being adviseable, might be attended with much hazard in the experiment: so totally unsuited was it to the habits and prejudices of the people.

The house then went into a committee, *pro formâ*, in which lord Eldon gave notice that he should, when they came to the clause relative to the trial by jury, move that it be omitted, for the purpose of having another substituted, better suited to answer the desired purpose.

On the 18th, lord Grenville said he thought it would be adviseable to empower the committee to separate all that part of the bill which related to trial by jury from the other parts which related to the division of the court of session into three chambers, and the formation of a court of review. With this view he moved to postpose the committee to Monday, intending on that day to move the instructions just referred to, and some other amendments.

Lord Eldon thanked the noble lord for having thus given further time for the consideration of that part of the subject, which was involved in considerable difficulty, namely, the trial by jury. He had no doubt that the trial by jury might, in some cases, be beneficially introduced into Scotland, but it was a question of difficulty how this

this should be done so as not to produce injury instead of good. With respect to the other part of the subject, he would give it every consideration in his power, and endeavour to come to that result, which, while in his judgment it would tend to remedy the evil that existed, would not violate the act of union. He doubted whether the court of review should not be rather sought in the chambers of the court of session, similar to our court of exchequer chamber, with relation to the courts of Westminster-hall, than rendered a distinct court, superior to the court of session, which he was inclined to think not consistent with the articles of union.

The lord chancellor had no doubt that he should be able to convince their lordships, that the difficulties in the way of the introduction of trial by jury in civil cases into Scotland were much less than were apprehended; that it would indeed be a comparatively easy task, and at the same time a very beneficial measure.

Lord Melville thought it would be more adviseable to have only two chambers in the inner house, the sole business of which should be to review the decisions given in the outer house, where, from the larger portion of time allowed to the judges for transacting business, that business might be done well. If, however, it was determined to have three chambers, he thought that one of those chambers should be allotted solely to the business of the outer house; in which case, from the single responsibility attached to the judges, every thing that could result from efficiency, and from solemnity of decision, might be expected.

Lord Lauderdale agreed with the noble viscount in the necessity of adopting some means of doing the business in the outer house in a better manner, as it had been calculated that a lord of session, in consequence of the multiplicity of other business, had only sixty-three hours in the year to allot to that in the outer house: this, however, had been provided for in the present plan, by which, the three chambers only sitting alternately, eight judges might be allotted to the business of the outer house, while, according to the proposition of the noble viscount, only five could sit there.

Some further conversation took place between several noble lords, the greater part of which turned upon the definition of *equity*, as applicable in England and Scotland. Lord Eldon having cited a decision of the court of session to prove the enlarged discretion exercised by that court, although not having originally an equitable jurisdiction; lord Kinnaird considered it as an additional argument for regulating the proceedings of that court. Lord Melville conceived that the last speaker had argued as if it were intended to alter the laws of Scotland. Lord Holland entered at some length into a definition of equity, a term which, in the English sense, he considered to be inapplicable to the practice of the court of session, which was regulated by the discretion of the judges, without any of those rules which defined the province of courts of equity in England. The committee was postponed to Monday; but it did not sit again till Saturday, March 25th, when lord Grenville made his promised motion, and other amendments, which were agreed to, and the committee was to meet again on the next day: but on that day a motion was made by lord

lord Hawkesbury to suspend the business of the house for some days in order to effect a change in the administration: this was carried, and nothing more was done on the Scots judicature bill till the 16th of April, when it was agreed the committee should be revived. In some conversations it appeared that many of the new administration were inclined to oppose the further progress of the bill.

In a committee on the 20th, lord Auckland rose and expressed his surprise at the sudden change of opinion that seemed to have taken place among a great number of their lordships respecting the merits of this bill. Not more than a month ago it seemed to be sanctioned by the almost universal approbation of the house: now something utterly subversive of the principle of the bill was set up in opposition to it, which appeared to him to be unfair, unmanly, and unconstitutional.

Lord Eldon and lord Hawkesbury contended that they had never pledged themselves to support the bill in all its provisions. The former moved that the committee be deferred till Thursday, when, if necessary, he would move that the committee be postponed for three weeks for the purpose of allowing time to prepare another bill. Lord Melville said he should then move, that the order for the attendance of the Scotch judges should be discharged.

On Thursday the 22d, the order having been read for the attendance of the lord president, and other judges of the court of session, five of the judges of that court, namely, the lord president, the lord justice clerk, lords Glenree, Cullen, and Newton, entered the house and took their seats in chairs provided for them, in a space inclosed with railing, without the bar.

Lord Erskine entered into a discussion of the bill with a view of putting several questions to the judges of the court of session, in order that the house might thence derive useful and important information. He impressed upon their lordships the necessity of endeavouring to apply some remedy to the great evil which existed in the number of appeals brought to that house from Scotland, and particularly dwelt upon the necessity of separating the law from the facts in the courts below; of their deciding finally upon the latter, and leaving only the former as a matter of appeal to that house. His lordship then proposed several questions to be put to the judges.

After a short conversation between several of the lords the questions were agreed to, and were communicated by the lord chancellor to the judges, who were requested to state when they would be ready to answer them.

The lord president said that he was ready to give in his answer that evening; that some of his brethren wished for time till the next day, and others till Monday; but that at all events on the latter day they would be ready to answer them. His lordship stated, that great inconveniences would result to the administration of justice in Scotland by detaining them longer than Monday.—On that day parliament was dissolved, and the measure was lost.

We have given this outline of a bill that was deemed of great consequence to the interests of the united kingdom, presuming, that though abandoned for the present, it will hereafter be brought again into discussion.

We

We return now to the house of commons, where, on the 16th of February, upon the motion of lord Castlereagh, the debate upon his lordship's financial resolutions, as opposed to those of lord H. Petty, was postponed for a week; and on the question being put for the house to go into a committee on finance, Mr. Long rose to make some observations, which lord H. Petty thought had better be stated in a committee: to this

Mr. Long replied, that he thought it more regular to proceed now, as his objection went rather to the principle of the plan than to the detail. He observed, however, in continuation, that he did not object even to the principle to a certain extent. He fully admitted that it was highly expedient to impose no new taxes for the present, if it could be avoided. This was his opinion, and it was sanctioned by that of the noble lord's predecessor. New taxes to any great extent would occasion a very heavy pressure on the people at present. Then what other resources were there? There were two, namely, the war taxes and the sinking fund. His noble friend (Castlereagh) objected to the plan of compound loans: but whether the borrowing was from the consolidated fund, or the war taxes, there must be supplementary loans. To a certain extent, therefore, he saw no objection to borrowing from the war taxes: but he must object to the system of pledging the whole of the war taxes, independent of the property tax, and at last the property tax also. The noble lord ought to borrow only on such as might be supposed to yield their fullest amount in time of peace. He might continue the war for five years, by borrowing on this portion of the war taxes. The sum of eleven millions might be annually borrowed in this way, or thirteen millions, if necessary; and for those sums the permanently productive war taxes, with the expiring annuities, would afford ample provision for five years. He thought the war taxes ought not to be pledged to a greater amount, as it was contrary to the policy of this country. He ought to consider the furious objections made to the property tax, which was called a system, not of taxation, but of confiscation. He ought therefore to pause before he pledged this and other taxes: but if he had great doubts as to the propriety of pledging the war taxes to the full extent proposed by the noble lord, he had still stronger doubts respecting the *data* on which the plan was founded. The noble lord supposed that the war expenses would not exceed thirty-two millions annually, during the whole period. He could not reasonably conclude that there was any probability that this would be the case. He ought to have taken into account the subsidies that might be wanted, and the depreciation of money which must take place in the course of that time. The right honourable gentleman then stated his objection to the system of the accumulation of the sinking fund, and providing for the loans at five *per cent.*, instead of one *per cent.*, according to the old plan, as it afforded an undue advantage to the stock-holder, at the expense of the public. He had great objections to the plan of accumulation adopted in 1802. It never was the object of the original proposer of the sinking fund that it should be allowed to accumulate so as to extinguish the debt. The intention was principally to keep down

down the debt, so as to prevent it from becoming inconvenient to the public. For the proof of this it was only necessary to look at the plan of 1786. The *maximum* of four millions was then established, and after the fund had attained to this, then the interest was to be at the disposal of parliament: so, from the year 1808, 200,000*l.* of taxes might be taken off annually, or applied to other purposes, as the case might be. He did not object to the borrowing from the war taxes, if this should be confined to five years. The noble lord imposed no new taxes for the first three years. He highly approved of that, not merely on account of the relief which it afforded to the people, but also because it rested upon principles of sound policy: for by this means taxation might be had recourse to with great vigour afterwards, if this should be necessary; and besides, this circumstance would have the best effects upon the permanent taxes. If, therefore, the period had been confined to five years, he could have had no objection to the plan. The noble lord might have, in the mean time, observed the progress of the sinking fund, of the war taxes, and of the permanent taxes, and borrowed upon these as he should find it expedient: but to take a period of twenty years, and to proceed upon the supposition that thirty-two millions only would be required for the war expenditure, was to legislate on grounds the most uncertain and erroneous that could possibly be conceived.

Mr. Tierney rose. The right honourable gentleman who had just sat down, objected to the period of twenty years, and thought that the fittest stage to stop at was five years: but his reasoning proceeded on erroneous grounds, when he supposed that this plan was intended to legislate to twenty years,—it did no such thing. It merely held out what might be done in twenty years, certain *data* being allowed. It did nothing whatever to tie up the hands of the house, or to prevent them from adopting such alterations as circumstances might render necessary. It was no disadvantage to argue with a view to a period of twenty years, as the argument was not to be conclusive or binding; but to satisfy the house that so much might be done in twenty years, would not prevent them from exercising their discretion afterwards. The right honourable gentleman agreed, that it would be inconvenient to impose new taxes at present: that was conceded by the noble lord near him, and by the general voice of the country, not only by those who merely wished to be relieved from the pressure of taxation, but generally by those who looked to the policy of the thing. It did certainly afford a hope that recourse might be had with more vigour to the permanent taxes; and he was glad the right honourable gentleman had said so, because this served to remove the objection which he himself had made with respect to the amount of the permanent taxes. The next point that called for observation was, the extent to which the war taxes were to be pledged. The right honourable gentleman agreed that it was a proper thing to pledge the war taxes, but not to the extent proposed, and thought that it was improper to have a five *per cent.* sinking fund, instead of one *per cent.* as formerly: but this was entirely of the nature of a bargain with the stock-holder. He agreed

with his right honourable friend, that the sinking fund was not originally intended solely for the benefit of the stock-holder. The noble lord had chosen the proper medium by his plan. He had given the stock-holder the benefit of the five *per cent.* instead of one *per cent.* at present, with a view to the great loans that might be necessary afterwards, so that the whole was for the benefit of the country, which was the great object of the sinking fund. It was intended to facilitate the loans,—the immediate increase of the sinking fund: that was the reason why so large a *per centage* was allowed at first. Why, then, the right honourable gentleman talked about the improbability of the war expenditure being confined to thirty-two millions. But his noble friend had not pledged himself that this alone should be the amount of the expenditure. His object was to show, that supposing the war expenditure should not exceed the enormous sum of thirty-two millions, still the war might be continued for so long a time without any additional taxes. This was a circumstance which must occasion astonishment in the mind of every individual, and must excite amazement from one end of Europe to the other.

Mr. Rose addressed the committee nearly as follows:—I am aware of the disadvantage under which any one must rise in this committee, to make observations at all unfavourable to a plan which holds out to the country a certain prospect of not being subjected to taxes for three years to come; and that, for a considerable period, such as shall be necessary will be to no considerable amount. Objections, however, of so serious and important a nature press on my mind upon the subject, that, unless they shall be removed by the noble lord, they will compel me, in the discharge of my duty as a member of parliament, to resist at least the immediate adoption of it, especially on the basis proposed; and under a persuasion, that, if, contrary to the present impression upon my mind, the scheme shall be found to be a good one, other means than those proposed must be devised for carrying it into effect. High eulogiums were bestowed by the noble lord in the course of his opening speech, on the system of the sinking fund, and on the one for raising large sums within the year, towards carrying on the war; and great praise was very liberally given to the incomparable man, (Mr. Pitt) whom this country and the world have had the misfortune to lose, for having established those systems. I naturally expected, therefore, to hear some proposal, similar in principal to those: the resolution, however, under our consideration, is the converse of that principle, as it not only has a direct tendency to interrupt the progress of the old sinking fund in paying of the present debt, but anticipates our resources instead of providing new ones. The truth is, which cannot be concealed, that instead of following up the principle established and acted upon by my late right honourable friend, of increasing the sinking fund, and diminishing the debt, it is proposed to adopt one, which, in the course of its operation, will have the effect of diminishing the sinking fund, and increasing to an immense amount the capital of the debt. Any wise and practicable plan that could be devised for avoiding, as far as may be prudent, the imposition

tion of taxes, arising out of the systems alluded to, must be received with as much partiality by me as by any member in this house, considering who was the author of those; but nothing can lead me to approve of any diversion of the sinking fund from the purposes to which it is now applicable by law, without all the consequences of that having been previously and most attentively weighed. I wish, however, not to be understood to express an opinion, that in no possible case there should be a diversion of any part of the sinking fund. Great expectation has been held out to the public (whether prudently or not is, perhaps, not worth inquiring about) of an exemption from taxes. I am aware, too, that many gentlemen may think we have done enough for posterity, and that we should consider of some relief for those who have already made great sacrifices, and have cheerfully submitted to heavy pressures: but even if the committee shall be of that opinion, I shall still contend that the mode proposed for affording that relief would, in its consequences, be most mischievous. I am anxious, therefore, before the plan proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer is adopted, that sufficient time should be allowed to consider whether any other can be suggested, which, although it may not afford all the relief we have been led to expect, may at least avoid the dangers I am about to point out, and be free from most of the objections I am about to state. In the view of the subject I am now taking, I forbear to enter on detailed observations upon the tables on which the calculations are made: the most superficial inspection, however, would satisfy any one of the danger of the plan being adopted without further investigation. The noble lord seems to have fallen into three considerable errors respecting his plan, and to have given no weight whatever to the important consideration of what provision it may be necessary to make for our peace establishment, although he mentions it. I allude, 1st, to the assumption that each loan will be paid off in fourteen years, by its accompanying sinking fund at five *per cent.*; 2d, that the war taxes will be sufficiently productive in peace to do what is required of them: 3d, that our war expenses will be kept so low as 38,000,000*l.* As to the first, the noble lord proceeds on an expectation that the three *per cents* will be stationary at 60*l.*, without considering that the sums so raised may, and in all probability will, be paid off with the same stock at 80*l.*, 90*l.*, or at *par*. There can be no doubt but that the redemption of the debt is much more likely to be retarded by such rise, than it is to be accelerated by future loans being made at a lower rate of interest, in consequence of the increased value of the stock. These objections struck me very forcibly on the noble lord opening his plan, as I observed to a learned friend near me, and on the best and most mature reflection I have since been able to bestow on the subject, I am seriously confirmed in them. I cannot express myself too strongly respecting a continuance of the part of the war taxes I have alluded to for an indefinite term, according as the price of stocks may be, under a firm and clear conviction founded on experience, that, with the exception

ception of those on goods and shipping, and on malt, (to which I have objections of a different nature,) the taxes at their present rates would so lessen the lawful consumption of most of the articles on which they are levied, as to reduce the old duties on the same to at least as great an extent as the amount of the war taxes: if I am right in that, the revenue would of course profit nothing by a continuation of the latter, but would probably sustain a loss. Here the hon. gentleman entered into a variety of minute details on the subject, and said, If I had no other reasons to offer against putting out of our power the war taxes, I should think I have said enough to induce the committee not to decide hastily in favour of a measure which cannot be effected without our doing so; but I wish further to press on their consideration, that any substitutes for those it may be found necessary should expire, will not be within our grasp. I allude to the necessity of looking to a provision for our peace establishment: it is observed, indeed, in a paper circulated by ministers, "How far some parts of the war taxes are of a description to remain in force after the war, and what may be the provision to be made hereafter for a peace establishment, (probably much larger than in former periods of peace,) are considerations which at present need not be anticipated!" Are we then to shut our eyes against a situation which (however hopeless the present prospect is) we may be in within a year or two? Are we now entirely to exclude from our deliberations the prudence of divesting ourselves of all power over taxes which we may want for our peace establishment, if we shall find, by enforcing existing regulations and enacting new ones, we can hereafter even continue any part of them? However difficult it may be to ascertain the exact amount of that establishment, no one will doubt for a moment but that it must be infinitely larger than the former one. I will state one lower than I am sure his majesty's ministers can entertain the remotest hope of its being reduced to, and opposite to it the means we have to provide for it. Will not the providing for that on (alluding to one which he gave) a peace (if nothing shall be done towards it in the mean time) furnish sufficient employment for the wisest application of any means, without the additional task being imposed on us of finding substitutes for taxes we are now about to appropriate? Sir, exclusively of the mistakes and oversights already noticed, there is still one more which must have a considerable influence on the plan before us; I mean estimating the future war expenditure so low as 38,677,000*l.* or that of 1806, to which sum it is reduced by excluding subsidies to the amount of 1,500,000*l.* and the sum requisite for the loyalty loan, as if there had not been in almost every year of war extra expenses beyond those sums: such charges will be found to have amounted in an average of the last twelve years to 2,744,000*l.*, on an average of the last seven years to 3,934,000*l.*, and in the last year to 5,188,000*l.* The noble lord will hardly tell us that a determination has been taken to give no more subsidies to princes on the continent, however tempting the occasion may be, notwithstanding the communication made to the French minister in the late negotiation, of the opinion entertained by our ministers of the rashness

and folly of further coalition to reduce the power of France! A moderate and reasonable allowance for unforeseen expenses will unavoidably increase the supplementary loans, and will compel necessarily the imposing taxes to a considerably larger amount than the noble lord has led us to expect. If, on the degree of consideration we are allowed time for all the circumstances I have alluded to, it shall be thought expedient to decide now on pledging a part of the war taxes; let gentlemen weigh well in their minds, whether, reflecting on all the disadvantages and objections I have stated to the collection of those under the management of the customs and excise, it may not be desirable rather to avail ourselves of the income tax to a limited amount. I am aware of the unpopularity of that; notwithstanding which, under all the disadvantage of offering suggestions to government, I am willing to take a full share of it; for I sincerely believe that every man who spends a reasonable part of his income, will, at the end of the year, pay less in that shape than by any taxes on consumption. My entreaty to the noble lord, however, is, not that he will relinquish his plan, nor even that he will at present make any alteration in the detail of it; I beseech him only to limit the experiment to the present year; it will answer all his purposes completely and effectually, and will afford him and his majesty's other ministers opportunity to consider it more fully themselves, and to advise with others, as well as to the public to understand it better than we do now. With that entreaty I shall close what I mean to trouble the committee with; observing only, that I am persuaded what is well intended by the noble lord as a relief to the people at present, will prove out of all proportion more mischievous to the permanent prosperity of the country. My anxiety for her prosperity is undiminished, which cannot be felt more warmly by the noble lord or by his friends at the treasury, than it is by me.

Lord Henry Petty entered into a long vindication of his plan, and thus concluded: He should not say what might be the amount of the peace establishment, for that would depend on the state of France, and of Europe; but he could look with confidence to the resources of the country to supply ample means for providing for such an establishment. He complained that the noble lord, in calculating the comparative effect of the new plan, had given an unfair view of the question, by stating, as he had truly done, the amount of the debt created, but withholding the effect of the sinking fund for its redemption. As to the plan of the noble lord, contained in his eighth resolution, for keeping the sinking fund stationary when it should amount to an equality with the loan, and for adding the interest of the sum borrowed to the amount of the loan in each year, whilst the interest, and sinking fund upon that interest, was to be defrayed out of the consolidated fund, to be afterwards replaced out of the excesses of the sinking fund, he considered that as the most ruinous system that could be devised. The sum to be provided in the first year would be small; but without troubling the committee with the intermediate accumulation, he should state, that before the excesses should accrue in 1816, the sum to be provided in the year would

would be eleven millions, the aggregate sums borrowed would be one hundred and forty-eight or nine millions, and the charge upon the consolidated fund would be five hundred thousand pounds. Such a system would be much more ruinous than this plan of supplementary loans. The general result of the two plans would be, that by the noble lord's plan the amount of the debt created would be, in 1826, 273,560,531*l.* with a sinking fund of 8,960,987*l.*; and by the new plan, the amount of the debt would be 304,884,442*l.* with a sinking fund of 19,368,000*l.* So that, with a small increase of the public debt, there would be more than double the amount of the sinking fund. As to the other plan of the noble lord, it departed from the principle of giving immediate relief to the country, by providing that we should go on as at present, till the sinking fund should equal the amount of the loan. To this he had a fundamental objection, because it proposed to lay on 730,000*l.* taxes annually, till the sinking fund should reach the assumed limit, at a time when it was universally agreed, that all taxation should be avoided. This plan did not include the possibility of an increase of expenditure, which would overturn the foundation upon which it rested. An increase of expenditure would create an increasing debt, whilst the sinking fund would be stationary. Having proceeded somewhat further in the discussion of the comparative merits of the system he had the honour to bring forward, and that recommended by the opposite side of the house, the noble lord dilated upon the benefits which his system promised to produce. Among other advantages, he stated that it was peculiarly calculated to occasion that which was most important in a country like this, namely, to keep up the price of stocks. If they were inclined to advance, this system would serve to promote that advance; and, on the other hand, if they were upon the decline, this system was of such a nature as must operate to counteract that tendency. Indeed, the effects of this system upon the stocks had been already experienced. The happiest omen of its character had been manifested in the rise of stocks, even within the period that had elapsed since its original proposition. It was, in fact, evident, that it served to encourage the confidence and confirm the hopes of that most intelligent body of men, the moneyed interest, who were not to be deceived by imposing schemes or fallacious calculations; who were not likely to attach themselves to any project, the ruinous tendency of which was, according to the gentlemen on the opposite bench, perfectly obvious. Another effect of this system would be to keep down the price of provisions, or at least prevent those fluctuations in prices which so mischievously tended to depreciate the value of money. For, as it precluded additional taxation, it must naturally serve to promote the end of placing provisions and other articles affected by taxation, on terms more easily within the reach of government and the people. The noble lord concluded with observing, that those two important effects pleaded most powerfully for the adoption of the system he had the honour to submit to their consideration.

Lord Castlereagh agreed that it was most desirable to alleviate the burthens of the people, and to di-

minish the taxes, but he did not think the noble lord's plan could do the one or the other. The noble lord seemed to have discovered the philosophers' stone, and to have found out the way to produce 492,000,000*l.* from 2,000,000*l.*; but he apprehended that the result would prove that the noble lord had spent a great deal and gained nothing. What opinion must the country now entertain of this system, if the noble lord's statement last year was true, when he spoke with despondency and dismay of our resources, which he had described as exhausted by his predecessors in office? He congratulated the noble lord, however, on his discovery that our means and resources were abundant, and would in a short time be flourishing.

Mr. Davies Giddy highly applauded the plan of the noble lord (H. Petty). He had made some calculations upon the subject himself, and had taken some time to consider the plan which that noble lord had laid before the house; and he found that it united all the physical and moral powers that were necessary for the attainment of the object which he had in view. It was with arithmetical calculations as with the machinery used in mechanics; the operating power must be proportioned to the weight or sum which it has to raise. On this principle he found the noble lord's system to be correct in all its parts, with making only the necessary allowance for any thing that might hereafter accidentally impede the operations of the machinery. It also possessed the moral power of exciting the confidence and energy of the people.

The resolutions were then read and agreed to; the house was resumed, and the report ordered to be received on the following Wednesday.

On the 18th, Mr. Robson agreeably to notice moved, "That a return be made to parliament of all buildings hired as barracks or lodgings for the military in Great Britain, from the first of January 1793 to the first of January 1807."

Lord Howick did not wish to withhold any information that could be conveniently produced on the subject; but from the extent and wording of the honourable gentleman's motion, he had some doubts of the practicability of obtaining the returns to it in any reasonable time. The house would consider, whether it would be expedient to order the accounts now called for to be produced at the expense of so much time and labour, when the attention of the military commission, and the commission appointed at the suggestion of the military commission for examining persons upon oath, were both employed in investigating this subject.

Col. Barry admitted that it would be desirable to avoid, as much as possible, the use of temporary barracks. But when it was found necessary to march a body of troops to a particular point, where there were no accommodations, it was necessary to hire buildings, at any rent that should be demanded.

Mr. Robson contended that the papers which he asked for might be produced in one day. In his own defence he should say, that a motion which he had the honour to make last session, relative to one district, had produced the effect of lowering the rent of barracks in that district one half, and he had a right

a right to expect a similar reduction in every other district. Mr. Robson's motion was negatived.

On the 19th, after the usual routine of business,

Mr. Whitbread rose and spoke as follows:—Mr. Speaker, I rise to submit to the consideration of this house, one of the most interesting propositions which ever occupied the attention of any deliberative assembly upon earth. I wish to engage you in an attempt at the solution of the most difficult of all political problems; namely, how to reduce the sum of human vice and misery, and how to augment that of human happiness and virtue, amongst the subjects of this realm. Sir, this attempt has been often and fruitlessly made; nevertheless I do not think the success of it impossible. However great the difficulty, it is our duty to endeavour at least to overcome it. Sir, I will not now detain the house by an investigation of the original constitution of society; or enter into the abstract right of man to the succour and support of his fellow creatures. Whether that right exist or not, as individuals, we could never refuse relief to innocence, or even to guilt, in distress; neither, as part of a legislature, could we ever be brought to say that such assistance shall not be attainable through the medium of the law. More than two centuries have elapsed, since, after a succession of efforts tending to the same end, there was embodied upon your statute-book, the great Christian principle, "that you should do unto others as you would that others should do unto you." What theory could be more delightful? As a state, you undertook to feed the hungry—to clothe the naked—to visit the sick—to protect the fatherless—to assist the widow—to find employment for the healthy and necessitous—and to compel work from the dissolute and the idle. Sir, these plans were devised during the reign of Elizabeth; the glories of which are still vivid in the annals of our history. They were projected and carried into execution under the auspices of some of the wisest statesmen that ever presided in the councils of any country. They were not the sudden production of one particular period. They had occupied the attention of the legislature during the whole of that long and prosperous reign. From the 5th to the 14th—to the 18th—to the 39th down to the 43d of the queen, we find a constant succession of statutes bearing testimony to the constant direction of the care of the government towards that object: till, at last, the work was complete. But, sir, as if it were to confound the speculations of human wisdom, and to humble the pride of man, these schemes, reared upon a foundation apparently so solid, by workmen so able, have been inadequate to the object they had in view. It is an assertion now pretty generally made, that the system of our poor-laws has served to degrade those whom it was intended to exalt, to destroy the spirit of independence throughout our land; to hold out hopes which cannot be realized; to encourage idleness and vice; and to produce a superfluous population the offspring of improvidence, and the early victim of misery and want. That which in speculation ought to have been our glory, has been turned to our reproach. A committee of this house, appointed to inquire into the state of the

poor of Ireland, (where great wretchedness is said to prevail,) and to suggest some remedy, have solemnly rejected the system of your poor-laws, as likely not only to be exceedingly oppressive to the land-owner, but to aggravate the distress of those for whose relief they would be enacted. Sir, there has been a great revolution in the public mind. Till within a very few years of the period in which I am speaking, the 43d of Elizabeth was, if I may be allowed the expression, considered as the bible on this subject. Many persons, observing the rapid increase of the burthens imposed by that statute, have projected plans of reform, and the legislature has adopted many new acts: but they have all proceeded upon the same principle. No one ever ventured to surmise that the system itself was radically defective and vicious; and even the last projector, Mr. Pitt, to whose benevolent intention I wish to bear sincere testimony, proceeded upon the supposition that the base upon which we had so long stood was stable and sound. His plan proved abortive, and indeed in most of its parts it was, I am confident, absolutely impracticable. Sir, the period is arrived, in which I think it seems by common consent to be admitted, that some steps must be taken. You have lately had severe visitations from the hand of Providence, which have roused your attention to the state of your community. It has been said, that those calamities have been greatly increased by the depression they have occasioned of the character of your labouring poor. It has been said, that necessity having overcome the honest pride which formerly withheld a man from resorting to parochial relief, he no longer cares to recover his independence, but now voluntarily resorts to that assistance which he would before have indignantly avoided.—That such was the effect during the continuance of scarcity (and even since it has ceased) no man can deny: but, sir, I am willing to believe, and not without ground, that this effect is gradually wearing off; that the mind of the labouring class is recovering its elasticity, and that the proper pride of independence has, in a degree at least, resumed its place. Sir, by the accurate returns which have of late years been laid before parliament, your situation is exposed to your view. The spectacle is indeed fearful, but it must be contemplated. In order to cure any wound, we must know its exact situation and depth. By the abstracts then upon your table, which were made up in the year 1803, it will appear that, upon a population in England and Wales (exclusive of your army and navy) of 8,870,000 souls, not less than 1,234,000 are partakers of parochial relief. That is, that nearly one seventh part of your population is indebted to the rest wholly, or in part, for their support; and by far the larger part of that number is wholly subsisted without any exertion of their own. Sir, that a remedy for an evil so great, and so rapidly increasing, ought immediately to be sought, all will be ready to agree; and I stand up before you, under the persuasion that I shall be able to propose to you improvements, regulations, and modifications to effect that end, which will not be found wholly unworthy of your attention. However small my personal claims to consideration may be, I am sure, in the contemplation of my task, I shall meet with

with the favour of this house. I desire no support from my best friends, but that which the merits of my plan may seem to deserve. I am sure I shall encounter no opposition but that which its demerits extort; and I am equally sure that at this moment there does not exist an individual throughout the nation, who does not wish me success. Sir, I desire here to put in a rational claim to your attention, by assuring both you and the house, that I am no visionary enthusiast, seeking after universal plenty and comfort, and imaginary perfection. I know the laws of God to be immutable, and bow to their uncontrolable force. I believe man to be born to labour as the sparks fly upwards; that a certain portion of misery is inseparable from mortality; and that all plans for the lodging, clothing, and feeding of all mankind, with what may be called comfort, are quite impossible in practice. But here I must stop to say, that, after the most anxious and patient research into the state of society in these kingdoms, during a long period, I believe the situation of the lower and more useful classes to be better in every respect than at any former time: and he who shall attempt to persuade them to the contrary, must be either weak, misinformed, or wicked. Sir, I have in view the practical benefit of mankind. In order to form myself for this day, I have had recourse to principles and unerring experience. [Here the honourable gentleman went into an elaborate discussion of principles advanced by Mr. Malthus, in the work on population.] Sir, my wish is not to get rid of the poor-laws, but I think, by taking proper steps, they may hereafter become almost obsolete; and I am sanguine enough to hope that, if what I have to propose should meet with the concurrence of parliament, in the lapse of half a century they would be little used: but I would have such a code always remain upon your statute book, in order that there might be a sure and legal refuge, under any change of circumstances or society, for indigence and distress. The principles on which I would proceed, to effect this most desirable object, are these: to exalt the character of the labouring classes of your community: to give the labourer consequence in his own eyes, and in those of his fellows: to make him a fit companion for himself, and fit to associate with civilized men: to excite him to acquire property, that he may taste its sweets; and to give him inviolable security for that property, when it is acquired: to mitigate those restraints which now confine and cramp his sphere of action: to hold out a hope of reward to his patient industry: to render dependent poverty, in all cases, degradation in his eyes, and at all times less desirable than independent industry. Having accomplished this first grand object, I would endeavour to lighten the burthens which must inevitably be borne, by making their distribution more equal. I would propose some material alterations in the mode of affording relief; to put some of your present institutions on a more orderly footing, and to enable you to distinguish between your criminal, and innocently necessitous poor. In pursuing these objects it has been been my wish, and I hope I have succeeded, to steer clear of all new sources of litigation; not to disturb any of those decisions of the courts of

justice which have formed the guide for the conduct of magistrates, and those intrusted to their care; and not, in the smallest degree, to alter or vary the antient boundaries and divisions of the kingdom. I should further add, that I do not intend to regulate for any of those places whose concerns are provided for by special acts of parliament.—Sir, there is another principle upon which I wish to proceed, and in which I hope I shall obtain the universal concurrence of this house; I mean that of non-interference with the concerns of the poor, until necessity calls for it. —Sir, I hold that I have no more right to meddle with the private concerns of the labourer, to tell him how he shall be lodged, or fed, or clothed, than he has to interfere with mine, until he applies to me for relief. Then the right begins, and again it terminates when he is again able to provide for himself. I am as sure of the sound policy of the doctrine of leaving the poor to their own management, as I am sure of the right they have to be so left: and notwithstanding the instances of unthriftiness and dissolute selfishness which we witness in some characters, generally speaking, they manage for themselves much better than we could manage for them. Having, sir, however unwillingly, felt myself under the necessity of detaining the house with this preliminary matter, I shall now proceed to open to you the details of the plan I would propose. Sir, I think the house must anticipate, that in the front of my plan, for the exaltation of the character of the labourer, must appear a scheme for general national education. So it is; and upon its effects I mainly rely for the consummation of my wishes. Sir, it would be needless, in speaking before an assembly so enlightened as that which I have now the honour to address, to dwell upon the beneficial effects of the general diffusion of knowledge. I have of late heard it magnificently said from the chair in which you preside, that this house would at all times open its doors wide to receive the petitions of the people. Sir, I would borrow that expression, and bid you throw open wide the portals of the human understanding to the introduction of light and knowledge, in order that virtue and happiness might follow in their train. If there could exist a doubt about it in the mind of any man who hears me, I would refer him to the contemplation of the character of savage, uncivilized man,—more helpless than the brutes amongst which he obtains a precarious subsistence, but more dangerous than them to his fellow creatures, because under the influence of malignant passions by which they are not excited or tormented. Look into the pages of that writer whom I have so often quoted (Mr. Malthus),—see, and shudder at the description of, a totally uncivilized human being, in every quarter of the world, from the northern to the southern extremity of the globe. Trace man from that rude state, step by step, till he arrives at the highest polish of refinement in a civilized society, such as that in which we have the good fortune to live, and I think you will be compelled to confess, that every step towards civilization, notwithstanding the adventitious vices which undoubtedly attend its progress, is a step towards morality and order.—Sir, in a political point of view, nothing can possibly afford greater stability to a popular government

than the education of your people. Contemplate ignorance in the hand of craft; what a desperate weapon does it afford! How impotent does craft become before an instructed and enlightened multitude!—Sir, view the injustice and cruelty of ignorance; the violence and horrors of a deluded and infuriate mob; destroying its victims without selection or remorse, itself ultimately the victim of its own infatuation and guilt.—Could the disgraceful scenes of 1780 have taken place in this metropolis, had there prevailed amongst you a general system of national education? Sir, I think none of these things could have happened, where the light of knowledge and of truth had universally beamed. Sir, I have contended for parliamentary reform in this house, and I am still a sincere and decided friend to the reformation of parliament: but I do not believe that any scheme could be devised, so totally unobjectionable in its means, and so entirely efficacious to its object of increasing the purity of this house, as the general instruction of your people. Nothing could so tend to diffuse the principles and practice of Christianity. You translate the scriptures into the vulgar tongue, that all may have an opportunity of knowing, weighing, and following the divine precepts they contain. Open the eyes of your people, that they may read what you have so written, and your work is done.—Sir, I have the greatest authorities of the living and the dead, to recommend what I propose. Added to this, we have example and experience before our eyes. Look at Scotland. See her enviable state with regard to her poor. That country is the theme of panegyric amongst all who have visited her, on account of the situation of her labouring classes; and yet she has your system of poor-laws; the enactments are the same; they are still in force, they have been in general use, they may be and are still often resorted to; and time was when the state of the poor on the other side of the Tweed, as I shall presently show you, was more wretched, and their violence greater, than was almost ever known in the southern part of the island. Now, the poor-laws are almost totally in disuse, and all is regularity and order. What was the day-star, then, which shone forth and calmed these troubles?—Education. I propose then, sir, a general system of national education, by the establishment of parochial schools,—not compulsory upon the poor, for that would destroy its object, but voluntary,—and I am confident that it will soon so work its way, that every man in England and Wales will, as in Scotland, feel it a disgrace not to have his children instructed. Sir, the details of this plan will be found in the bill which I shall ask permission of the house to introduce: and I say nothing of the expense; for I am sure no statesman, who views the importance of the establishment as I do, will hesitate on that score alone to adopt it; for in the saving of poor's rate it will repay itself a hundred, and in order, morality, and virtue, ten thousand fold.—Sir, I cannot help noticing to the house, that this is a period particularly favourable for the institution of a national system of education; because within a few years there has been discovered a plan for the instruction of youth, which is now brought to a state of great perfection; happily combining rules, by which the object

object of learning must be infallibly attained with expedition and cheapness, and holding out the fairest prospect of eminent utility to mankind. Sir, the meritorious person with whom parts of the plan of education, to which I have alluded, have had their rise, who has also had the good sense unostentatiously to add the acknowledged discoveries of others to his own, is well known to many members of this house, and to a large part of the nation; and he is patronized by persons of the first distinction, in this and a neighbouring kingdom; he has further obtained the high honour of the royal sanction and support. The gentleman whom I mean to point out to you is Mr. Joseph Lancaster. Sir, I know that he has been the object of much opposition from bigotry and prejudice: but I believe him to be on every account deserving of encouragement and protection; and I am happy to find that the unfounded clamour which has been raised against him, has in no degree prevailed; that he still enjoys that distinguished and discriminating support I have before mentioned; and, as it frequently happens, that what was intended to overturn, has tended only to strengthen and support him. The principles upon which he proceeds at the free school in the Borough, are, upon examination, so obviously founded in utility and œconomy, that they must prevail; and will finally, I have no doubt, furnish a mode of instruction, not only for this country, but for all nations advanced in any degree of civilization.—Sir, I by no means intend to introduce any enactments into the bill which I shall propose to you, compelling any particular mechanical mode of instruction; but I have thought this a proper opportunity of stating my opinions relative to what I think must prove a great practical benefit to this country and the world.—Sir, the next step which I would recommend to the house to take towards the desirable end of exalting the character of the labourer, is to encourage him to become possessed of property, that he may taste its sweets; and to give him full security for the possession of what he shall acquire. If a labourer spend the whole of his earnings, he necessarily becomes a charge to the parish, upon the first accident he meets with, or the first attack of sickness; and if he is fortunate enough to escape both, the burthen is only suspended till age renders him incapable of work. A great proportion of the labouring poor thus becomes in succession claimants upon the parish; and this must in some degree continue, until the poor can be induced to lay by something in health, as a provision for sickness or age. Such of them as make the experiment, and have once felt the satisfaction of possessing something of their own, ordinarily succeed beyond all expectation. Advanced one step towards independence, they go on to improve their condition; and in this class are found some of the most industrious, frugal, and meritorious members of society. That so few are found to make any saving may in a great degree be accounted for, by the difficulty of putting out the little they can raise at a time. The establishment of friendly societies opens a very general and useful resource: and I am glad of this public opportunity of expressing my decided approbation of those excellent institutions; and my sense of the obligation due to the right hon. gentleman

opposite

opposite to me (Mr. Rose), under whose auspices an act has been passed for the regulation, support, and encouragement of those societies, which by increasing the number of subscribers to them has proved highly beneficial to the country; I mean the act of the 33d of the king, c. 54. But, sir, it is to be observed, that some institutions, such as I shall venture to suggest, are wanted in aid of the operations of those societies. I would propose the establishment of one great national institution, in the nature of a bank, for the use and advantage of the labouring classes alone; that it should be placed in the metropolis, and be under the control and management of proper persons, to be appointed according to the provisions contained in the bill I shall move for leave to introduce; that every man who shall be certified by one justice, to his own knowledge, or on proof, to subsist principally or alone by the wages of his labour, shall be at liberty to remit to the accountant of the poor's fund, (as I would designate it,) in notes or cash, any sum from 20*s.* upwards, but not exceeding 20*l.* in any one year, nor more in the whole than 200*l.* That once in every week the remittances of the preceding week be laid out in the 3 per cent. consolidated bank annuities, or in some other of the government stocks, in the name of commissioners to be appointed: to avoid all minute payments, no dividend to be remitted till it shall amount to 10*s.*, and that all fractional sums under 10*s.* be from time to time re-invested, in order to be rendered more productive towards the expenses of the office. The plan will be more amply detailed in the bill itself, and such regulations are provided as will, with the intervention of the post-office, give ample facilities to its execution. Gentlemen need not be told, that the perfection attained in the management of that great machine is such, as to give the most easy and rapid means of communication with the metropolis, much greater indeed than usually subsists between the remote parts of any county and its capital town. Sir, the advantage of such a plan as that which I have just sketched out, would be very much increased, if, in addition, an opportunity were given to those who might wish by an annual payment up to a given age, to purchase an annuity for the remainder of their lives; or to insure the payment of a gross sum to their families upon their death; or upon any of those calculable events, which are the usual objects of insurance. There are offices in which the higher and middle classes may, by proportional annual payments, make a provision for themselves or families; but the lowest of the requisite payments are above the reach of the labourer to whom such a provision is still more necessary. I would therefore propose that at the same place there should be established, under the same direction, an insurance office for the poor. Such, sir, is the general outline of the plan I would propose, to encourage the labourer to acquire property, and to secure to him the certain and profitable possession of it when acquired. I beg the patient attention of the house and the country to the consideration of it; and I have the greatest hope of a happy effect from its being put in practice. If the poor should be found to avail themselves of it to any extent, the advantages to them and to the country, would be incalculable,

incalculable, and the expense attending it would speedily be covered: if it should not succeed, the trial can cost but little.—The next point which I wish to urge to the consideration of the house, is the law of settlement. [Here the honourable gentleman gave an historical account of the law of settlement.] By the law, therefore, as it now stands, no length of residence will of itself gain a settlement. Vexatious removals are indeed greatly diminished, by the humane provisions of 35 Geo. III. 101. whereby it is enacted, that no person shall be removed till he shall become actually chargeable. But no settlement, by any length of residence, can be gained.—It frequently happens, therefore, that a man settled by birth, or who has a derivative settlement by apprenticeship, or service early in life, is fixed in a distant part of the kingdom till age renders him incapable of any longer getting his living; and he is then removed from a parish which has had all the benefit of his labour in active life, and from every neighbourly connection, to linger and die where he knows and is known to no one: and there are not wanting instances of such removals after fifty years residence in a parish.—I propose, therefore, in addition to the means by which a settlement may now be acquired, that a residence, as a householder, for 5 years in any parish, without being chargeable to that or any other parish, shall confer a settlement on any householder. But I would add, that such right to settlement should be forfeited by the person claiming it, if he should be proved to have been convicted of any crime, or to have incurred any infamous punishment, during the period. By this restriction I have in view the preservation of the morals of the country, to which I think it would very greatly conduce. [The honourable gentleman proposed a number of regulations respecting parish-vestries, parish-rates, &c. and then, referring to certain societies that offered premiums to the meritorious poor, he said] The Bedfordshire agricultural society was formed immediately after the pressure of the scarce years, and I confess that at the time I assented to the proposition for premiums of the sort I have described, I did not entertain any expectation that they would ever be adjudged. How astonished and delighted then must I have been, as I truly was, to find swarms of candidates for the inspection of their certificates! those certificates having been required in a way to preclude the possibility of fraud. What heartfelt joy was experienced by the great and ever-to-be-lamented personage, who at our first meeting distributed the rewards to the successful candidates, and by all who assisted at this useful institution! When I saw the honest glow of self-gratification beaming on the rugged countenance of industrious labour at the sight of the unexpected boon; the tear of joy trickling down that furrowed cheek, which had been often moistened with the tear of anguish and disappointment; I could not help exclaiming, to the farmers assembled round me, "Do you see this sight? Could you have believed the existence of these men, if they had not been produced before your eyes? Let it be a lesson to us. The idle, the profligate, and the clamorous, are constantly obtruding themselves upon our notice. They defraud, irritate, and fatigue us, and we are apt to judge and

condemn all their brethren in consequence of their misconduct. Virtue is patient, silent, and unobserved; it behoves us to bring her into notice, and reward her. May this society then flourish and be perpetual, if only for the purpose of rewarding meritorious industry, and creating in the labourers an emulation to do well; in their employers a determination to do their duty by them, and an improved opinion of human nature!" Sir, that which I then contributed to make local, I now wish to make national; and from experience of its beneficial operation on a small scale, I propose it to your adoption on a general one, and I repeat the remark I have made, that if it fails, it can cost nothing; if it succeeds, it must be of inestimable value. Sir, I would next advert to a circumstance very materially concerning the health and comfort of the poor, and which certainly requires the interference of the legislature; I mean the building of cottages.—Sir, I would propose to revive and give effect to the power formerly given to the church-wardens and overseers, of building cottages; to which I would add the power of buying land to a certain extent, not exceeding perhaps in the whole five acres. By the limitations and restrictions I shall impose upon it, I am not afraid of incurring the opposition of those who have stated, that the scarcity of habitations is the only preventive check to that morbid increase of population, which they assert it to be the direct tendency of the poor-laws to produce. Necessity overturns theory, and is paramount to control; and the want of habitations for the poor is in many places so great, that even in villages, two, and sometimes more than two, families are crowded into a cottage barely sufficient for one. Parents and children of both sexes, and of all ages, are obliged to sleep in one room, to the injury of their health, and in violation of all decency. This has arisen partly from the increased expense of building and repairs, and much from the increased population. I would propose to give to the parishes a power to lay out in building, sums not exceeding a limited amount, proportioned to their rates. The immediate distress for habitations might thus in some degree be lessened, and the comfort, the health, and the morals of the poor so far promoted. But, sir, I should wish parliament to direct, that all cottages built under this power should be let at fair and full rents, and even that the overseers, in letting the cottages, shall obtain for the parishes to which they belong, the benefit of the competition arising from the scarcity of dwellings; for, as the bulk of the habitations of the poor must be the property of individuals, who justly expect a reasonable profit for this part of their capital, it would be unfair towards them, and ultimately injurious to the poor, to let the houses built by the parish, at less than the private proprietor can afford to take for his. The next and last subject on which I must detain the house, is one of primary importance, and comprehends a variety of details.—Sir, I mean the mode of administering relief to the poor, the *quantum* of relief to be given, the distinction to be taken between the different applicants for relief, and the method of employment for those who are healthy and capable of work. I must set out by declaring, what I believe I have

mentioned

mentioned in a former part of my speech, that I deem it of most essential importance to maintain the character of independent industry, above dependent poverty; and that I think it a matter of injustice to the labourer, who is struggling by his own efforts to maintain himself and a numerous family without parochial relief, to place the man who does not make such efforts in a more desirable or more favourable situation as to food, lodging, or raiment. To age, infancy, and sickness, I would hold out the hand of support, protection, and care, widely extended, filled with all the blessings the most copious charity could afford. Sir, the impotent poor are to be considered under the two heads of the unfortunate and criminal, for the purpose of discrimination, of doing justice to misfortune, and of punishing profligacy. [The nature of the punishment for the criminal, and of the aid to the unfortunate, is amply explained; and Mr. W. adds] I would remedy one very great grievance, which prevails as much to the disadvantage of parishes, as to the oppression of the objects relieved. I mean the custom of depriving a man of every worldly possession before relief is administered.—Sir, I would propose, in case of sickness, or other great emergency, that the possession of furniture, tools and live stock, to the value of 30*l.*, and a cottage not exceeding the annual value of 5*l.*, should not preclude the possessor from receiving relief. Thus a man, who, as the law now stands, must, by the acceptance of the most trifling assistance, be overwhelmed, will be able to get afloat again in the world, and recover his independence when the visitation shall be at an end.—Sir, I will not trouble the house any further, there will be ample details in the bill; I would only add, that following up the principle I originally laid down, that dependent poverty should not, as under the workhouse system it frequently happens, be supported at a greater expense than independent industry can possibly sustain, I would regulate the quantity of meat and bread to be furnished to each individual in health maintained in a parish house; taking care that there should be at all times an ample supply of other wholesome and nutritious food.—Sir, I believe that I have gone through all the matters which have suggested themselves to me in the wide range of the poor-laws, as fit to be regulated, amended, or enacted by parliament; and I have advanced so far in digesting them, that I hope in the course of a very few days to be able, with the permission of the house, to present them at your bar in the shape of a bill. In this and every part of my task, I am under the greatest obligation to a very valuable friend, (Mr. Wilshire of Hitching, in the county of Hertford) well known and highly respected by several members of the house who now hear me; who has contributed his talents and experience to the furtherance of this great work: and I am glad of the opportunity afforded me to express, how much I owe to his friendly assistance. I submit the whole with the most perfect deference to the wisdom of parliament, to be adopted, rejected, curtailed, or amended, as shall seem most expedient. I am open to conviction, and shall be glad to learn the opinion of the house of commons and the country; for which

which purpose I should wish that the bill, when introduced, should be read a first and second time, and committed *pro formâ*; that it should then be printed, and generally circulated; and that after the quarter sessions it should be taken into further consideration. I cannot, however, refrain from saying, that, till better instructed, these are all favourite projects with me. During the hours of anxious thought and laborious investigation which I have passed, I have been charmed with the pleasing vision of the general melioration of the state of society, and the eventual and rapid diminution of its burthens. In the adoption of the system of education I foresee an enlightened peasantry, frugal, industrious, sober, orderly, and contented, because they are acquainted with the true value of frugality, sobriety, industry, and order. Crimes diminishing, because the enlightened understanding abhors crime. The practice of Christianity prevailing, because the mass of your population can read, comprehend, and feel its divine origin, and the beauty of the doctrines which it inculcates. Your kingdom safe from the insult of the enemy, because every man knows the worth of that which he is called upon to defend. In the provision for the security of the savings of the poor I see encouragement to frugality, security to property, and the large mass of the people connected with the state and indissolubly bound to its preservation. In the enlarged power of acquiring settlements, the labour directed to those spots where labour is most wanted. Man, happy in his increased independence, and exempted from the dread of being driven in age from the spot where his dearest connexions exist, and where he has used the best exertions, and passed the best days of his life. Litigation excluded from our courts, and harmony reigning in our different parochial districts. In the power of bestowing rewards I contemplate patience and industry remunerated, and virtue held up to distinction and honour. In the various detailed alterations in the mode of rating, and the equalization of the county rate, I perceive the more equitable distribution of a necessary, but henceforth I trust decreasing burthen. In the constitution of vestries, the benefit universally resulting from arrangement, order, and œconomy, derived from the more attentive inspection, by each, of the general concern. From the power to exempt cottages from the rate, a great relief to individuals at a very trifling expense to the public. In the power to build habitations for the poor, their comfort and health. Lastly, in the reform of the workhouse system, and the power of discrimination in administering relief, an abandonment of filth, slothfulness, and vice, and a desirable and marked distinction between the profligate and the innocent. If it were possible that all this should be only an illusion, at least it is one that has charmed me through the labours I have undergone for my country's good. But, sir, if the opinions of the wisest mankind are not altogether ill-founded, if the test of practice and experience does not in this single instance fail us, what I have proposed, corrected and improved by the wisdom of parliament, will give ease to those who contribute to the necessities of their fellow subjects, and diffuse happiness

over

over those who are the immediate objects of its care. Sir, I move for leave to bring in a bill, "for promoting and encouraging industry amongst the labouring classes of the community, and the relief and regulation of the criminal and necessitous poor."

After some conversation, in the course of which the highest eulogia were passed on Mr. Whitbread's talents and zeal, the bill was brought in; but, owing to a change of administration and the dissolution of parliament, it never passed into a law: we shall not therefore pursue the subject any further.

CHAPTER IV.

Finance Resolutions debated—Sir James Pulteney's Resolutions on the Subject—Debates on the Abolition of the Slave-trade—Lord Percy's Motion to abolish Slavery.

THE abolition of the slave-trade will and ought to make an æra in our political history: it will transmit with honour the names of an administration to posterity, which, though it existed but little more than twelve months, effected a purpose for which all the respectable and unprejudiced part of the nation had been struggling for nearly twenty years. Well might lord Grenville exclaim, when the thing was accomplished, that the parliament had performed one of the most glorious acts that had ever been done by any assembly of any nation in the world.

On the 19th of February lord Henry Petty moved the order of the day, for the further consideration of the finance resolutions; upon which

Sir James Pulteney contended that it was erroneous to suppose any violation of faith towards the stockholder, in diverting the sinking fund brought into the market, but from the proportion of the sinking fund to the debt untouched within the year. The price of the stocks was at the highest in 1790, when the three per cents were at 96, and at that time there was scarcely any sinking fund; the price of stocks was therefore not proportioned to the amount of the sinking fund. The quantity of capital to be invested in stock was always the best security for keeping up the price. It was agreed on all hands, that the accumulation of the sinking fund should stop at some time: he thought it should stop now. The accumulation of debt would thus be prevented, and the situation of the stockholder not deteriorated. The honourable baronet next went into a series of calculations, to show the effects of the noble lord's plan, and his own, contending, that the comparison was much in favour of the latter. A great accumulation of debt would be avoided, and the war taxes would be preserved uncharged.

Mr. H. Thornton deprecated equally the continuance of heavy taxation, and the immediate invasion of the sinking fund. On these considerations he was inclined to approve

approve the noble lord's plan, and also, because the most maturely weighed of the plans brought forward on the other side, approximated very nearly to that of the noble lord. He complained of the statement of the noble lord opposite (Castlereagh); that in his calculation he had omitted the charge of the yearly loan of eleven millions, which would require the payment of interest for fourteen millions. It was unpardonable to delude the public with statements representing the charges of the new plan as comparatively burthensome, and to exclude from the comparative view all this consideration of the great expense of interest belonging to the plan of the noble lord opposite. The noble lord's plan for taking the excess of the sinking fund was an invasion, which called for every friend of the sinking fund to come forward in its defence. Here the honourable gentleman went into a history of the progress of the sinking fund from its origin, showing that the benefit experienced from it ought to bind us, in policy and gratitude, to preserve the source of all these advantages; and he concluded with saying, that after all the expenses of our late unparalleled exertions, we were in a situation to pay our current expenses to within two millions and a half of our present yearly charge. This fact proved a proud contrast with the state of the enemy, who after every scheme of confiscation, of diminishing the public debt, and interest chargeable upon it, of paying assignats, of plundering foreign countries, of exacting from allies tribute for protection, and all other ways of picking the pockets of nations, was at the end of these violent means. He approved highly of the plan of the noble lord, as avoiding to lay any burthen on the people at present, and as sparing the sinking fund till the time when better aid could be derived from it.

Mr. Johnstone said the debates on this subject had the effect of showing the public, that the expenditure of the country, which had been taken at 38 millions, would not be the whole of the expenditure, and therefore of removing any delusive hopes that might arise from such an impression. But though the noble lord could not have accurately estimated the amount of the actual expenditures, yet an increased expenditure ought to have been provided for, and he understood that they were likely, even in the present year, to be called on for a much larger sum than any that had been yet mentioned. The document that had been circulated to the public, held out a more favourable prospect than that which was borne out by the papers before the house, upon which it was founded. That paper represented that the addition to the debt under the proposed system, would be on the average of 20 years three millions and a half, whereas it would in fact be four millions and a half. It had been the fashion formerly to argue for the necessity of relieving posterity from burthens, but now the argument was to relieve the present moment, and leave the burthens to posterity: to this he had no objection, because he found the system had not been prejudicial to us, so far as concerned the burthens handed down by our ancestors. But he had an objection to the complicated machinery of the noble lord's (Petty) plan, which under the specious garb of complicated details, was, in fact, only to raise two millions and a half a

year, over the amount of the sinking fund. The honourable gentleman then said, that if eleven millions were to be raised annually, in addition to the war taxes, and interest to be provided only for the difference between the amount of the sinking fund and the loan, the difference between the sums raised by this plan, and that of the noble lord, would be 44 millions; and by the noble lord's plan two millions fifty-one thousand pounds permanent taxes would be imposed in 20 years, while by his only one million seven hundred thousand pounds would be imposed, and the whole of the war-taxes would in the former case be mortgaged, which in the latter would be free.

Mr. Bankes thought there was a fallacy in the last gentleman's reasoning. If the government were only to provide for the interest of the excess of the loan over the amount of the sinking fund, and to provide for the remainder out of the proceeds of the sinking fund, that fund would be stationary during the war. Should the war last ten years, its progress would, therefore, be interrupted, and the redemption of the loans would be effected in 55 instead of 45 years. He objected to all the projects that had been proposed as substitutes for that of the noble lord opposite, because they were all founded on the principle of invading the sinking fund, which was sacred, and not to be touched except in case of necessity. The plan of the noble lord afforded better prospects to the country than any other, because it was to release it from taxation for three years without diminishing its resourses; and these three years were likely to be more important than the same number of years in any period of our history. This relief to the country was wise, in the hope that Providence, which had so often signally assisted this country, would again interfere in its behalf. He did not think it wise, however, to have stated the expenditure of the country so low as 32 millions, because if any addition were to be made to that expenditure it would create disappointment to the public. He trusted that, if such an addition should be necessary, it would induce his lordship to make not parsimonious but œconomical retrenchments in the public expenditure. It had been said that the sinking fund might become too great; but he had no apprehensions of that description, as that fund had been intended to act againt the debt, and he wished to see that reduced as early as possible. The appropriation of the war taxes had been stated to be a violation of the pledges given to the public, and a disappointment of their reasonable hopes; but necessity called for it, and it was only to be feared that, under a pressure of future circumstances, the minister of the day might make the additional appropriation of four per cent. the ground of future loans. If the taxes appropriated should not be productive, parliament would be bound to make them good. But he thought the property-tax, more equalized between the landed and moneyed interest, not descending so low as at present, with an allowance to persons having small incomes with large families, and facility of recovery of the tax when proved by those who had no right to pay, would be better retained than the other war taxes. Taxes which came by a circuitous operation were felt more than a direct tax. But if any thing could keep

down the price of articles, and insure the œconomical expenditure proposed by the noble lord, it was a cessation from taxation for three years.

Mr. Rose observed, that though the honourable gentlemen stated, that it would be better to continue the property tax than the other war taxes, yet he apprehended that the appropriated war taxes would not redeem the loans for which they might be mortgaged in fourteen years, but would not require a much longer time, in proportion as the price of the funds would rise, and with this impression he thought it would be madness to pledge the war taxes. He was not prepared to agree to any one of the many projects that had been submitted to the house, but as no inconvenience could arise from the delay of one year, he pressed the necessity of putting off the final adoption of the measure till next session. The plan of the noble lord resembled that of M. Necker, which had been the chief cause of the French revolution. He could not reconcile it to himself to give a silent vote on the subject, considering, as he did, the resolutions of the noble lord fraught with the greatest mischief to the country.

Mr. Corry and Mr. Perceval both spoke; after which

Lord Henry Petty took a rapid survey of the different arguments that had been urged against his plan, during the evening. He more particularly entered into some calculations, to demonstrate the inaccuracies of those with which the noble lord (Castlereagh) had endeavoured to support his resolutions. Upon these, however, he should not think of entering at large, as a fitter opportunity would occur when that noble lord's resolutions came more immediately before the house. The noble lord then repelled the insinuation, that there was on the part of ministers a violation of the public faith towards the stockholder, or that any intention or attempt could be inferred, from their conduct in the present instance, of throwing the burthens that now pressed upon the country, on the shoulders of posterity.

Lord Castlereagh said, that on a future day he should call upon the noble lord to bring forward any arguments that he could state, to prove that his plan was justifiable on the principles of political œconomy. He should also prove that the present attempt to dispose of the excesses of the sinking fund, contrary to the laws that were intended to make it sacred, would afford future ministers a most dangerous precedent, and introduce disorder and confusion into that very system, to which the finances of the country were to look for regular alleviation and support.

After some conversation between Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Canning and Mr. G. Johnstone, the resolutions were read a second time, and agreed to; and bills ordered to be brought in pursuant thereto.

On the 26th, lord Castlereagh proposed two other resolutions in addition to those formerly mentioned, the object of which was to show, that the noble lord's plan would bear as little comparison with the modifications of it which he proposed as with the old system. A third resolution was to show, that by the noble lord's mode of managing the sinking fund, more

injury would be done to the stockholders than by the former system, or either of the plans proposed by him. Upon the fullest consideration he saw no reason to alter the opinion he had first formed of the noble lord's plan, and his objections to it were rather confirmed and increased than diminished.

The further consideration of the noble lord's resolution was then deferred for a fortnight: in the mean time, viz. on March 8d,

Sir James Pulteney brought forward some resolutions on the same subject, the object of which was to take advantage of the war taxes during the war, and to mortgage them only at the end of the war, and then charge the war debt on the taxes. By this plan there would be a smaller amount of permanent debt, and a larger sinking fund created, than by the new one proposed by the noble lord. In this case the supplementary loan would not be felt during the war, and the amount of the war loan would be but eleven millions annually, the interest of which he proposed to provide for in part out of the proceeds of the sinking fund. Before he should move his resolutions, *pro formâ*, with a view to their lying on the table, till they should be printed, and a future day fixed for taking them into consideration, he thought it not improper to read the last resolution, containing the comparison of the two plans. That resolution stated, that at the termination of twenty years, the permanent debt by the new plan would be - - - - - £318,311,495
By his plan - - - 285,595,705
Leaving a difference of 32,715,790

The amount of the sinking fund, by his plan, would be - £14,359,900
By the new plan - 12,768,900
Leaving a difference of 1,591,000

The total amount of permanent taxes that would be required by the new plan would be 2,051,000
By his plan - - - 1,985,228
Leaving a balance of 65,772

The honourable baronet concluded by moving his first resolution.

Some more conversation took place on the subject of finance; but as a dissolution of parliament took place before any of the plans were finally adopted, it would be useless to enter into any further details. Upon these, or some of them, or upon some modification of one or more of these plans something will probably be hereafter done for the benefit of the people.

Without entering upon the debates relative to the Westminster election, which differed but little from others on similar occasions, we shall proceed to give some account of the discussions in the house of commons on the bill for the abolition of the slave-trade, which had been sent from the lords, on the 23d of February.

Lord Howick was not aware at this moment that any person would attempt to justify the principle of the slave-trade, which was universally admitted to be inhuman and unjust, as well by those who were interested in that barbarous traffic, as those who were not. The African slave-trade was most inhuman and unjust; and as that was admitted, there was no occasion to dwell on that part of the argument. It was cruel, inasmuch as it was an incitement to crimes the most atrocious, such as kidnapping, robbery, and murder, and all the bad passions of rapine.

It

It was a bar to the civilization of man on an extensive part of the continent of Africa; and with respect to the middle passage from Africa to the West Indies, there was none bold enough to assert that it was a luxury, and that the slaves were ready to join in the dance and song, and the tabor, and offer up prayers for their deliverers. For the last twenty years the house had heard of the torments of the middle passage, though there were one or two individuals who differed from the general opinion. Indeed it was so much admired, that one person had asserted that the slave-trade was so excellent a thing, that, if it did not exist, he would propose its being carried into effect. It was said it was sanctioned by the authority of the holy scriptures; but in reply to this he would refer to the principles of the Christian religion, which comprised the whole duty of man, to "do unto all men as you wish they should do unto you." As far as relates to Africa, and that unfortunate country, it could not be just on the principles of humanity. It was, however, attempted to be shown at the bar of the house, that as a question of policy it was in some degree just; but he contended that the slave-trade should be abolished in justice to Africa, in justice to the merchants, in justice to the ship-owners, and in justice to the character of Great Britain. His idea of justice was, that this country was not justified in violating the rights of others, by the perpetration of all possible wrongs, and therefore he must protest against the conclusion drawn by the friends of the trade. If, therefore, it was shown that it was unjust, as being an incitement to robbery, cruelty, and murder, there was no practical benefit whatever that should induce the legislature to countenance it for a moment. If it should be attended with any individual inconvenience, the house must endeavour to accomplish a great and general good. But he did not think that even such would be the case, and the abolition was one of the most sacred duties of both houses of parliament. The next point of view in which he was solicitous to consider the question was as to its policy, and the arguments adduced with respect to the abolition being destructive of the commercial prosperity of the country. His lordship then proceeded to a variety of calculations and arguments which most satisfactorily proved, that the prosperity of our commerce would be affected in the most trifling, if in any, degree by the abolition of the trade. It had been said that the abolition of this trade would be ruinous to the British navy; that he denied, but he insisted that the abominable trade itself operated to do it a greater injury than any thing else, nor could the middle passage bill obviate the evils that diminished the number of British seamen; it provided no remedy against the effect of climate, of hard service, of bad air, of the cruelty of masters of ships in that trade, or of any of those disasters that befel men whilst on shore, in the performance of their obnoxious services in the kidnapping the unhappy Africans: and by the returns it appears, that the number of deaths in that trade, compared with the deaths in any other trade, of British seamen, was in the ratio of eight to one. His lordship undertook next to prove that the West India Negroes, without any new importations, and with proper

treatment, would be able of themselves to cultivate all the lands we possess there. His lordship repeated various instances of the cruelty practised by negro-drivers, which being particularly felt by the females, tended considerably to diminish population, and contended that kindness and humanity would tend more to keep up and increase the population than any thing else in the world. He deprecated the idea, that the bill would be productive of revolt and disaffection in the islands; and illustrated this by a variety of circumstances and observations already in the public recollection; and he combated, with equal success and strength of argument, the insinuation that it would be injurious to the population of the whites. Much might be done in the West Indies by machinery, and a great deal of work might be done by whites, all of which is now done by negroes. These things considered, it would be allowed that the necessity of employing that number of slaves they do now, may be obviated to a very extensive degree. It was also urged that "abolishing the slave-trade was doing nothing, unless slavery itself was abolished." This he would not admit; but he believed all would allow, that when the abolition should be accomplished, the other as a natural consequence would follow; so it did in Greece and Rome, and so it did in Europe. It would cease by degrees. It had subsided almost throughout America, except in the state of South Carolina, and there it was not expected long to continue. Another argument was applied to as little purpose, and he trusted that the house would agree therein with him in thinking so too; and that was, "that if Great Britain abandons the trade, other nations will take it up." He was convinced that they would not. Neither France nor Holland would venture to retain it; nor would the population of any of the colonies they have, or may possess, require it. Denmark may abolish it; all Europe, but Portugal, has abandoned it, and it was very improbable they would attempt to revive it. After alluding to the opinions of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox on the subject, he concluded by observing that it was no longer a question of party, it was a question of justice and humanity; it was befitting this great empire, and it was becoming that house.

General Gascoyne replied to the noble lord. He re-stated the arguments that have been so frequently adduced in favour of the slave-trade; denied that any such mortality as that asserted by the noble lord existed in the ships employed in that traffic, and complained of the injustice with which the friends of the abolition refused to hear evidence at the bar of the house. The stake was tremendous. We were risking the loss of the colonies, and the loss of the colonies would be the downfall of the British empire.

Mr. Roscoe.—I cannot, as I conceive, with propriety give a silent vote on this occasion. That vote, sir, will be in favour of the bill now before the house for the abolition of that trade. In giving this vote, I shall at least satisfy my own feelings, and my own conscience. But I trust, sir, that I shall at the same time perform my duty to my constituents. For, whatever may be thought of the people of Liverpool in other parts of the kingdom, I must beg leave to inform this house,

house, that they are by no means unanimous in support of the trade in question. On the contrary, a great and respectable body of the inhabitants of Liverpool are as adverse to the slave-trade as any other persons in these realms; and I should greatly disappoint their expectations, and their wishes, if I were not to vote for the abolition of that trade. After the length of time during which this subject has been considered by the nation at large, it would be perfectly unnecessary for me to discuss the principle of the bill, or to detain the house by additional arguments in its favour. There is, however, one argument which has always appeared to me so clear, so conclusive, and so short, that I will venture to state it. Sir, the African slave-trade has always subsisted only by an abuse. If we place the human race in any fair and reasonable situation, if we provide them with the necessaries and accommodations of life, they must by the very law of their nature inevitably increase. It is only, then, because the slaves in our West India islands are not in that proper situation, and are not provided with the proper necessaries of life, that a diminution of number continually occurs, and the slave-trade becomes necessary to supply the deficiency. Now, sir, the bill before the house will not only prevent the further prosecution of the trade to Africa, but will also effect another great and beneficial purpose, not contemplated on the face of the bill; it will immediately and necessarily improve and meliorate the condition of the slaves in the West Indies. For, as soon as the planter shall be convinced that he cannot make up the deficiency of his slaves by purchase, as soon as he can no longer act upon the horrid maxim "that it is better to buy a slave than breed one," he will then be called upon, by a sense of his own interest, to pay that attention to the comfort and accommodation of his slaves which is so essentially necessary for their increase and their happiness. In discussing a question of this magnitude, affecting so great a portion of the human race, it is impossible to close our eyes to that part of the world which has suffered so greatly by the effects of the trade in question. I mean the coast of Africa. I should be sorry to accuse this country as being the sole cause of the state of ignorance and degradation in which that immense continent yet remains. But I must be allowed to say, that if we have not been the cause of the evil, we have at least contributed in a high degree to prevent its removal. When we consider the nature of the trade, when we reflect that the objects of our commerce have been our fellow-creatures; and that the articles which we have furnished in return have been chiefly fire-arms, ammunition, brandy, articles of destruction, articles of debauchery; I cannot but fear that we have in a great degree contributed to prevent that civilization and improvement in Africa, which might otherwise have taken place. However anxious I have always been for the abolition of this traffic, it has been my uniform opinion that this should be effected by gradual and proper measures. And here I beg it may be most explicitly understood, that in speaking of gradual measures, it never was my

idea that the trade should be continued for the advantage of those persons who are engaged in carrying it on. No, sir, I would not continue the trade a month, a week, a day, on any such grounds. It was well observed on a former night in this house, that justice is due to all persons, as well to our own countrymen as to the natives of Africa. I fully assent to this observation.—The honourable gentleman then proceeded to consider the effects of the abolition as it affected the mercantile interests, and proceeded as follows; And now, sir, as to the question of compensation to those persons who may be injured by the effects of the present measure, I cannot entertain a doubt that this house will be earnest to distribute justice in its proper degree to all who are entitled to it. The trade in question has been long carried on with the concurrence of the country, and under the sanction of the legislature, and has, till the present time, been thought indispensably necessary to the cultivation and prosperity of our colonial possessions. If, then, it should hereafter appear that the persons engaged in carrying it on should sustain an actual loss by the operation of the present bill, —not a loss of eventual or prospective profits, which they might have derived from continuing to carry on the trade, (for to such a claim it would be absurd to listen,) but a real and substantial loss, by not being able to withdraw their capital and to close their concerns within the time limited by the bill,—then I must assert that the persons making such claims are as well entitled to compensation as any persons who ever solicited justice of this house. But, sir, there is another compensation of a much higher and better nature to which the merchants of this country are entitled. That compensation is to be found in the more extended trade and commerce of this country. When we consider the immense revenue which we are called upon to pay, it is evident that the time is arrived when we must avail ourselves of all our resources:—when we look at the immense power acquired by the great tyrant of the continent, we must perceive that it is necessary to oppose to him an immense colonial power, whereby we may maintain and enlarge the maritime strength of our country. Under such circumstances we ought to extend ourselves to the east and to the west. It can no longer be concealed that the question respecting the East Indies is now so closely connected with the safety and prosperity of this country, that they can scarcely be separately considered, nor can it be supposed that we can any longer allow ourselves to be crippled in this essential branch of our commerce. Let there be no monopoly but the monopoly of the country at large. Sir, I have long resided in the town of Liverpool:—it is now upwards of 30 years since I first raised my voice in public against the traffic which it is the object of this bill to abolish. From that time I have never concealed my sentiments upon it in public or in private, and I shall always think it the greatest happiness of my life, that I have had the honour to be present on this occasion, and to concur with those true friends of justice, of humanity,

nity, and, as I most firmly believe, of sound policy, who havebrought forward the present measure.

Mr. Fawkes—sir, I rise to perform a solemn but voluntary pledge made to my constituents, that I would mark with my express reprobation a traffic the most unjust and execrable; a trade which has, during the whole course of my existence, excited the strongest abhorrence in my mind, and to resist the continuance of which is this night a proud and satisfactory feeling, enhanced by the grateful recollection, that I have been enabled to join with my honourable colleague (Mr. Wilberforce) in the accomplishment of that object, which was the steady, unerring, and virtuous aim of his private exertions and his public duties. The noble lord who, with his wonted eloquence, and unanswerable reasoning, moved this subject, has, I trust, fully convinced this house, that the measure which he supports and recommends is founded on the true principles of a sound and liberal policy. It is unnecessary for me to follow that noble lord through the clear and precise statements which he made, or to advert to those calculations and inferences, which were so ably and fairly deduced.—There are still powerful reasons which imperiously sway me to support the abolition of this trade in slaves, and which justify every opposition to the continuance of a system bottomed on injustice and inhumanity. Amongst those which I shall take the liberty of stating to the house, the claims of plundered, persecuted Africa shall not be forgotten. Nor shall I satisfy myself with viewing the question as to the mere circumstance of dragging those unhappy beings from home and country, and from relations and friends, for transportation into a foreign land; but shall extend my inquiry to the means aad expedients by which they are obtained. The condition of savage life, we should think, sir, sufficiently deplorable, without employing human ingenuity to aggravate its incidental calamities. We should suppose that man, instructed man, should at least endeavour to avoid increasing the miseries of the untutored, and not pervert the superiority of reason, by augmenting evils, which it is his duty to diminish. Will the house of commons tolerate a traffic commencing in injustice, and frequently terminating in murder? Will it lend its countenance to a system communicating misery to the whole continent of Africa, and entailing indelible dishonour on the character of Great Britain?—No; the time has at length arrived, when the arm of the slave-dealer must be arrested, and when men who are anxious to grow rich must first learn to be humane. Among the many attempts to justify the iniquitous traffic, and amongst the variety of authorities cited to prove its propriety, the holy scriptures have by some been quoted. That the divine author of the Christian faith, who engaged in his terrestrial mission for the exclusive purpose of saving sinners, and who authorised by his precepts, as he sanctioned by his example, the sublime and benevolent maxim of "charity to all men," that his exalted dispensations should be perverted into a justification of a monstrous, unjust, and inhuman policy, is a principle at which religion shudders and morality revolts. It is a principle hostile to our present views

views and future expectations; it disrobes the Gospel of its purity, and plunders mankind of their hopes. But we are also conscious that slavery has been coexistent with the formation of the world, that it has continued through all the progression of succeeding ages: so, I answer, have other vices; and will it be admitted, that in the seventh year of the nineteenth century, an enlightened legislature is called upon to support a system of injustice and persecution, upon flimsy pretexts, arising out of the ignorance, the arrogance, or the criminal passions of former ages? One task yet remains for me to perform, a task from which I only shrink, convinced of the inefficiency of my talents to do justice to the deserving object of my panegyric. In anticipating the result of this night's debate, I naturally look with reverence and respect to that exalted and benevolent individual, who has made this signal act of mercy and justice the leading feature of his public life. I look with feelings of pride to the result of those labours to which my honourable colleague has so devoted himself. His actions stand not in need of individual eulogium; he has raised a monument to his fame, founded on the basis of universal benevolence.

Quod non imber edax, non aquilo impotens
Posset diruere, aut innumerabilis
Annorum series, et fuga temporum.

I rejoice with him in the final and glorious victory which he is about to obtain. I rejoice in my country, and in this house, for the great act of humanity they appear willing to display. The age in which we live teems with wonders; and in the events which are daily witnessed by Europe, the great struggle for its liberties may take place on English ground. Let us not go forth with the wrongs of Africa as a weight upon our hearts; but rather let us rid our country of the sin, and, in the adoption of this act of legislative wisdom and justice, recommended by the noble lord, make some atonement for the too long injured and insulted rights of humanity.

Lord Mahon rose, and, in a maiden speech, addressed the house as follows:—In rising, sir, to address you on the present occasion, I do not intend to trespass long upon the indulgence of the house, for I have not the presumption to suppose that I can add any thing to what has been so ably and so eloquently stated by the noble lord who opened the debate. I am impelled, however, by a sense of duty, to deliver my opinion on the subject which is at present under consideration, and which is undoubtedly one of the most interesting and important that was ever debated within these walls. I am aware that though this subject has been often discussed, though it has received upon many former occasions the fairest and fullest investigation, yet that a difference of opinion unfortunately prevails respecting it. I deeply lament, sir, that this should be the case; but in whatever light the subject may be viewed, and whatever variety of sentiment may prevail upon different points, I should wish to believe, that with respect to the principle of the slave-trade there could exist but one sentiment in this house and in the country. To excite our indignation and abhorrence, it is only necessary to know that man is bought and sold by man. I complain, sir, of the principle of

the slave-trade, of the principle which is intimately and inseparably united with it, of the fundamental principle upon which it rests, and by which alone it is supported. The principle is, that British subjects are allowed to tear by violence from their home their fellow-creatures; to take them from their family, and from their friends, and from all the endearments of social, though not of civilized life; to convert them from freemen into slaves, and to subject them for the remainder of their lives to the arbitrary will and wanton caprice of others. I would appeal to those sentiments of justice, of humanity, of benevolence, which are, I am sure, inherent in the breasts of all those whom I have now the honour of addressing. I would call upon them in the name of suffering humanity, in the name of an oppressed and injured nation, in the name of those wrongs which have been suffered, of those rights which have been violated, I would call upon them to stop this odious and execrable traffic. It is a traffic, sir, which has been forcibly but truly described as a traffic in human blood and tears, in misery and suffering. I would call upon the house to act in conformity to the resolutions passed in the last session of the late parliament, and which form the foundation of the measure which is now proposed. And here I beg leave to remind the house of the opinions which were entertained upon this subject by that illustrious statesman Mr. Pitt, whose loss we all deplore; to whom I was connected by every tie of blood, of private friendship, and of personal obligation; and whose memory I shall ever cherish with sentiments of love and gratitude. This great man, of whom it is impossible to speak or to think but with respect, employed, upon many occasions, his splendid eloquence and transcendant talents in urging the adoption of that measure which is now proposed. I trust, upon all these grounds, that the house is now arrived, after full, mature and deliberate discussion, at the completion of this great work, the most honourable and glorious that was ever consummated. We are now called upon to decide whether we will sanction the continuance of a system which would disgrace times and countries the most barbarous and uncivilized; whether we will suffer this stain to tarnish the lustre of our national character; whether, when we complain so often and so loudly of the injustice, violence, and oppression of our enemies, we will suffer still greater instances of injustice, violence, and oppression to exist in any part of the British dominions? I earnestly hope that the house will not separate this night, that the members of it will not retire home without the heart-felt satisfaction of discharging a sacred and solemn duty which they owe to themselves, to their country, and to their God.

Lord Milton could not suffer a subject of that interest to pass, without offering his sentiments upon it: his opinion was confirmed that the slave-trade was contrary not only to justice and humanity, but also to sound policy. As long as the trade was continued, Britain would be giving a premium to rapine and murder, and preventing the progress of civilization on the coast of Africa. *Fiat justitia, ruat cœlum.* Though the merchants of Liverpool may suffer some loss, let this foul stain be washed from the character of the nation.

Mr. Bragge

Mr. Bragge Bathurst recommended a gradual system of abolition by heavy fines, to be annually increased for six years; the trade then to cease altogether. He wished also for a gradual abolition in proper time, first substituting villenage for slavery, and thence proceeding to complete freedom. If the purchase on the coast of Africa should be abruptly stopped, he dreaded that the massacre of the slaves brought down to the coast to be sold, would be the result.

Sir John Doyle made an amusing speech in behalf of the abolition, and concluded by reciting some shocking instances of cruelty to the negroes that had come under his own eyes. He had known the contempt of these poor creatures carried so far, that when one man killed two negroes belonging to another, the other would not be so ungenteel as to exact the fine due by law, but balanced the account genteelly by shooting two of his. Abolition of the slave-trade was the only mode of securing better treatment for the blacks, and of rendering the colonies flourishing.

The solicitor-general made a very eloquent speech in behalf of the abolition; and concluded with a fine representation of the gratitude which the vote of that night would call forth from posterity, and of the happiness which many of the younger members, who were present, would have in beholding what they had anticipated with all the generous ardour of youth, expressed by some of them in a corresponding glow of language, the benign effects of this measure upon the negroes, and the whole properties of the colonies, and the prosperity of the empire at large. When he looked to the man at the head of the French monarchy, surrounded as he was by all the pomp of power and all the pride of victory, distributing kingdoms to his family, and principalities to his followers, seeming, when he sat down upon his throne, to have reached the summit of human ambition, and the pinnacle of earthly happiness; and when he followed that man to his closet, or his bed, and considered the pangs with which his solicitude must be tortured, and his repose banished by the recollection of the blood he had spilled, and the oppressions which he had committed; and when he compared with those pangs of remorse the feelings which must accompany his honourable friend (Mr. Wilberforce) from that house to his home, after the vote of that night should have confirmed the object of his humane and unceasing labours; when he should retire into the bosom of his happy and delighted family; when he should lay himself down on his bed reflecting on the innumerable voices that would be raised in every quarter of the world to bless him; how much more pure and perfect felicity must he enjoy in the consciousness of having preserved so many nations of his fellow-creatures, than the man with whom he had compared him, on the throne to which he had waded through slaughter and oppression!

Mr. Hibbert.—I rise very reluctantly, sir, to trespass upon the house at this late hour, and immediately after a speech as impressively eloquent perhaps as any that was ever delivered within these walls; but extensively connected as I am, and have long been, with the commerce of the West Indies, and having now for the first time a seat in this house during any debate

debate upon this question, it may be expected that I should not let it pass with merely a silent vote; and I will hope too, that, although the subject has been so fully and so frequently canvassed within these walls, I may be pardoned, should I appear, thus circumstanced, either to recur to what may have been amply discussed, or to question what may have been generally admitted in the course of former debates in this house. I am aware that, in declaring my connection with the West India trade, I subject myself directly to the charge of a bias of interest, which we have recently been told has clouded the understandings and blunted the feelings of that class of persons. Sir, there are others in this house who can better judge than I can, whether my understanding and my feelings have, in fact, been so perverted, and whether, in extending relief to the calamities which in this life, and in this country, one sees, God knows, often enough occurring around us, I am or am not as prompt and zealous as my neighbours: and yet, sir, I must say, that after more than 25 years extensive connection with the island of Jamaica, during the greater part of which period this question has agitated the public mind, and the deliberations of the legislature, I have, as impartially as I knew how, given to it my utmost attention—derived, from every source I could command, information concerning it—endeavoured to obtain results consistent, and satisfactory to my mind—and am still but the more and more confirmed in opposition to the object of the bill now before us. I cannot, however, but think it hard, sir, that West-India proprietors and merchants, persons not destitute of talents and education, and certainly having the means of being well informed on this subject, are yet in a manner banished from the court, while their interests and their properties are litigated: they are not allowed to be either judge, jury, witness, or party; for they are told that they quite mistake their own interests, and that others know much better than they do what is good for them. Whatever concessions may have been made by those who have preceded me in the debate, I cannot, sir, grant at the outset, that this bill is unquestionably grounded upon humanity and justice, and then debate it as a matter of expediency and policy. There can be no dispute about the obligation of those great principles; it is eternal and immutable as is their nature; and if you admit that the present measure is their necessary dictate, the dispute is at an end. Sir, I will meet the question fairly, and look to the application of these great principles of justice and humanity. Is it pretended, that the mere possession, or use, or transfer of a slave in Africa is unjust or inhuman? Is it unjust?—By all the laws and customs of Africa, existing from the remotest antiquity, it is authorised; and the abstract rights of man cannot be profitably applied to societies existing under established laws. What is consistent with those laws, must be accounted just. Is the same thing in Africa inhuman? Surely not. We have abundance of evidence to prove, that during famines, which are frequent in Africa, multitudes of the natives fly to slavery as a refuge, and without it must inevitably perish: and suppose them, at such times, transferred from

from a poorer to a richer master—is that inhuman? I could not but show an expression of dissent to-night, when an honourable gentleman (Mr. Fawkes) so positively told us that slavery, and the sale of slaves, were forbidden by the divine law. Sir, I did not look for this part of the discussion; but as it has been brought forward, I must say, that in the sacred books I can find no such authority. In the Old Testament, the slave-trade, or the sale of men, is spoken of indifferently just as other trades. The New Testament inculcates justice and humanity in every station; but it is remarkable that it interferes with no political relations whatsoever, whether high or low; inculcating only those duties which tend in every condition of life to make men happier and better. If we look narrowly there for any thing that refers to slavery, I need not tell the honourable gentlemen who hear me, that the Greek word, which in our version is every where translated servant, does really mean slave: and since the subject has been started, I shall mention, that in the Epistle of Paul to Philemon, Paul sends back Onesimus (whose very name bespeaks his station), who was Philemon's slave, and had run away from his master; he sends him back, I say, to resume his station, without one word expressive of his disapprobation of slavery, or in vindication of Onesimus, who had fled from it. Sir, it is not the slave-trade, but the abuses incident to that trade, to which the preamble of this bill can be properly applied. There can be no question concerning the injustice, inhumanity, and impolicy of these abuses; but the preamble of the bill as it stands is, strictly speaking, untrue, and is liable also to many other objections, which, at a proper time, will be suggested to this house. The authorities of the many great and eminent men who have opposed this trade in parliament, have been brought forward; and the noble lord (Howick) has appealed with triumph to the united sentiments of those eminent characters Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt upon this subject. Of those two great men, sir, I now believe that the veneration is equal on both sides of this house; but this was not the only subject upon which their opinions were in unison. Sir, I recollect more than 25 years ago, sitting in that gallery, when their eloquence, like the streams of two mighty rivers, which, from their source, had held a separate course, united its prodigious and impetuous volume against one common barrier—the state of the representation of the people in this house; and what followed? The house was delighted, instructed, transported, but not convinced. And yet was there any doubt that the state of the representation of the people was unequal, nay, defective and faulty? Was there not, as upon this question, a most prevalent and clamorous opinion out of doors? The machine too was in our hands; no cooperation was needed; we could trace effect directly to its cause; we could substitute instantly the new fabric for the old one; what was it then that stopped our hands? Sir, the house acknowledged the evil, but dreaded the remedy. It was the sentiment of the majority in that day,

"Rather to bear the ills they had,
Than fly to others which they knew not of;"

and they added one instance more to

to many which are on record, in which a wise and cautious legislature has felt itself bound to delay the remedy of an acknowledged evil, contrary to the sentiments of the people out of doors, and of the greatest orators within.—The noble lord (Howick) might have spared himself the proof of the small comparative value of the African part of the trade; it has been reduced by successive acts of parliament into the mere means of necessary supply to the population of our old colonies; and, had not those colonies seen abolition suspended over their heads, their supply would have been much smaller than the average of late years shows it to have been. There is, in fact, sir, no encouragement to the extension of cultivation in the colonies, under the expense of purchasing negroes for that purpose: and a hasty and somewhat improvident importation and purchase of negroes has been here and there occasioned by the dread of immediate abolition. I do not believe that, were you to remove that dread, our old colonies would require annually more than 7000 imported slaves: and looking to this limited trade as necessary for the welfare of the colonies, and for the advantage of a population of about 600,000 slaves, already existing there; looking to it as subject to wise and humane regulations, belonging to the British trade alone, and which, I think, sir, should not have been opposed—(those who opposed them, however, were jealous of an interference, the extent and full purport of which they could not foresee;) looking, also, sir, (and this is material) to what is and has been the state of society in Africa, and the practice there, I cannot think that this remnant of the trade, thus existing, and for these purposes, calls upon us for its abolition.—After various other topics, of considerable interest, and ably discussed, the honourable gentleman continued: There is not yet, sir, any distinct understanding whether this bill is or is not to be accompanied with a provision of compensation for those whom its operation may injure; and, unless some pledge to that effect be given, I must consider that the injustice it may inflict upon individuals is a fair argument against its principles. The noble lord (Howick) has stated, that it has not been usual for parliament on similar occasions to provide compensation prospectively; and yet, sir, in those recent instances in which the legislature judged it fit to interfere merely with antient usages (not with rights established under acts of parliament) for the sake of effecting improvements in the port of London—I mean in the West-India and London dock acts—a provision of prospective compensation, most liberal in its extent, is made for every description of persons to whose loss or injury those bills might operate. This, sir, is what we have done; and let me state a case which may happen, nay, which probably will happen, if the spirit of reform be consistent. There are, sir, in this country, and more especially in the northern counties, many large factories built, where 3 or 400 persons are often confined together employed in the spinning of cotton and silk: I am prepared to say, sir, and there are many in this house who can confirm it, that those establishments, although highly advantageous in a commercial view, are fatal both to the

the health and to the morals of his majesty's subjects: now, supposing that the philanthropic spirit were to be extended to them, and their further extension at least forbidden; supposing we were to say, "We pretend not to interfere with what exists already; keep the labourers you have got, we will not emancipate them, they are not fit for emancipation, they are corrupted and disordered, and incapable of the regular duties of life; but not one more ruddy-cheeked boy or blooming girl shall you seduce from their ignorant and deluded parents, and immure in your putrid haunts of vice and disease:—tell us not of your ventilators and your artificial gases; the thing is contrary to first principles, and it must be discontinued:"—Now, can we believe that he who had just built, at a considerable expense, one of these factories, and had partially, or not at all, supplied it with labourers, would not in this case call aloud for compensation? and could that compensation be justly denied to him? And yet, sir, the silk and cotton factor has not greater legislative authority to plead than has the West-India planter for his establishment; nor is the supposed case which I have put of the former harder than the real one of the latter, after this bill passes; and, independently of the general case, there are individual cases of peculiar hardship, those of minors, of lessors, and of proprietors of estates under trust, whose estates, immediately after this bill passes, will either be considerably depreciated, or of no value at all. There are some, sir, who will admit the truth of many of the considerations I have urged: they will admit that we are about to make a sacrifice that is to cost us much, and to profit others little or nothing. "But," say they, "there is connected with the slave-trade much abuse and much inhumanity, and, at all events, we will wash our hands of any share in it; we will have nothing to do with that which is either the offspring or the parent of vice." Gentlemen should consider, sir, how far they would follow this principle, and whither it would lead them: it would certainly go the length of suppressing the licensing of alehouses, and the continuance of lotteries: can the mischiefs with which these are connected in society be doubted? If, sir, I were inclined to attempt the feelings of gentlemen in this house with a pathetic story, I could show them, and at no great distance from the metropolis, an industrious mother with 6 or 8 children, their countenances pale, their limbs emaciated, and their bodies swoln with famine, picking up a scanty and insufficient subsistence by the only labour which such feeble hands can execute, while the father of this family, he who ought to support them, is taking what is called a plunge at the neighbouring alehouse, spending the fruits of one week's labour, and mortgaging that of another; and this after having carried away the leathern-bag from the cottage roof, which contained the pence and sixpences, the hard savings of the year (saved to pay the rent at Lady-day), and having sunk the whole of it with one of those itinerant propagators of ruin, who now invade the privacy of your remotest villages with a cart stuck over with lottery bills. This, sir, is not a fictitious nor an uncommon case, and yet our philanthropists do

do not make it the theme of declamation or the object of reform. This is too near and too obvious for them; their aim is more distant; their scope is larger; the spirit of modern reform does not act, sir, like the rational principle of self-love so beautifully described by the poet, which first puts the centre in motion, and then extends itself in progressive circles of beneficence to the extremities; the spirit of modern reform attacks at once the connecting chain of the system, and, if the whole do not fall to pieces at its touch, it works inwards till it shakes the centre. I must, for the reasons I have given, vote against the second reading of the bill.

Mr. Wilberforce, in a speech distinguished for splendour of eloquence and force of argument, replied to the several objections urged against the measure. To those who sought for all the evils to be found in the darkest recesses of this country, in the remotest quarter of Europe, or in the page of history, he observed that they sought them, not for the purpose of removing them; no, but with a view to bring them down to the house of commons, to lay them to their bosoms, and to let them and the slave-trade pair off together. We, say the advocates for this abominable traffic, will allow all the evils that we have recited to remain undisturbed, if you will give us but the slave-trade. The honourable gentleman pronounced an elegant eulogium upon the display of character and talent which the house had that night witnessed on the side of humanity and justice, and particularly on the part of the younger members; whose lofty and liberal sentiments, recommended and enforced by the elevation of their rank and the purity of their conduct must tend to produce the happiest effects upon all classes of the community. Such an indication of mind and feeling must afford gratification to any reflecting man, and diffuse the most salutary lessons throughout the country; must show to the people that their legislature, and especially the higher order of their youth, were forward to assert the rights of the weak against the strong, to vindicate the cause of the oppressed; and that where a practice was found to prevail inconsistent with humanity and justice, no consideration of profit could reconcile them to its continuance.

Lord Percy, and others, supported the motion; after which, the question was called for, when there appeared for the abolition 283

Against it - - - - - - 16

Majority - - - - - - 257

The bill went through its various stages, and was triumphantly passed with some amendments on the 16th of March. These amendments were adopted by the lords on the 22d; when lord Grenville rose, and congratulated the house on having performed one of the most glorious acts that had ever been done by any assembly of any nation in the world. On the 25th of March it received his majesty's sanction, and was complete.

When the bill for the abolition of the slave-trade had passed so many of its stages as to insure success, a young nobleman of distinguished rank was desirous of carrying the principle still further, and not only to abolish the trade, but slavery itself. He felt that a scheme ought to be devised to

render the lives of the enslaved Africans more comfortable and more respectable; and to set at liberty their children. For this purpose, on the 17th of March, lord Percy rose, in pursuance of the notice he had given, to move for leave to bring in a bill for the gradual abolition of slavery in his majesty's colonies in the West Indies. His lordship expatiated very feelingly on the wanton cruelties exercised on the unhappy negroes in the plantations, as developed in the late discussions. The object of his bill was to prevent the repetition of horrors, at the very idea of which every man in that house must shudder. If it had been established, as he trusted it had been established, that the slave-trade was contrary to the principles of justice, humanity, and sound policy, and that therefore it ought to be abolished; it necessarily followed, that slavery itself was contrary to the principles of justice, humanity, and sound policy, and ought also to be abolished. It was, however, by no means his intention to propose an immediate abolition; what he had in view was, that the children of slaves born after a certain time to be fixed by the legislature, should be free; and thus a gradual and ultimately a total extinction of this barbarous usage would take place. On the question being put,

Lord H. Petty said, although it was impossible for him not to respect the motives and participate in the feelings of his noble friend, yet he deprecated any discussion of this subject at the present moment. The abolition of the slave-trade, and emancipation of the slaves, were two distinct questions; and it had always been maintained by the leading characters n hat house, that, in considering the one, the other ought to be excluded from their contemplation. To emancipate the negroes, would not be to add to their happiness, even if the legislature had a right to interfere with the property of the colonies. All that could be done by this country with safety and effect had been done. He put it, therefore, most respectfully, but most strongly, to his noble friend, either to withdraw the motion for a bill to abolish slavery, or to concur in the previous question, which he felt it to be his duty to move.

Sir C. Poole deprecated the discussion as most dangerous, but was glad the motion had been made, as it would open the eyes of all who were connected with, or interested in, the West Indian islands.

Mr. Wilberforce made the distinction between the abolition of the trade, and the emancipation of the slaves. As to the latter, he and his friends not only abstained from proposing it, but were ready to reject such a proposition when made by others. He, and those who acted with him, were satisfied with having gained an object which was safely attainable; they had always declared, what he now repeated, that the sole point which they had in view was the abolition of the slave-trade, and not the emancipation of the slaves. The enemies of the abolition had always confounded these two objects: the friends of the abolition had always distinguished them.

Mr. Herbert said, if a hope remained that the colonies might be saved, it must be shown that the house would not for a moment admit the proposal for emancipation.

Mr. Sheridan, after the anxious expectation which he had the preceding

seding night expressed, that the bill then passed was but the preamble of the ultimate measure of emancipation, thought that he should be guilty of the grossest inconsistency in giving a silent vote on the present question. With these sentiments he need scarcely say, that the noble earl had his thanks for having directed the attention of the house to this important subject, even at that early period. The noble earl's statement had been misrepresented. He had never proposed to enfranchise the living negroes: his measure, as he understood him, was to commence with infants born after a period, which would remain a matter of future parliamentary discussion. The planters were entitled to fair dealing on this subject. If the house meant to say, that by abolishing the slave-trade they had done all that duty demanded, and that they would leave the emancipation of the slaves to the hazard of fortuitous circumstances, let them be explicit, and say so; but if there lurked in any man's mind a secret desire to proceed in that business, a secret conviction that more ought to be done than had been done, it was unmanly, it was dishonourable, not to speak out. For one, he would boldly declare that he had further views; he hoped, that the young nobleman who had done his feelings so much credit, by the proposition which he had that evening made, would stand to his ground. If he persevered in the pursuit of his object with the same zeal as his right honourable friend opposite had done, he had no doubt that he would meet with the same success. An honourable baronet had talked of a cloven foot; he pleaded guilty to the cloven foot, but he would say, that of the man who expressed pleasure at the hope of seeing so large a portion of the human race freed from the shackles of tyranny it ought rather to be said, that he had displayed the pennon of an angel than the cloven foot of a dæmon. It was true, no immediate connection existed between the abolition of the slave-trade and the abolition of slavery, but the same feelings must be roused by the consideration of both questions; and he who detested the one practice must also detest the other. He did not like to hear the term property applied to the subjects of a free country. Could man become the property of man? A colony emanating from the free constitution of England must carry with it the principles of that constitution, and could no more shake off its well-known allegiance to the constitution than it could shake off its allegiance to the sovereign. He trusted that the planters might be induced to lead the way on the subject of emancipation; but he cautioned the house against being too sanguine on this subject. Were the planters themselves always resident on the islands, he should have greater hopes; but it was not probable that because cargoes of human misery were no longer to be landed on their shores, that because their eyes were to be no longer glutted with the sight of human suffering, or their ears pierced with the cries of human distraction, in any further importation of negroes, that the slave-drivers would soon forget their fixed habits of brutality, and learn to treat the unhappy wretches in their charge with clemency and compassion. Slavery would not wear itself out, it would become

more rigid, unless the legislature became more vigilant, and reminded the planters of the new duty that had fallen upon them, of rearing the young slaves in such a manner that they might be worthy of freedom. Adverting to a quotation from Gibbon, he contended, that the slavery of the West Indies was unlike any other slavery; it was peculiarly unlike the slavery of antient days, when the slaves frequently attained to the highest dignities; Æsop, Terence, and Seneca were slaves. Was there a possibility that any of the unfortunate negroes now in the West Indies should emulate such men? It might be dangerous to give freedom to the slaves in a mass; but that it was not dangerous to give it to them in detail, was sufficiently proved by a little pamphlet that had been put into his hands the preceding night, in which it was stated, that a Mr. David Barclay, to his eternal honour be it spoken, who had himself been a slave-owner in Jamaica, who, regretting that he had been so, on a bequest of slaves being made to him, emancipated them, and caused them to be conveyed to Pennsylvania, where they were properly instructed, and where their subsequent exemplary conduct was the general theme of admiration. With this fact before him, should he be told that he must give up all hope of abolishing slavery? No, he would never give it up. He would exclaim with the poet,

> "I would not have a slave to till my ground,
> To fan me when I sleep, and tremble when
> I wake, for all that human sinews bought
> And sold, have ever earn'd."

After some explanation from Mr. Wilberforce, and a conversation between Mr. P. Moore and others, the house was counted; and there being only 35 members in it, the speaker immediately adjourned, and there the subject rests.

CHAPTER V.

Lord Howick's Notice of the Mutiny Bill—Grant to Maynooth College discussed—Debate on Lord Howick's Bill for Relief to the Catholics and other Dissenters—The Subject resumed, and deferred—Debate on Mr. Bankes's Motion on reversionary Sinecures—Debate in the House of Lords on Lord Hawkesbury's Motion for an Adjournment—Debate in the Commons on the same Subject.

FEBRUARY 20th. In the house of commons, after some of the ordinary business had been transacted,

Lord Howick moved the reading of the order for the second reading of the mutiny bill on Tuesday, with a view to move the postponement of this order to a future day. The propriety of this postponement in the absence of his right honourable friend (Mr. Windham) would,

would, he had no doubt, be readily admitted. But there were other objects which rendered further delay necessary, in order to afford time for the preparation of some additional clauses which it was intended to bring forward. It would be remembered, that in the year 1793 a clause was inserted in the Irish mutiny bill, allowing catholics to hold a certain rank in the army, and this clause it was now proposed to make general. It was also proposed, that all catholics in the army should be allowed the free exercise of their religion.—This was, no doubt, the practice already; but it was understood that it would afford much more satisfaction, if it were made the law. In addition to these there were other clauses of less moment, which it was proposed to submit to the house. Such were the reasons which urged the noble lord to move a further postponement of this measure.

On the same day, when the resolutions which had been formerly discussed, and which voted a grant to Maynooth college, were read,

Mr. Perceval objected to the sum, and to the purposes for which that sum was to be devoted, on account of its augmentation. The Irish parliament voted only 8,000*l.* and now not less than 13,000*l.* was required; but he objected to the way in which it was to be expended: it was to be laid out in buildings, which mode of expenditure could only be the seeds of additional expenditure; for, if new buildings be raised, they must be maintained.

This produced some conversation between different persons, after which

Mr. Grattan said, he conceived that the question lay within a very narrow compass:—whether the Roman catholic was to go abroad, form foreign connections, involve himself in foreign relations, and bring home foreign affections to his country; or whether he was to remain in his native land, and acquire the instruction he was there to disseminate? If this could be as well effected in the college of Dublin, he should rejoice at it, for he would ever wish to see the catholic and the protestant walking hand in hand together; he would wish to have them acting in such a co-operation as to have in common the one general impulse, and the one grand end; but the expense of instruction was complained of: what was the expense? 13,000*l.* and what was got by that sum? the instruction of three millions and a half of people; this would be more than œconomy; it would be worse than parsimony: keep the Roman catholic at home; home education will promote allegiance; foreign education can engender no great loyalty; kept at home and taught to love his country, he must revere its government.

Mr. Bankes thought the institution highly impolitic, and maintained that catholicism in Ireland should be discouraged rather than upheld.

Some other members spoke both for and against the motion; when it was agreed to.

On the 4th of March the same subject called forth a new debate, in which Mr. Perceval and Mr. Bankes were the only opponents; but in favour of the catholics, lord Howick and lord Mahon, sir John Newport, Mr. Grattan, and Mr. Wilberforce took part, and the resolution was passed.

On the next day, in pursuance

of the notice already referred to, lord Howick rose to move for leave to bring in a bill for securing to all his majesty's subjects the privilege of serving in the army or navy, upon their taking an oath prescribed by act of parliament, and for leaving to them, as far as convenience would admit, the free exercise of their respective religions. He should have hoped that such a proposition was not likely to meet with much opposition. He should have imagined, that to state it to be a desirable object for all governments to unite every description of persons living under them in their own defence, was to state a position which would admit of no dispute. If any additional weight could be given to the strength of this position, it would be by considering it as applicable to the present time. Was it prudent, was it politic, when we were contending with such a powerful enemy, to prevent a large portion of the population of the country from contributing to the common defence? A great proportion of our soldiers and sailors (particularly of the latter) were catholics; and was it fitting that parliament should not allow that by right which was already allowed by connivance? By the law which passed in the parliament of Ireland in 1793, the catholics were allowed to hold commissions in the army, and to enjoy those privileges in Ireland, which it was the object of the bill that he meant to propose, to communicate generally to the catholics of this country. The bill would go to admit persons of every religious persuasion to serve in the army and navy, without any condition but that of taking an oath particularized in the bill. Of course, if this indulgence was granted to catholics, it was unnecessary to state that there could be no objection to grant it to any other set of dissenters from the established church, unless some danger could be shown which he did not at present see. The provisions of the bill would therefore extend to persons of all religious persuasions. What had particularly drawn the attention of his majesty's government to this subject was, the strange anomaly which existed in consequence of the act passed in Ireland in 1793, by which the Roman catholics in that country were enabled to hold commissions in the army, and to attain to any rank except that of commander in chief of the forces, master general of the ordnance, or general on the staff. They might rise to be generals, but they were not permitted to be generals on the staff. The effect of this permission so granted to the catholics in Ireland, was a most striking incongruity; for if a catholic, who was by law qualified to serve in the army of Ireland, should be brought to this country by any circumstances which demanded the presence in this country of the regiment in which he served, he would be disqualified by law from remaining in the service, and would have only this alternative, either to continue in the service contrary to law, and thus subject himself to the penalties and forefeitures consequent thereon, or to relinquish a profession in which he had risen to the rank that he might hold, either by the sacrifice of his fortune, or more probably by a succession of meritorious services, such as proved him qualified to defend the prosperity and assert the honour of the country. So absurd an inconvenience must be remedied.

ed. It was felt to be an inconvenience when Great Britain and Ireland were separate nations, and had separate parliaments; and when the act of 1793 was proposed in the Irish parliament, it was declared, that a similar proposition should be made in two months in the parliament of Great Britain. This was distinctly promised; lord Clare in the house of peers, and lord Buckinghamshire in the house of commons, distinctly stated, that it was the intention of his majesty's government, with all convenient dispatch, to propose a similar bill in the British parliament. The measure which he was about to submit to the judgment of the house was calculated to remove the inconvenience, and to reconcile the incongruity complained of, and at the same time to maintain the faith of the British government, by redeeming the pledge to which he had alluded. The beneficial effects of the Irish act were immediately felt, and had since been still more apparent, while not the slightest inconvenience had resulted from it. The shores of Egypt and the plains of Calabria were decisive proofs of the advantages which we had derived from that act, as they were also decisive proofs of the valour and patriotism of those distinguished heroes, who, by their gallant exertions, had deserved and obtained the eternal gratitude of their country. After other very strong arguments, his lordship said it must be remembered, that the proposed measure only enabled his majesty to appoint such persons to situations of high importance. Their appointment must depend upon the executive government, who of course would avoid any dangerous or improper use of their authority. In addition to the advantage of enabling the country to avail itself of the whole extent of its population, without any of those restrictions which operated merely to keep up a spirit of discontent, and to damp that ardour which might otherwise be so successfully directed to the public service, the proposed measure, in addition to these things, provided for all who should enter his majesty's service the free and unrestrained exercise of their religion, as far as it did not interfere with their military duties. This was the whole extent; it held out no encouragement to them; it established no institution for their support or increase. The abolition of restrictions in point of rank would place before the sons of the gentry of Ireland those fair objects of ambition, it would open to them that career of glory, the pursuit of which was synonymous with the advancement of the best interests of the empire. On the commonalty of Ireland the measure must have a powerful effect, by affording a salutary check to the increasing superabundant population of that country, as it would induce numbers to enter into the service of his majesty, even of those who by their own discontents, and by the artifices of others, had so lately been urged into insurrection and rebellion. The noble lord concluded with moving, "That leave be given to bring in a bill for enabling his majesty to avail himself of the services of all his liege subjects in his naval and military forces, in the manner therein mentioned."

Mr. Perceval said, although he would not at present enter into a debate on the proposed bill, yet, as the principle of it was one which he felt it his bounden duty to oppose, he thought it right, even in the first

instance, to apprise the noble lord of the nature of his objections, and to call the serious attention of the house, and of the public, to one of the most important and most dangerous measures that had ever been submitted to the judgment of the legislature. It was not so much to the individual measure that he objected, but to the system of which it formed a part, which was growing day after day, and threatening to expand into the most alarming magnitude. If it was desirable to preserve any thing of our antient and venerable establishments, it could only be effected by making a stand against every fresh attempt at innovation. To what did the proposed measure tend? With any degree of consistency, its supporters could not stop short of abolishing all the tests which the wisdom of our ancestors had thought it necessary to interpose in defence of our religious establishment. The proposed measure was a partial repeal of the test act, founded on arguments which went to the repeal of that act. From the arguments that were advanced at the present day, a man might almost be led to suppose, that one religion was considered as good as the other, and that the reformation was deemed only a convenient and political measure. He was far from ascribing indifference on this point to the noble lord, who, he was sure, gave the preference where it was justly due; but the noble lord had said, that it approached to a spirit of persecution, for parliament to hesitate in appropriating the funds of the country to the support of those who preached a doctrine subversive of the religion of the country. He might be wrong; it might be policy so to dispose of the national revenue; it might be called for by the true and enlightened spirit of Christian toleration. He certainly did not think it was. He had as great a regard for true toleration as any man. He would never restrain the free exercise of religious worship in any individual; for he could not conceive that one man could commit a greater crime against another than by such an interference. The present question was simply this, whether the legislature would give up the protestant ascendancy in Ireland, or whether they would make a stand, and say, "We have already done every thing that toleration requires and that the catholics have a right to demand." Undoubtedly, such a declaration would be the dictate of sound policy and discretion. In one of his statements the noble lord had palpably contradicted himself; for, in the first place, he endeavoured to make the house believe, that the army and navy were crowded with catholics, and then he recommended that they should have a free admission. With respect to the proposition for the free exercise of religion, it was unnecessary; for, if it were thought proper, his majesty might introduce such a regulation in the articles of war. But if it were to be made the subject of a legislative provision, the utmost confusion must ensue. One soldier would go to a methodist chapel, another to a presbyterian conventicle, a third to a Roman catholic church; in short, to every place of worship but a protestant one; for it was curious enough, that there was to be no legislative provision for the protestants to go to the church of England. These were considerations which ought to excite the jealousy and apprehension of the

house

house and of the country; but he was not so anxious to call their attention to the particular measure now proposed, as to the principle of innovation, which was gradually increasing; and was much more formidable, thus stealing on by degrees, than if it were fairly exposed in all the magnitude to which it seemed intended that it should arrive. In that case, the notice of parliament would be strongly attracted to the subject; it would take it up in an extensive point of view; it would determine upon it deliberately, and, he trusted, wisely. The consequences of a storm he should not be apprehensive about; but these gradual approaches were dangerous, because each by itself was not deemed worthy of notice. It should be considered, however, that even if they were little in themselves, their consequences were not so. For his own part, he was satisfied that if parliament allowed their accumulation, it would ultimately have that extorted from its weakness, which its wisdom would be desirous to withhold.

Lord Temple said, that he considered it a misfortune to have heard the speech that had been delivered by the honourable and learned gentleman who had just sat down: he could not help saying, that it appeared to him to savour much of opinions long since obsolete, and to breathe a kind of spirit fitter for the darker ages, than for the liberal and enlightened times in which we at present lived. Was it necessary at this time of day to go into formal proof of the impolicy, the madness of intolerance? Was it necessary now to prove, that it ever defeated its own end, and contributed to establish what it had conspired to overthrow? He hoped that it was not; and yet the speech of the honourable and learned gentleman would lead the house to suppose, that that gentleman himself entertained doubts of a truth, he might say, universally assented to, and confirmed by the successive experience of ages. All that was asked in the present instance was a boon of a limited extent: and it was only in case of more being asked, or being attempted to be granted, that the honourable and learned gentleman's argument would have its effect. In short, the whole question reduced itself to this, whether the exact boon now asked, was such as, if granted, could render the catholics, either in this country or Ireland, the objects of jealousy or distrust? In vain would it be to expect allegiance from those, who were, at the same time, told, that they were unfit to enjoy the benefits of that allegiance; or to look for attachment from those, who were not to receive any support from the government of the country.

A long and animated debate took place, after which the bill was read the first time, and ordered to be read again that day se'nnight.—It was not, however, till the 18th that the subject was again referred to; when

Lord Howick addressed the house nearly as follows:—

Sir, since I had the honour of introducing into this house a bill for allowing dissenters of every description to enter into his majesty's service, under certain restrictions, circumstances have occurred which have twice induced me to move for the postponement of the second reading of that bill. I now rise to state, that the same circumstances

circumstances still continue to operate, and that I shall not be prepared to-morrow to propose the second reading. Not being able to ascertain on what day it may be in my power to proceed with this bill, I think it consistent with my public duty to make this statement, in consequence of which the order of the day for the second reading will be dropped, to be revived as the house may think fit. I am aware, sir, that this intimation must attract much observation, and that the house and the public will naturally expect some information with respect to the motives of it. All I can now say is, that I must beg their indulgence: I am not at present authorized, nor would it accord with my duty, to enter into any explanation on the subject.—Whenever the proper time shall come, I can assure the house, that no man will be more ready than I shall be to state fully that which, under the present circumstances, I feel bound to withhold. I therefore must confine myself to giving notice, that I shall not move to-morrow for the second reading of the Roman catholics' army and navy service bill.

It was now well known that his majesty was forming, or had already selected, a new administration and had induced Mr. Perceval to accept of the office of chancellor of the exchequer; it was intended to secure to him, *for life*, the lucrative sinecure of chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, in addition to the salary attached to the chancellorship of the exchequer. The house of commons, however, alarmed at this innovation, passed the resolution, "That no office, place, employment, or salary, in any part of his majesty's dominions, ought hereafter to be granted in reversion." This resolution was proposed by

Mr. Bankes, who introduced it to the notice of the house by saying that he was not aware that it was liable to any objection. It came recommended, not by his individual authority, but by the sanction of the committee of the house appointed "to examine and consider what regulations and checks have been established, in order to control the several branches of the public expenditure in Great Britain and Ireland, and how far the same have been effectual, and what further measures can be adopted for reducing any part of the said expenditure, or diminishing the amount of salaries and emoluments without detriment to the public service." It occurred to the committee, in furtherance of the object committed to its care, that grants of offices in reversion, though not exceeding the grants that had been made in former times, ought to be restricted, and put a stop to. In Ireland, which had lately become united with this country, and was equally entitled to attention, the practice of granting reversions prevailed to an infinitely greater extent. The practice was an abuse, so far as it prevailed, and it was an abuse likely to be extended, if some timely check was not imposed upon it. He was therefore directed by the committee, as its chairman, to move the resolution.

Mr. Yorke gave every possible credit to the motives of his honourable friend and of the committee, and yet he felt a good deal of difficulty in assenting to this motion. The doubt in his mind was, whether the antient and accustomed

customed practice ought to be altered, when, as stated by his honourable friend himself, it had of late been but little abused. It was a favourite maxim with him, not to change established usages, unless he saw some strong reason for it. This granting of offices in reversion had been a power in the hands of the crown for the purpose of rewarding services; and hitherto it had in fact been a saving to the public; for, unless these offices could be given in this manner, services, if they were rewarded at all, must be rewarded by a grant, and a double burthen would thus be laid upon the public. The object of this motion, as had been stated, was undoubtedly of the greatest importance; and yet the house was called upon to decide on it at once. The notice had only been given the preceding day, and given in such a manner, that, till he came down that day, he did not exactly know the purport of it. He hoped, therefore, that the house would at least take more time to consider of it.

Lord Howick gave his most cordial support to the motion. He saw nothing in the arguments of the right honourable gentleman who spoke last, to induce him to think it ought to be postponed. The notice given yesterday in one of the fullest houses of the session, and particularly marked by his (lord Howick's) saying he would support the motion, and adding, what he repeated now, that not one single reversion had been given away by the present administration, though some very valuable ones had fallen in, was, in his opinion, as ample a notice as could be desired. It had, however, been stated in objection to what he then said, that some offices had been granted in reversion in the court of chancery. What he had said ought to be understood of the government, and not of the subordinate departments. The fact, with respect to these reversions in the court of chancery, was, that the present lord chancellor had advised his majesty to grant the reversion of two small offices in his court to a person who had been his clerk, while he was in such distinguished practice at the bar, and who, losing that employment by his promotion to the seals, would be wholly unprovided for without this grant in reversion. This was the only grant in reversion that had been made, though a tellership had fallen in. No custom should be allowed to sanction a thing, which in the opinion of correct men of all ages was improper. It was not necessary to argue the impropriety of the practice now; many better opportunities would occur in the various stages of the bill that would be introduced on the resolution. The right honourable gentleman had said, that this would reduce the power of the crown to reward services, and that it would increase the expense of those rewards, by rendering it necessary to make all remuneration the subject of present grant. The right honourable gentleman had looked but slightly on this matter, or he would have found, that grants of reversion had usually been made, not to meritorious servants, but to persons who, from their tender age, could have rendered no services whatever. The grant of reversions was, in fact, an abridgment of the means of rewarding public servants; for if the holder of the office dropped, the reversioner stepped in, and prevented its being given to a meritorious servant.

servant. He could not say, whether grants in reversion had been more or less frequent in late years; but several grants had been made in late years, and particularly in Ireland. He gave his cordial support to the motion, and he wished the house to go still further, and to come to a resolution against the granting of any office for life, not usually so granted. If any thing of that kind had been done, or was in contemplation, he thought it highly proper for the house to interfere, and to prevent it, by expressing its decided disapprobation.

Mr. Plumer (of Hertford) rose and said: I wish, sir, that this measure had been brought forward forty years ago. This has been hitherto my sincere desire; and I therefore give the motion now made my most hearty assent. Having said thus much upon the measure itself, I cannot help embracing this opportunity of paying a tribute of applause to the present administration (I say present, upon the supposition that they are still in office), as I really think they have shown every disposition to benefit the country by their judicious measures, and their avoiding the practice of former administrations, of granting reversions. Upon this occasion, too, I have another observation to make, which is this: in coming down to the house this day, I have heard a report, which I am very sorry to hear; I have heard, sir, that the new government which is now forming, or to be formed, have agreed to give to an honourable and learned member of this house (alluding to Mr. Perceval, who was not then in the house), the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster for life, in order to tempt that gentleman to take a place in the new government. Upon this I may observe, that if men of great abilities are not satisfied with the rewards attached to the situations which his majesty chooses to appoint them to hold in the government of their country, if they do not think the usual compensation sufficient, they ought not to accept of office at all. I do, however, at all events, enter my protest most solemnly against the measure of giving a man a situation for life, in order to entice him to occupy another which may be more fleeting and temporary.

Sir John Newport wished this resolution had been adopted a year sooner. The house would not then be in the situation in which it now was, with respect to some of the Irish offices, which had been reported as proper, some to be abolished, and some to be reformed, and which could not be touched in either way, on account of the interests of the several reversioners.

Mr. Johnstone approved of the motion, which was perfectly consistent with the principles on which his honourable friend (Mr. Bankes) had always acted, and he thought it was a happy omen of what might be expected from the exertions of the committee of which he was chairman. He could not, however, think a mere unauthenticated rumour a sufficient justification for what had been said of an honourable and learned gentleman not now present, the whole tenour of whose life had shown his preference of public principle to private advantage. He could not help observing, too, that those who had been most clamorous in cheering the reflections cast on the honourable and learned gentleman, were members of a family which was loaded with wealth derived from

public sinecures. He wished, with the honourable gentleman on the floor, that the resolution now before the house had been adopted forty years ago, and then that family would not now be drawing 60,000*l.* a-year from the labour of the public. But however eager they had hitherto been for places and pensions, he was glad that at last they had found it expedient to change their tone.

Mr. Henry Martin (of Kinsale) said, he so fully coincided in the propriety of the resolution now before the house, and felt it so necessary to counteract a system so mischievous as that which had been alluded to this night, that he should now give notice, that he would to-morrow move an humble address to his majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased not to grant any place in the duchy of Lancaster, or elsewhere, for life, which had hitherto been usually held by the possessors during his majesty's pleasure. (Hear! hear! from all parts of the house.) Several other gentlemen spoke; when the resolution was carried.

On the next day, Mr. Henry Martin rose, pursuant to notice, to submit his motion to the house; and he had to regret that this task had not fallen into abler hands. He felt that he had little claim to the consideration of the house, and trusted that some gentleman of greater talents would come forward to support the question which he looked upon as his duty to bring under the consideration of the house. But before he should enter into the grounds of his motion, or of the propriety of bringing it forward, he wished to clear away every suspicion that he was actuated by any motives of hostility towards the right honourable and learned gentleman (Mr. Perceval) who was the object of it. With that gentleman he had the pleasure and the honour of being long acquainted, and he entertained the highest respect for his abilities and character. Much as he was attached to the honourable persons who composed his majesty's late administration, he could assure the house, that in bringing forward this motion he was actuated by no party motive. He wished also to show, that in doing this he was not doing any thing that would trench upon the prerogative of the crown. From the year 1660 to the present time, there appeared but two instances in which the office of chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, to which his motion particularly applied, had been granted for life. The result of the inquiry, which he had been able to make upon so short a notice, was, that it had not in any other instance been granted for life within that period of 147 years. This would satisfy the house that this motion for an address, that his majesty would be graciously pleased to grant this place according to the usual practice, would not interfere with his royal prerogative. The first instance in which it had been granted for life was in 1717, when it had been granted to lord Lechmere, who had for a long time filled the office of attorney-general. He should establish the difference between the cases. In that instance, the person had been raised to the peerage when all the avenues to his profession were shut against him, and it was thought right to give him some provision for life in reward of his services. The next instance was in 1782, when the place of chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster

caster had been granted for life to lord Ashburton. He was anxious to state all that he had been able to find on the subject. Gentlemen must not suppose him ignorant of the cases that bore upon his motion. But under what circumstances had that noble lord received this office? He had filled the office of solicitor-general; had been long at the head of his profession; and had distinguished himself in that house as much as the learned gentleman opposite, but in a far different manner. He had distinguished himself in the support of the rights of the people, and of the authority of parliament; in which way he had never heard of the learned gentleman having distinguished himself. That noble lord having got a peerage, when all the law offices were full, it had been thought right by the persons with whom he had acted in parliament, to give him the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster for life. But it had not been granted to him to induce him to accept another office of honour and emolument. It was granted for services already performed. He did not know whether the committee at present inquiring into what offices ought to be abolished or regulated, might not be of the same opinion as Mr. Burke, that this office ought to be altogether abolished. But he did think that it would become a question in that committee, how far the grant of places for life was a grievance. For his part, he looked upon such grants as equally grievances with the grants in reversion, and was of opinion, that no person should grant places except during his own life, unless for distinguished services. In such cases, he would admit the propriety of grants for life, as a remuneration for the services performed. But the honourable and learned gentleman was to have another situation, which was in itself a place of great honour and emolument, and therefore he could have no claim to the grant for life of such an office as that of the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster. Were the gentlemen who were to become his majesty's ministers to be tempted by such means to accept offices, which were generally objects of honourable ambition? He did not mean to confine his motion to the particular case, but rested it upon general principles, to extend to all such offices pending the existence of that committee, from whose labours he was convinced the house and the public service would derive so much benefit. His motion would not, at all events, be liable to the objection made to a resolution moved the preceding day by the chairman of the committee, and recommended by the committee, that it was an innovation, because in the course of 147 years there appeared but two instances in which the place had been granted for life. An address had also been voted of a similar nature on a former occasion, with which his majesty had complied, and had been graciously pleased to reply that he would not grant the office for life, and he had never since so granted it. It might be said, that he had taken the house by surprise. It ill became him to speak of himself, but every man who knew him, must know that he was incapable of taking the house by surprise. The motion had arisen out of the discussion the preceding day, and the delay of a few hours might have rendered it nugatory. It might also be asked, why he had not brought forward the motion under the

the late administration? To this he should answer, that they were incapable of any such proceeding, because they had shown no disposition to grasp at every thing they could secure; because they had shown the disinterested principles upon which they acted, by abstaining from granting any places in reversion. The honourable and learned gentleman concluded by moving, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased not to grant the office of chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, or any other office not usually granted for life, for any other term than during pleasure."

The honourable J. W. Ward rose to second the motion, to which he gave his full and cordial approbation. Grants of this description appeared to him unconstitutional under all circumstances. They had the effect of raising up a race of men to live upon the wealth of the public, and to make them alike independent of the sovereign who might promote them, and of the people by whom the means were supplied for their support. As the grant of places for life, therefore, had such a direct tendency to deprive the crown of the power of punishing weak or wicked, and of rewarding its meritorious servants, the motion for the address should have his warmest support.

Mr. Perceval said, he had felt so anxious to be present at the discussion of this question, that he had delayed accepting the office which, but for the notice given by the honourable gentleman the preceding night, he should ere this have held. He thought it his duty by his presence to take care, that, if the house thought fit to address his majesty, it should be on accurate statements, and that no uncertain rumours should usurp the place of facts. It was unquestionably true, that he had received an offer from his majesty of the chancellorship of the exchequer, accompanied with a grant of the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster for life; and that, but for his learned friend's notice, he should at that moment have been in possession of both those situations; his learned friend, therefore, was not chargeable with surprise in bringing forward his motion at so short a notice, as otherwise the season of it would have gone by. He was not in the house the preceding evening: but understanding that such a notice had been given,—instead of approaching his sovereign for the purpose of receiving his appointment to office, he had approached him with a request that the appointment might not take place on that day, that he might have an opportunity of addressing the house on the subject; and still more, that his majesty might not be fettered, in consequence of any advice that the house might think proper to offer him. This request was accompanied with an assurance, as his majesty had been pleased to think that he could be an useful servant, that, whatever might be the pleasure of his majesty in consequence of any address from that house, though it should deprive him of the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster, formerly offered, it would not in the slightest degree abate his wish to serve his majesty. It would therefore be a serious subject for the consideration of the house, whether in the present state and crisis of the country, and when all the circumstances connected with the new arrangement were before them, when they

they recollected that the object of forming a new administration was to preserve the establishments of the country, and perhaps the religion of it, whether they would be disposed to throw any difficulties in the way of his majesty in forming a new administration, when he conceived that in so doing he was only labouring to preserve the constitution of the country. Having said thus much, he thought that he ought to leave the subject to the discretion and judgment of the house; and that, as it particularly related to himself, he should withdraw, after having put the house in possession of his sentiments: but before he withdrew, he should repeat, that whatever might be their determination on the subject of the duchy of Lancaster, and whatever sacrifices he might be called upon to make, no services that he could be called upon to render to his majesty should in the present situation of affairs be withheld.—Mr. Perceval then made his bow, and left the house.

Lord Henry Petty said, that if the salary of the chancellor of the exchequer were not sufficient, it might be recollected, that there were a great number of other offices which might be given as a reward for services, when those services should have been actually performed; but he objected to the giving away the means of rewarding great services, merely to induce persons to become members of an administration. He considered that it was a most serious and unconstitutional attack on the most important prerogatives of the crown, to deprive it of all power and means of rewarding great public services, by taking the best places and gifts that it was in the power of the crown to bestow, before any of those services had been performed. He thought that the crown ought not to have been advised to limit its powers and prerogatives in this manner. Upon the subject of the alienation of crown lands, it had been always observed, that in whatever proportion the crown gave away to individuals its possessions and its right, in that proportion it became weaker; and it was the same with respect to lucrative offices. If they were all given away directly or in reversion to one set of ministers, the crown left itself without that patronage, and power of rewarding great services, which it ought to possess. A recent and very remarkable case had occurred some years ago in corroboration of this opinion. On an arrangement that was then proposed, this very place was offered to lord Sidmouth, who had rendered considerable service during his long and meritorious discharge of his duties as speaker. Lord Sidmouth declined it, and said he could not bring himself to be the instrument of alienating from the crown the means of rewarding greater public services than he had as yet been able to perform. It was not as a testimony in favour of lord Sidmouth that he mentioned this, for the noble lord required no such testimony of his disinterested conduct; but he mentioned it merely for the information of those members who were not previously acquainted with the circumstance. The principle upon which lord Sidmouth refused it applied with much greater strength to the present case; besides, it was known, that there was a committee of the house now constituted, for the express purpose of considering what useless and sinecure offices might be abolished; and as it was

possible

possible that the committee might consider this to be among the number, he thought that it should not be thus disposed of, in a manner contrary to all usage, before the opinion of the committee was pronounced upon it.

Mr. Sturges Bourne could not help expressing his surprise at the manner in which this motion was supported, and his astonishment at the honourable and learned quarter whence it originated, when he recollected that the honourable and learned gentleman who brought forward the motion was acquainted with the talents, integrity, and disinterestedness of his right honourable friend. The value of the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster did not exceed 2,000*l.* per annum; and was this too large an equivalent for the fruits of his right honourable friend's professional exertions? The noble lord had talked of the committee of finance, as entitled to inquire into the state and utility of the office now in question. The noble lord ought to have known, that that office belonged to his majesty's privy purse, and therefore could not possibly come under the cognizance of that committee. Before he sat down he could not help expressing his surprise, that the noble lord (Howick) had fixed upon tomorrow for a certain important explanation, when that noble lord must have been aware, that the leading persons most interested in the discussion, and who had their story to tell, must by that time have vacated their seats by accepting the new appointments.

Mr. Sharpe said, that if he were to judge from the specimen just given to the house, he should not expect that the new administration would be good at making convincing speeches. He could not help seriously expressing his surprise at the assertion of the honourable gentleman who spoke last, that there was no difference between the present case and that of lord Ashburton. It was painful to him to enter into any personal comparison, but he hoped the house would acquit him of any invidious motive. Mr. Dunning was most indisputably at the head of his profession. He was shut out from the great emoluments of such a situation, by being advanced to the upper house. As to the right honourable gentleman in question, the least he could say was, that that right honourable gentleman certainly was not at the head of his profession. He (Mr. Sharpe) had repeatedly in the course of not a very short life, discharged the duties of a juror, and yet it had been his great misfortune never once to have had his understanding enlightened by the professional exertions of the right honourable gentleman. He would go further; for the truth was, that the abilities of the right honourable gentleman were not known until he had got into an official situation. It might be asked, Why did he enter into this unpleasant comparison? Because it was of importance to that house, and to the country, to know what was the real extent of the professional sacrifices made by the right honourable gentleman. He had the honour to be a member of the finance committee above stairs so often alluded to; and when he saw that one of the first steps of the new administration was to grasp at so considerable a sinecure, at the same time that he saw them so far descend as to endeavour to justify themselves by recrimination,

it would make him more cautious, and encourage him to prosecute his labours with greater diligence, in order that the report might be made before that premature extinction which he foresaw was intended for the present parliament. The honourable gentleman concluded with expressing his entire concurrence in the motion.

Mr. Montague spoke against the motion, and Mr. Henry Thornton in favour of it. After which,

Mr. Johnstone said he could not refrain from some observations upon the conduct of those honourable gentlemen themselves, when they were taking credit for so much purity and disinterestedness. He would ask, how they could reconcile with those assumptions, the indecency of pressing upon that house, on their first accession to office, and at nine o'clock at night, two successive stages of a bill for enabling the noble lord at the head of the late administration (lord Grenville) to hold as a sinecure the office of auditor of the exchequer, with large emoluments annexed, and the duties of which were to be done by another; and this at the same time that another noble lord at the head of the family enjoyed the tellership of the exchequer with emoluments almost incalculable? How could they reconcile with this boasted purity, the extraordinary increase made in the salary of first lord of the admiralty, lately enjoyed by another branch of that noble family, and this not avowed to parliament in an open, manly way, but effected by a secret fund! How could that right honourable gentleman reconcile to his purity the calling on the house for 3,000*l.* for the expenses of further continuing the commission of naval inquiry, and not say a word about his own salary? With respect to the committee of finance, for which those honourable gentlemen took so much credit to themselves, so far from their having the merit to originate the measure, it was rather forced upon them by the patriotism of his honourable friend opposite to him (Mr. Biddulph); but when the late ministers found the measure was too popular to be resisted, the noble lord (Petty) adopted it, and claimed that as his own, which he had no right to arrogate. The honourable gentlemen boasted much of their œconomical arrangements; but what had they done for the country in effect? They had indeed appointed commissioners of accounts without number; but what had these effected? The West India commissioners, who had been so long appointed, at large salaries, had not even yet sailed upon their mission; and as to the army accounts, nothing appeared to have been effected there. Such had been the conduct of these patriots of reform! In short, he apprehended that whenever those honourable gentlemen should come to state what they really had done, their explanation would be something like what occurred between general Stanhope and general Walpole upon a former occasion, namely, nothing better than mutual reproach and mutual recrimination. Those men were the fathers of the house of commons at that day, and the house, in pity to their nakedness, turned their backs upon them; and so he hoped they would do upon these honourable gentlemen.

Mr. Sheridan said, that it was not the first time he had observed in the honourable gentleman who had just sat down, an eagerness

to

to attack the late administration and its friends, though certainly the present, like every former attempt, evinced rather an avidity to attack than a power to be offensive. The honourable gentleman had arraigned the late ministry for having abandoned their public professions. Having made such a charge, the onus of the proof lay with the honourable gentleman; and he (Mr. Sheridan) defied him to produce any instance in which the late ministers had for a moment shrunk from the principles which they had professed, not merely on their coming into power, but during the continuance of that power. They were denied the credit of the committee of finance. Did they not support it, and encourage it to the utmost of their power? What had been the principle of that committee? Œconomy. And what had been the avowed principle of the late ministers? Œconomy. Was he called on for an instance, he would instance the reduction of the staff; he would instance the barrack department; he would instance the reduction of the department of the commissariat. He would ask the honourable gentleman, if his noble friend near him (lord H. Petty) did not pledge himself, at the outset of his administration, to the adoption of every practicable plan of reform and retrenchment in the public expenditure, and if he had not followed up that pledge to the last moment of his official authority? The honourable gentleman wished to deprive his noble friend of all claim to the merit of originating the committee of finance, and to attribute the whole to another honourable gentleman, (Mr. Biddulph,) from whose merit it was by no means his wish to detract; but he would say, that his noble friend, in adopting that measure with a view of giving it greater extension, by no means wished to deprive the honourable gentleman, who first proposed it, of the credit of originality: but surely his noble friend was entitled to the praise of having promptly adopted the suggestion for the advantage of the public, indifferent from whom it might proceed.—Mr. Sheridan adverted to many other topics; and at length speaking of Mr. Perceval he said, it was extremely painful to him to make any comparisons that might be thought to wear an invidious aspect to the right honourable gentleman, but he recollected that ever since he was a member of that house he was mostly in office. He had been attorney-general under Mr. Pitt, and solicitor-general under lord Sidmouth: and here he begged leave to pay his tribute of praise to the upright, pure, and honourable conduct of that noble lord, as it had been explained this night, when, under the administration of Mr. Pitt, he might have had the place for life, which it was now in contemplation to confer upon the new chancellor of the exchequer, had his honourable scruples permitted him to become the instrument of limitation to the prerogative and constitutional influence of his royal master. During the short period of the learned gentleman's opposition, the air of this side of the house did not seem to agree with him, and he was now got back to the balmy and blissful atmosphere of the treasury bench. The honourable member had asked, Will you deprive his majesty of the learned gentleman's services in that office for which he had been qualified? Now re-

ally he was of opinion, that if gentlemen on the opposite side possessed any thing at all, they were swarming with chancellors of the exchequer. Even a noble lord and a gallant general had lately proposed their plans of finance to the house; why not make either of them chancellors of the exchequer? Why not make the gallant general attorney-general? Among all their financiers, not one could be found to fill the office, but a gentleman who, though a very frequent speaker in the house, had never, to his knowledge, uttered one word on the subject of finance in his life.

Several other gentlemen spoke on the subject; when the address was carried by a majority of 93, there being for it 208, and against it 115. While the supporters of the address were in the lobby, order was called, and lord Howick addressed them as follows: Gentlemen, I understand that it is intended to propose to-morrow, that the house should at its rising adjourn for a much longer time than is usual at this period of the session, or than I think consistent with the present state of affairs, or with any views of the public interest. The adjournment which is to be proposed is to next Monday fortnight. It is my intention, on the grounds I have mentioned, to oppose that motion, and to propose by way of amendment, unless, as I hope, it may be proposed by somebody else, that no longer adjournment should take place than till Monday se'ennight at furthest. As there will certainly be a division upon this question, and in all probability an early one, I hope gentlemen will feel the propriety of a full and early attendance.

March 26th, in the house of lords, lord Hawkesbury moved, that the house, at its rising, should adjourn to Wednesday se'nnight.

Lord Grenville rose for the purpose of stating, as far as he was acquainted with them, the causes which occasioned the recent changes in his majesty's councils. Their lordships would recollect, that when some of the administration of which he formed a part, found it necessary to retire six years ago, they did not explain the motives of their resignation. The consequence was, that misrepresentation took place, and their characters suffered. To avoid similar misrepresentation he should enter into a vindication of his character, the great object he had in view. At the period he adverted to, their lordships knew that the great statesman who was then at the head of his majesty's councils, thought it his duty to propose that parliament should grant great indulgences to the catholics of Ireland. Such proposals not meeting with the approbation of his majesty, that statesman withdrew from the government, and his lordship accompanied him. The same opinion was also entertained by his illustrious rival, that luminary whose loss the country had to deplore in the course of the year. His lordship was of a similar opinion; and if he erred, it was in common with these the two greatest statesmen which any country ever produced. On three questions only did these statesmen agree during the course of their long political lives. These were the sinking fund, the abolition of the slave trade, and what is called the catholic question. Two of these had been carried; the first as soon as it was proposed, and the second after great delay, and having to encounter

encounter every species of artifice and misrepresentation. The third rested upon such grounds of justice and policy, that he could not conceive how any one who understood the interests of the country could oppose it. On a former occasion, he had sacrificed objects of ambition and gratification, and he was ready to make such sacrifices again. He did it upon the principle that four millions of subjects were to be governed by conciliation and kindness, and not by intolerance and exclusion. Different overtures were afterwards made to him for his assistance. His answer invariably was, that his sovereign might command his services, but he never would relinquish the privilege of speaking his mind on the question. An opportunity afterwards arose, when the catholics of Ireland wished to have their case taken into consideration. They did him the honour of selecting him to present their petition, which he willingly accepted. Upon the event of the motion which he then made, it was not necessary for him to trouble the house with any observations. The majority who rejected it could not be understood as having given a lasting pledge that they would not accede to it. A few months after this, the country was deprived of the great statesman who was at the head of his majesty's councils. The king sent for him, under the impression that he might be useful, not in supplying the loss of that great man, for that was impossible, but in forming another administration. In forming that administration, he did recommend such persons as he considered to entertain sentiments most congenial to the constitution, most of whom were known to be friends to the principle of granting every indulgence to the catholics. When they were known to entertain such sentiments, could he conceive that they would be called upon to exercise their duty in any other mode than the constitution required, which was, in the words of their oath, to give "full, fair, and open counsel to their sovereign," and to advise him, upon all occasions, to the best of their judgments? No idea was ever held out to them, that there was any objection to the concessions in favour of the catholics. Far from it. Within these few days even, he had authority to say, that they came into council with their judgments unfettered. He would at the same time acknowledge, that it was not their intention to press any measure of that nature, except necessity required it. He did entertain hopes, that such a degree of satisfaction might be given to the catholics by his majesty's representative in Ireland; he did hope that they would find that security in the constitution of the cabinet, that they would not think it necessary to stir the question. His object, and the object of those who acted with him, was to knit together all classes of his majesty's subjects in that country by a mild and conciliating government. He entertained hopes, that such a system would supersede the necessity of agitating the question, particularly when it was known there were objections to it in a certain quarter, that it would be strongly opposed in parliament, and that there was not any prospect of success for a considerable time. Accordingly they took measures to prevent the revival of the question, and they succeeded last year. Some symptoms, however, of that disturbed state, which in his opinion could be best

prevented by that measure, broke out. To the honour of the noble duke who represented his majesty, they were composed, not by having recourse to harsh measures, but by civil justice alone. The attention of ministers was soon after called to the situation of Ireland, by the representation of those who had the best means of ascertaining the state of the public mind in that country. Other circumstances had also occurred, which induced them to depart from the determination they had formed. The total destruction of the power of Prussia, and the establishment of the power of France, in points particularly dangerous to this country, made it the more necessary for them to do every thing in their power to strengthen the country. It was their duty to look to two contingencies—peace between France and the continent, and a continuance of the war with England. What, in such a situation, would be their best course of policy? Would it not be to augment this force, and diminish whatever danger might be apprehended from any part of the empire? What more effectual mode could they adopt of doing that, but by pursuing such measures as would induce the superabundant population of that country to enlist in the army and navy of the empire? Such was the policy of lord Chatham, with respect to the Highlands of Scotland. That great statesman recommended that every exertion should be made to induce the people of this particular part of the country, to engage in the service of the united kingdom; and the happy consequences of his advice were soon evinced in the disappearance of every symptom of discontent and turbulence. Such, in some measure, was the state of Ireland at this day; a country rising rapidly in manufactures, in commerce, in agriculture, and more rapidly still in population. He thought, and did still think, that the greatest service a statesman could render a country, would be to conciliate and engage the population in defence and support of it. Until such a system should be established for Ireland, until the gentlemen and higher orders of the yeomanry should have access to the army and navy, it was not to be expected that they would give this support. Could this be possible, where the exercise of their religion was not secured by law, but where it was dependent on the caprice and orders of one man, and the obedience of another? It was to provide against these dangers, to repair this injustice, that ministers turned their attention to the subject last summer, and that they determined to propose opening the army and navy to the religious dissenters of all denominations, With this view, he thought the measure now before the other house necessary. The law respecting catholics was different in England and Ireland. Fourteen years ago, it was thought necessary to advise his majesty, that certain indulgences should be granted to the catholics of Ireland, who was pleased graciously to recommend them from the throne. The parliament of that country, notwithstanding any apprehensions which might have been reasonably entertained respecting the protestant establishment, agreed to open the army, and, as far as in them lay, the navy, to the catholics. They passed the bill, with the substance of which their lordships were all acquainted. The offices of commander in chief, master-general of

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the ordnance, and general of the staff, were alone excepted; to all other military employments they were eligible. Subject to these restrictions, his majesty was enabled to give commissions, both civil and military. Such were the words of the act to catholics. In time of war, there was always one or more naval stations in Ireland, and whatever vessels were there were as much subject to the laws of Ireland, as they were to those of England at Portsmouth or Chatham. No instance, however, of such appointments or commissions happened. What, in consequence of this contradiction in the law, was the state of the country at present? In case of invasion, it perhaps might be necessary to shift troops from one part of the empire to the other,—an advantage which would supersede the necessity of maintaining a great and burthensome military establishment in both. If an Irish regiment should be suddenly called over,—the moment it landed at Chester, or Liverpool, every catholic officer in it would be placed under the disagreeable necessity of continuing to serve in the daily violation of the laws and privileges of the country he came to defend. He would be called upon to do acts, every one of which might be questioned, and for which it might be demanded of him, "Are you authorised by law to do this act?" Was there any thing so monstrous and absurd to be found in the legislative code of any country? To apply a remedy to this manifest inconsistency, was the object of the late administration; but how was it to be done? Were they to adopt the words of the act of 1793, and say that it was fit that catholics should be allowed to enter into the army, but that they should only be admitted to the lower ranks? What was to be thought, if, after having long and faithfully served the country, they were to have the door shut upon them, and be told, "Though you have long served me, though the soldiers have confidence in your talents and bravery, yet still there is something in your belief which renders it impossible for me to trust you?" Was this the argument of a statesman? If in the happier days of 1793, when Ireland was not so likely to become the theatre of war as it now is, it had been found necessary to make these concessions to the catholics, the reasons for doing so at this moment were infinitely stronger. Every motive called upon their lordships to give the boon liberally, and to take care that the strength and security of the country should not be paralysed and fettered by local restrictions. The next difficulty related to the naval service, which it was impossible could be limited in the manner settled by the Irish act. The object of the Irish act was to open the navy as well as the army, and in order to facilitate that intention, instructions were sent from this country. As the law now stood, a ship might be commanded in the harbour of Cork by catholic officers; and were she in the course of service to be ordered to Portsmouth, she could not. It became necessary, therefore, in any bill that was to be brought in, to open the naval as well as the military profession. There was one other point remaining, which it was impossible their lordships should overlook. In the year 1778 a law passed in Ireland, to enable the protestant dissenters of that country to hold employments of any kind, civil as well as military,

without any restriction. Here the law was quite different. No dissenter could hold a place without taking the sacramental test within a certain time. If the Irish law was adopted, he meant the law of 1793, would not the English dissenter have a right to say, "Upon what principle of justice do you exclude me, while you are a friend to the catholic?" For his part, he was so much a friend to both, that he would have no distinction made, as far as regarded naval or military employment. It was therefore their opinion, that if any bill was brought forward, it should be so framed as to include persons of all religious persuasions; and such was the opinion that he, for one, thought it necessary to submit to his sovereign. In submitting that measure to him, the most scrupulous care had been observed. The draft of the dispatch to the lord lieutenant, relative to the communications which he was to have with the catholics, was submitted to his majesty, and met with his approbation. This draft recited, that by an act of the Irish parliament the army and navy were laid open to the people of that country, and did then propose, that it should be in his majesty's power to give commissions, subject to a certain oath. They pointed out the difference between the law of 1793, and that which they meant to propose; and having done that, they conceived that they had done all that was necessary. After some objections, his majesty gave his consent, that the measure should be proposed, and authority was given to the lord lieutenant to communicate, by his secretary, to the heads of the catholics, that the army and navy should be opened to them. In that interview it was asked, whether it was intended that the restriction respecting generals on the staff should be done away; and it was answered, in the words of the dispatch, that it was. The lord lieutenant's dispatch, stating these circumstances, was sent to his majesty for his perusal, and returned without any remark. The draft of another dispatch, in answer to this, was also sent to the king, and returned without comment or observation of any kind. What were they to conclude from this, but that his majesty approved of these dispatches? Was it possible to do more for the purpose of ascertaining his opinion? What must be their feelings, then, when they see libels circulated, in which it is asserted that they have deluded their sovereign! The measure was proposed by lord Howick, a man of as high and punctilious honour as ever lived, and he would not have done so if he had not conceived that he had full authority to do it. That noble person came from the conference with a perfect conviction, that he had permission to propose it. He was at the very time waiting at the door to be admitted, and lord Howick told him distinctly as he came out, that he had authority to propose the measure to parliament. He had an interview with his majesty immediately after, at which he did not mention one word upon the subject; nor, on the other hand, was there a word said to him. He would ask their lordships, whether the circumstances he mentioned did not authorise the conclusion he had drawn from them. The business was accordingly opened by lord Howick on Wednesday the 4th of March; and it was not until the 11th that he understood some misconception existed. On that

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day he learned they had been mistaken, and that his majesty's consent would be withheld. Nothing more passed than expressions of disapprobation on one side, and of concern on the other. Much discussion took place on the next day among those who were friendly to the measure. They found they had proposed a measure not agreeable to his majesty, and they came to a resolution, for which he did not know they were perfectly excusable, to withdraw parts of the bill, and to submit it with modifications. They proposed to his majesty to be allowed to modify the bill to that of 1793, a proposal which was received with gracious condescension. Upon reflection, they found that the difficulty respecting the dissenters was insurmountable; and accordingly they stated in writing, that as they could not alter the bill as they wished, they requested that they might be permitted to drop it altogether. Perhaps their lordships would think they had gone too far in consenting to drop a measure which they conceived necessary for the safety of the empire. His answer was, they wished to accommodate their conduct to the feelings of his majesty. The measure, however, was before parliament, where it received the warm approbation of many persons, and it was out of their power to stop the discussion. It was not to be expected that it would be allowed to drop without discussion, and without ministers being called upon to account for their conduct. Had they allowed the bill to drop, still the measure would come before parliament in another shape, and they would be obliged to explain themselves, and state why the same conciliating policy, which they recommended out of office, was not followed when they were in. They therefore felt it to be indispensably necessary—he would use the very words they employed—humbly to submit to his majesty a representation as to their future conduct. They did not state, that they must reserve to themselves the liberty of submitting to his majesty such measures as they thought necessary with respect to the catholics, but of submitting them to his majesty for his decision. They also reserved the privilege of explaining themselves whenever this subject should be brought before parliament. The answer was a gracious acceptance of what they had proposed, accompanied with an expression of regret, that any necessity should arise for avowing such opinions to parliament. To their utter astonishment, however, they were soon after called upon to give a written pledge that no further concession to the catholics should be proposed. A more painful condition could not have been imposed upon any set of men.—What would be their situation, if they were to be bound by their oaths, and fettered at the same time by a written engagement? Were they to withhold that advice which they might deem necessary for the safety, nay the very existence of the empire, what would be the effect upon the constitution? Could it exist if such a principle were recognized, as that ministers were acting upon a written pledge of the nature he had stated? Suppose the existence of Ireland at stake, and ministers were called upon to account for their conduct, was he to justify himself by saying "Oh! that corner was torn out of the map of the empire which was committed to my keeping." Would not the recognition of

of such a principle strike at the very root of the constitution, overturn the maxim, 'that the king can do no wrong, but that his ministers could,' and re-establish that monstrous and diabolical principle, by which a sovereign was brought to the bar of his subjects. He would not take up more of their lordships' time. When it pleased his majesty to call him to his councils, he accepted the invitation, not as a matter of enjoyment, but as a matter of duty. He would assure his successors, whatever they might think, that they neither came to 'a bed of roses,' nor have they left one behind them. As to Ireland, he would say, that if any other system was adopted there than that which was so happily pursued by his noble friend near him (lord Hardwicke), and the noble duke who succeeded him, that country would be in immense danger. If ever those religious animosities were revived, which had produced such extraordinary exertions of the authority of government, it would, he feared, be impossible again to allay and compose them.

Lord Sidmouth observed, that as there were circumstances stated which made the misconception extraordinary, he begged for the indulgence of their lordships while he stated his view of the part in which he had any interference. The dispatch of the 9th of February, to which his noble friend alluded, contained the advantages granted to the Irish catholics by the act of 1793, but did not, as appeared to him, go beyond the concessions made at that time. When the proposition was first made respecting the present question, it appeared to him, on mature consideration, that, under the circumstances of the case, one of two courses must be adopted; either to repeal the act of 1793, or to extend its provisions to this country. Having been acted on in Ireland for some time, and considering also that the union had sanctioned it, for these reasons he was induced to concur in adopting it, not merely with a view of assimilating the laws, but that the benefits of that act might be extended to the catholics of England. In this there was nothing new, the whole was clear and intelligible. It was thus understood by himself, it was so understood by those who acted with him in office; and he might observe, particularly, that it was so understood by the noble viscount (Howick), whom he could never mention without feeling the highest respect for his character, and the utmost veneration for his liberality, honour, and goodness of heart. On the subsequent communications which took place on this subject, he would not say a single word, because he had not been present at the discussion of the minutes on which they were founded. With respect to the merit of the general question affecting the catholic body, he should readily as on former occasions say, that he had always been of opinion that the grant of power to the catholics would tend to the destruction of our constitution, by infringing upon the church establishment. Power was a trust for the preservation of our rights and privileges, which would be annihilated by yielding it to the catholics. He was a friend to toleration; he would let the catholics enjoy the benefits of the act of 1793; but on that he thought a stand should be made against further encroachments. On coming into office he had not compromised his principles, nor departed

parted from his feelings and views of the catholic question, though he had entertained a hope that it would never again be brought forward.

Lord Hawkesbury was sure that although some difference of opinion might exist between him and the noble viscount (Sidmouth), yet that they would agree in preserving the barriers of the church establishment. He certainly wished to avoid all discussion on this subject, but, under existing circumstances, he found it impossible. Aware of the situation in which he might be placed, he had requested his sovereign's leave to enter into the discussion if it should take place, and accordingly obtained it. Before he entered into particulars, he should observe that the catholic question was not new, but one which underwent long and serious discussion, after which it was rejected by a great majority: but the noble baron (Grenville) told their lordships the distinction which should be taken between this question at present and in 1793, adding the duty which the change of times had imposed on his majesty's government. As the noble baron had mentioned what he conceived to be the line of his duty, he would state his view of public duty by instancing the conduct of that great man now no more, (Mr. Pitt,) who, though he went out of office on this very question, yet on his return did voluntarily state to his majesty that he would never bring the subject under his royal consideration. Whence did this disposition arise, but from a laudable attention to the conscientious feelings of his sovereign? He did not state this with any view of casting the smallest reproach on the noble baron, whose conduct was different, but to show the regard which a great minister had paid to the wishes of his king, on a question which involved scruples of conscience in his royal breast. He agreed with the noble viscount, that if we had not some steady and permanent policy with respect to this subject, it would be constantly occupying our attention; he did not mean to say that the laws should remain unaltered, but he contended that there were fundamental principles which should not be altered, much less should they be violated. The right of petition was a fundamental principle; the trial by jury was another; the independence of the judges was a third; all of which were held inviolable at this day. He conceived that it was equally clear, that our protestant establishment was a fundamental principle, as sacred as any other, and much more dangerous to be meddled with. We might make changes in the forms of the law, and modify the establishment of the army, but we could not touch religion or its establishments, without endangering our very existence: if there existed one thing in the wide circuit of political regulation which was unchangeable, it regarded our ecclesiastical establishment. With respect to the question itself, he could say, that he had listened to the speech of the noble baron, in the hope of hearing some explanation of the benefit which the measure might produce to the empire; but in his expectation he was much disappointed. Did not the noble baron know that this bill would by no means satisfy the catholics of Ireland; that, so far from producing tranquillity and satisfaction, it would only excite their hopes and increase their demands? What did we say to the catholics by granting this measure? Not that we made

made political concessions and refused to give them the sword, but we told them that we gave them the sword and refused every thing else: what could be more preposterous than to furnish persons with the means of asserting what we wished them not to attain? And yet this was the tendency of the catholic bill. He conjured their lordships, therefore, to weigh with the utmost deliberation the effect of this measure, and the dangerous consequences which may arise from passing it into a law. In his mind it was a mere partial measure, from which no good whatever was likely to result, though it might be productive of a vast deal of mischief. His lordship then repeated those remarks made by lord Sidmouth respecting the Irish act of 1793, and added, that at that time the catholics had no notion of asking for the extension of power which this bill would grant to them. They asked for certain concessions, which the Irish parliament granted to them. In fact, it was saying to them, You shall have such and such political concessions, you shall have rank in the army to a certain extent, but beyond that you shall not go. This clearly was the ground on which his majesty meant to act towards them, and accordingly acquiesced, with some reluctance, in adopting the act of 1793, for the purpose of making it general. Nothing could be more clear, from the course of the transaction, than that this was the object. But after the introduction of the new clauses, when his majesty understood the whole scope of the measure, his marked disapprobation was expressed; in consequence of which it was resolved by ministers to withdraw it altogether, accompanied with two reservations. The first reserved to the noble baron and the noble viscount (Howick) the liberty of delivering their opinions in favour of the catholic petition, if it should come before the house; the second was a reservation, by which they might be at liberty, from time to time, according to circumstances, to submit this, or any subject connected with it, to his majesty's perusal. Their lordships could not forget that there ought to be two parties to every contract. These were the propositions on the one side; but in what situation would his majesty have been placed if he had submitted? The objection stated by him in the first instance, induced his ministers to withdraw the measure: but, under the circumstances of the case, all the odium would be attached to his majesty, while the whole of the popularity would belong to his ministers,—at the same time that he would be exposed to its re-introduction, perhaps at a time when it might be difficult for him to oppose it with any considerable effect. He conceived that the placing of his majesty in such a predicament was contrary to all precedent, and indeed subversive of the British monarchy. If there was not unity in the government, it could not last long. Considering the subject in this point of view, the sovereign had resolved to change his ministers. He could state for himself, that he thought the difference had been settled after ministers offered to withdraw the bill: he could further add, that the first certain intimation he had of the intended change was from his majesty, on whom he waited, in obedience to his gracious commands.

Lord Moira, lord Melville, lord Holland, and lord Caernarvon, delivered

livered their sentiments; after which lord Erskine said, he conceived that the catholic question had very little connection with the subject really before the house. He himself had differed from the majority of his late colleagues on the subject of the catholic bill, and they had acted towards him in the most delicate and honourable manner. They had not called for his attendance when the subject was discussed in the cabinet. If he was not friendly to the bill, still more would he have thought it unwise and inexpedient to have pressed it upon his majesty. But it certainly was the undoubted right of his majesty's late ministers to propose whatever might seem to them most conducive to the general welfare; and they had acted in a candid, honourable, and manly manner, in expressing their sentiments to the king, and declining to come under any pledge with regard to their future conduct. A silent abandonment of the measure might have been construed into a complete abandonment, and would have been a dereliction of those views which they had espoused and supported. He certainly lamented that his majesty had thought fit to demand a pledge; and that the coming in of the present ministers seemed to show that they acquiesced in it. It would now be apparent to the catholics, that no relaxation of the restrictions under which they were placed was to be expected, and they might thus have recourse to more violent measures than they have thought of before. He concluded by observing, that, in his opinion, the late ministers deserved the thanks of the house, and of the country, for refusing to fetter themselves by the pledge which was required of them.

Adjourned to Wednesday the eighth of April.

On the same day, in the house of commons, lord Howick rose, and spoke in substance as follows:—I think it may be permitted to me to take this opportunity of giving to the house the explanation which I promised on a former night. To begin with the period of the formation of the late administration. It was perfectly well known, that there were many who were called to be members of it, whose opinion, and whose principles, upon what is generally called the catholic question, had been recently manifested, in the most authentic way that it was possible, by their speeches and their votes in parliament. But no stipulation was required of them at that time, nor was it hinted at; and if such stipulations had been required, his majesty's late ministers would have held it inconsistent with their honour and with their duty to have accepted of office. At the same time that our opinions were well known upon the catholic question, we too were aware of the great difficulties which would oppose any further concessions to the claims of the catholics; and came into government with a sincere and ardent desire to avoid, as much as possible, the introduction of any question on the subject. We hoped that, without agitating a question which we knew would be so repugnant to the feelings of his majesty, we might, by a prudent and conciliating government in Ireland, keep the catholic question for a long time at rest. At the end of last year, however, serious disturbances broke out in the west of Ireland. Those disturbances increased to a very serious magnitude;

tude; and although government were repeatedly urged by those who preferred force to every other argument, to take the most rigorous means for suppressing those disturbances, yet ministers did hope, (and thank God! their hopes in this respect were realized,) that without adopting any violent measures, they would be able to suppress those disturbances. Many measures were under contemplation for effectually tranquillizing that country by measures of conciliation; and among the rest, that plan was suggested which I had the honour of bringing before the house. We considered that it would operate powerfully to the increase of our army and navy; and hoped that it would give a vent to the superabundant population of that country, and draw from the very sources of discontent and tumult the means of adding to the strength and security of the empire. When his majesty heard me state the reasons for this measure, which I first intended to engraft on the mutiny bill, he expressed his consent. Afterwards a detailed dispatch was written to the lord lieutenant of Ireland, informing his grace of the measures in contemplation for the catholics. This dispatch was laid before his majesty, who certainly then expressed his dissent. The cabinet then humbly represented to his majesty their reasons for pressing the measure, and considering it of such importance. The king did certainly show a degree of reluctance at the time, but finally consented. When his majesty's assent was thus obtained, the dispatch was sent over to the lord-lieutenant, for the purpose of having the contents of it explained to the catholic deputies. A meeting of the catholics was assembled for the purpose of receiving this information; and Mr. Elliot, the Irish secretary, was asked by one of them (Mr. O'Connor), whether it was the intention of government merely to pass the law that was promised in 1793, or whether it was intended to allow the catholics to rise to all military offices, including the staff. Mr. Elliot was not then able to answer the question; but the catholics understood by the dispatch, that they were not to be excluded from any situation in the army. This question having been communicated to ministers by Mr. Elliot, a second dispatch was drawn up, removing Mr. Elliot's doubt, and authorising him to give a decided answer in the affirmative to Mr. O'Connor's question. This second dispatch was laid before his majesty, and his majesty returned it without any objection or comment. It was, therefore, immediately forwarded to Ireland. However, upon the point some differences of opinion did arise. Doubts were entertained by some members of the cabinet, as to the extent of this measure, who declared that they were not, in the first instance, aware of the full extent of the measure, and to that extent they strongly expressed their objection; but the dispatch had been previously transmitted to the duke of Bedford. On the Wednesday following, after the bill had been read a first time in the house, I attended the levee; and his majesty, after conversing with me about my department, asked me what business was before the house that day? I answered, that instead of introducing the concessions to the catholics in the mutiny-bill, it had been judged better

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to introduce them in a separate bill, which was to be read a second time that day. His majesty then asked, whether the bill was to be precisely the same as the Irish act of 1793? I stated the difference to be what I communicated to his majesty some days before in the dispatch addressed to the duke of Bedford, and repeated the reasons which appeared to me to justify that difference; and here I must acknowledge that his majesty did express his disapprobation of the measure: but although his majesty did so express his disapprobation, still I did not conceive the consent withdrawn which he had originally given to the introduction of this measure, and I was very naturally the less inclined to think so from this circumstance, that lord Grenville had an audience of his majesty after I left him, and his majesty mentioned not one word on the subject to my noble friend.—Upon the following day also I saw his majesty, but heard nothing further of his objection, nor did I for the whole of the week, although I had frequent opportunities of hearing from, and some conversations with, the king. In consequence of an unfortunate event which occurred in my family, I was for some days absent from business and this house, and that absence produced a postponement of the order for the second reading of this bill. During this period I had not seen his majesty, but understood that he had communicated to lord Grenville his decided objection to the measure referred to, and that his majesty conceived the extent of it to be far beyond that to which he had originally given his consent. From that circumstance I was led to suspect that I had misunderstood his majesty. I accordingly demanded an audience, in order to use my endeavours for the purpose of satisfying his majesty's mind upon the subject; but my endeavours had not the effect of removing his majesty's objections, and I had the regret to find that I had misunderstood his majesty, or that he had completely misunderstood me. However, from an anxious wish to avoid giving any pain to his majesty's feelings, I endeavoured, in concert with my colleagues, so to modify the bill as to reconcile it to his majesty's wishes. But after a good deal of deliberation we found that it could not be so modified as to obviate his objections, without destroying the vital essence of the measure—without doing away that which would be satisfactory to the catholics, or likely to produce any of the important consequences which we had in view upon its original introduction: we therefore proposed to abandon it altogether, in deference to the feelings of his majesty.

Having agreed to give up this bill altogether, we did at the same time feel it necessary, for the vindication of our character, to insert a minute in the proceedings of the cabinet, stating the grounds upon which we were induced to give up the measure; that we would not press any proceeding which might appear to be hostile to his majesty's feelings; but that, from a just solicitude for the interests of this empire, we must consistently reserve to ourselves the right of submitting at all times, for his decision, such measures as we might deem adviseable and expedient for the benefit of Ireland. Now, in a garbled extract from this minute, which has appeared in the newspapers, the grounds upon which

we were induced to abandon the bill, and the words "for his majesty's decision," were altogether left out. The object of this omission was easily intelligible. It served to give a false colour to the transaction, and was calculated, therefore, to answer the purpose of the writer, who thought proper to publish an artful mutilation of a confidential paper.

With regard to the propriety of inserting this minute, I would appeal to any man of right feeling, whether, in justice to the king and to ourselves, we could abstain from recording the ground upon which we acted. I say, nothing can more strongly manifest our deference for the king's opinion, and our disposition to act with frankness and candour towards his majesty, than this precise minute; which only meant to reserve to ourselves the right which belongs to any individual member of parliament, of bringing forward any measure which he may think necessary for the public interest. But what will the house think of a proposition being distinctly made to us, tantamount to an absolute surrender of that right? Not contented with the sacrifice, which I have so often mentioned, to the feelings of the king; it was actually proposed to us, not only that we should withdraw the latter part of the minute, but also substitute in its place a written obligation of a directly opposite nature, pledging ourselves never to bring forward again the measure we had abandoned; nay more, never to propose any thing connected with the catholic question. Much as this proposition may astonish the house, I feel fully satisfied, from the opportunity which my official communication has afforded me of judging of the nature of his opinions, that his majesty is actuated by the purest motives. Of the benevolent intentions of his majesty for the interests of his people in this transaction, so far as he is personally concerned, I cannot entertain the slightest doubt; but of his advisers I can say nothing. But I will appeal to this house, and the country, whether such an obligation could be patiently discussed, much less subscribed, by any man who ever entertained a correct notion of public duty, or who was susceptible of a feeling worthy of a respectable public station. Need I add, that this proposition was such as my colleagues and myself found it utterly impossible to assent to? and having respectfully communicated our dissent from it to the king, we the next day received an intimation from his majesty that he must look out for other ministers. These ministers he succeeded in finding; and on Wednesday last my colleagues and I delivered up the seals of office to his majesty.

In the statement I have made I have shown, I hope to the satisfaction of the house, these three important facts: 1st, That the bill referred to was not proposed in this house, until his majesty was fully apprized of it;—2dly, That, whatever misunderstanding might have arisen, the fault was not with us, as his majesty was afforded ample opportunity, in the documents laid before him, and in his communications with us, completely to understand the object of the bill;—and 3dly, That, when we found the bill was disagreeable to his majesty's feelings, we, in deference to these feelings, immediately abandoned it; accompanying that abandonment by a written minute, frankly intimating to his majesty our future intentions, expressing, however, our resolution of submitting

ing those intentions at all times "for his majesty's decision;" and declining a compact which was little likely to be advantageous to him, as to be honourable to us.—If his majesty should authorise his present ministers to lay before the house any further information or documents on this subject, it will afford me considerable gratification. Every discussion of the matter will be entirely agreeable to me.

Mr. Brand give notice, that he would, on Monday fortnight, move certain resolutions expressive of his opinion of the conduct of the late administration, and of the grounds upon which his majesty had been advised to dismiss his late servants, an account of which will be found in the next chapter.

Adjourned to Wednesday April 8.

CHAPTER VI.

His Majesty's Answer to his Faithful Commons—Petition from Sion College—Debate on Mr. Brand's Motion respecting the New Administration.—Debates in the House of Lords on the same Subject—Mr. Lyttleton's Motion on the same Subject—Thanks to Sir Samuel Auchmuty, &c.—Sir Christopher Hawkins ordered to be prosecuted—Speech on the Dissolution of Parliament.

APRIL 8th, the house of commons met pursuant to adjournment; the new administration having taken their seats, and about 30 new members having been sworn, lord George Thynne informed the house from the bar that his majesty had been waited upon with the address of the 25th of March, praying his majesty not to grant any office during life, which was not usually so granted; and that his majesty had been pleased to return the following gracious answer:—"His majesty acquaints his faithful commons, that he will take the subject of their address into his most serious consideration, and thinks it proper, at the same time, to inform them, that he has thought it fit to provide, that in the grant now to be made of the office of chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, the office shall be conferred only during his royal pleasure. His majesty assures his faithful commons, that in the execution of the powers with which he is intrusted by law to grant certain offices for life, as in the exercise of all the prerogatives of his crown, his conduct will at all times be governed by an anxious attention to the public interest." On the following day, April 9, a petition was presented from the London clergy, meeting at Sion College, against the extension of liberty to the Roman Catholics, which was ordered to lie on the table. After some other ordinary business,

Mr. Brand rose for the purpose of bringing forward his promised motion, and addressed the house as follows:

"I rise, sir, to submit to the house a few observations on a subject of great national importance, and involving in it questions of the most serious constitutional consideration. And in doing so, sir, I cannot help expressing my sincere regret that a duty of such moment had not devolved upon some member more competent to discharge it than the humble individual who, in his zeal for the constitution, was heedless of the difficulties which his inferiority must in such an undertaking have to contend against. But, sir, however inadequate I may prove, I have to conjure the house not to attribute the feebleness of the advocate to the weakness of the cause, but rather let it be disposed to conclude that, as a becoming sense of the greatness of the question and of the tribunal fills me with dismay, so should the indulgence of this house contribute to remove it. Sir, I could have wished to have staid those foul calumnies that presumed with equal ignorance and malice to prejudge and to condemn the motives that influenced the conduct of his majesty's late servants, so far as that conduct related to the unfortunate misunderstanding that led to their dismissal; and this, sir, not upon the principle of preferring any one ministry, or of adhering to any one party, but upon the great and unshaken conviction, that the unrestricted propagation of such slanders, however gross or false, tends in an alarming degree to vitiate the public mind, and thus to assail political integrity in its very source; for they have but empty notions of our greatness as a people, who do not understand that public virtue is national security. I repeat, therefore, sir, that I wish such slanderers had been staid, at least until the ingenuous, manly, and luminous statement of the noble lord (Howick) had gone abroad, and rendered them contemptible and harmless. Sir, that statement enabled me to form a clear and satisfactory opinion of the conduct of the late ministers, immediately previous to their departure from power; and, as I consider the question upon that part of their conduct as involving great constitutional principles, I have foregone my original intention of going at large into the general merits of their administration, and shall confine myself to a brief consideration of that conduct which has been the subject of so much discussion, and to the principles by which it appears to have been regulated. I presume then, sir, I shall not be thought to have stated a very hazardous proposition, when I assert, that if the law has taken responsibility from the executive, it has secured the people by attaching that responsibility to the servants of the crown. Independently then of all constitutional considerations, I would ask, Is it consistent with common sense or common justice to exact a written pledge restrictive of the free exercise of judgment, from those men who are alone to be responsible? Is it reasonable to expect that men should pledge themselves to act contrary to the dictates of their own judgment, when they only can suffer and be punished for that conduct of which they disapprove? But, sir, when considered in a constitutional point of view, the question is only less absurd, because it is more alarming. If the crown is not responsible, and if the servants of the crown are allowed to pledge themselves to the executive, what becomes

becomes of that responsibility which is in itself the best preservative of the constitution. If the king is not responsible by law, and his ministers are not responsible by virtue of certain initiatory pledges, I would ask, where is the people's security against the evils of bad government? Far be it from me to question the exercise of the prerogative; the king has an undoubted right to appoint his own servants, to select his own counsellors, to advance his ministers to dignities, or to dismiss them from his service; but I maintain that the king has not a right to restrict the range of their advice, or to control the free exercise of their judgments. Honest men, who truly understood the public good, who were loyal to their king, and just to their country, could not listen for a moment to any pledge that went to restrain them from offering such advice as they from time to time might in their consciences think it necessary to propose. But such men were not to be compared with those political adventurers who, in their eager pursuit of power and emolument, were not ashamed, while they pledged themselves to the crown, to proffer their invalid security to a deluded people. Sir, upon the responsibility of the king's servants there can be, in the house, but one opinion, and though I do not at all think it necessary to obtrude longer upon your valuable time, by attempting to demonstrate constitutional principles that may be so justly termed axiomatic; yet, when I consider how intimately the sacred duty of a privy counsellor is involved in the present question, I cannot abstain, taking it in this point of view, from submitting to you one further observation. The duty of a privy counsellor, as stated by lord Coke, requires him to advise "generally in all things that may be to the king's honour and behoof, and to the good of his realms, lordships, and subjects, without partiality or exception of persons, not leaving or eschewing so to do for affection, love, meed, doubt, or dread of any person or persons." This, sir, in my humble opinion, brings the question within the narrowest compass. Could the late ministers, consistently with the oath they had taken as privy counsellors, have subscribed the pledge required of them? Here, then, sir, will I leave it to the house. I shall not now enter into a detail of the conduct of the late administration; in my review of it, I find nothing to censure, and much to applaud. It is not for me, sir, to remind this house of their services; it is not for me to tell this house that that administration, in the hour of their dismissal, possessed the entire confidence of parliament. I have now, sir, only to thank the house for their indulgence, and to move "That it is contrary to the first duties of the confidential servants of the crown, to restrain themselves by any pledge, expressed or implied, from offering to the king any advice which the course of circumstances may render necessary, for the welfare and security of any part of his majesty's extensive empire."

Mr. Lambe rose to second the motion of his honourable friend, from which at no time could he willingly withhold his support; but which at the present moment he thought a question of vital importance to the constitution; and had his speech even been less clear, eloquent, and satisfactory, he (Mr. L.) should not have ventured

tured to obtrude at length upon the indulgence of the house: for though the subject was of the first magnitude, yet he thought the spirit of the question lay within a very narrow compass. The rumours of an intended change of administration, and which so much agitated the public mind, he for one most deeply lamented to find realized; more especially as their dismissal was said to be in consequence of their declining to abdicate a right, or rather a duty, so important as that of advising their sovereign in all public matters to the best of their judgment and consciences. He was seriously concerned to see removed from the councils of their sovereign, the men who were such able props to the constitution at a moment when their services were so necessary; and he thought that the house would be wanting to its own dignity, if it deferred to express its opinion upon such a subject. The constitution of this realm required that the king, in exercising the functions of government, should take the advice of the two great councils of the nation, the houses of lords and commons. But the slow progress as well as publicity of their deliberations would, in many instances, destroy that secrecy, and interfere with that promptitude and dispatch, so often necessary to the success of the measures of the government. It had been adopted as a principle coeval with the constitution, that the right and duty of both houses to advise the sovereign might be deputed to a selection from the members of both houses, chosen by his majesty as his privy counsellors, by whose advice every act of the government was supposed to be guided; and thus, as far as was possible in a human institution, to give to the free government of England all the advantages of secrecy and dispatch which belong to an arbitrary monarchy. But what surety did the country possess that this duty would be honestly performed by those men who could restrain themselves by a pledge to withhold their advice from his majesty, upon any occasion, however important or indispensable to the security of his majesty's dominions? What security had the country against such men giving their sovereign the worst advice; or how could the people be secure of their liberties, under the government of men who, for the sake of possessing power, could violate their duty to their sovereign, break their oaths as privy counsellors, and risk their responsibility as ministers? By such men, mischievous measures might be advised, which the wisdom of parliament could never repair; indeed, neither parliament nor the country could place any reliance on men who could pledge themselves to withhold the salutary advice from their sovereign, which they were bound by their oaths and their duties in all cases to give. Sir Edward Coke had said, that, in the quaint language of the times, it was the wish of one of the greatest tyrants that had ever sat upon the throne of England, Henry VIII., that his privy counsellors should leave all simulation and dissimulation at the porter's lodge, when they came to council. In his remark upon this, he had said, that the truth and the whole truth alone should reach the royal ear. But what was to be the security of the people of this country, if the doctrines now broached should be established? The country and the parliament might say to themselves, that his

majesty's ministers were carrying on their measures for reasons known to them, but which they could not divulge consistently with their oaths as privy counsellors. If such a doctrine as that of the pledge required were to be allowed to pass, or to be sanctioned, the constitution would be at an end. Ministers might be men of rank and talents, but by signing such a pledge, they would resign their duty as honest counsellors of the crown; and if the house were to sit silent on such a question, it would abandon that constitution which it was its pride, its duty, and its glory to maintain, to preserve, and to defend.

General Crauford said, "I rise, sir, with all that diffidence which a person naturally feels when he offers himself for the first time to the notice of so august an assembly as this; and that diffidence is extremely increased by a consciousness of my inability to do justice to a subject of such importance as that now before the house. But, sir, on this most momentous occasion, it is impossible for me to give a silent vote; and I am particularly desirous of explaining the motives which lead me now to differ from his majesty's late ministers, with whom I used to act, and for many of whom I have long entertained the highest respect and esteem. The present motion, sir, contains an abstract proposition, which cannot be discussed to any useful purpose separately from its application; it has arisen immediately out of the late change in his majesty's councils. Though quite abstract in appearance, it has undoubtedly a retrospective view in this instance, and we must take it back to its source, and couple it with the causes that led to the removal of his majesty's late ministers from office, before we can properly entertain the discussion; we must not be led away by an abstract theory from the real, though disguised object of the present motion. I must beg leave, sir, to make one or two preliminary observations, from which I think there can be but few dissentient voices; namely, that adverting to the deep rooted and most conscientious scruples which have been long known to exist in the royal mind, with respect to the removal of those disabilities to which the Roman catholics are now subject; scruples that have the most religious, and I must say the most constitutional foundation, because they arise from the most sacred doubts, as well as to the admissibility, in a religious sense, of giving such extensive latitude to the coronation oath, as, in a political sense, of deviating so widely from the fundamental principles of the constitution, and from doubts too of the expediency of the measure, in immediate relation to the welfare and liberties of the empire in general, for which his majesty has, invariably, during the course of a very long reign, evinced the utmost paternal solicitude. Adverting, I say, to these circumstances, the subject of removing catholic disabilities, never, in my opinion, should be brought before his majesty without the most indispensable necessity, an urgency so irresistible as absolutely to involve the safety of the empire. My next observation, sir, is, that in the supposition of such an extreme case, when it might appear quite indispensable to submit the subject to his majesty's consideration, it behoves those who may then be the advisers of the crown, to take the

utmost pains to explain the matter most fully, to place it in all its views, to shew all its bearings and possible consequences, and to provoke such a deliberation upon it in the royal mind, as entirely to obviate the possibility of misconception, to make it clear beyond all possibility of doubt, that the king is completely aware of the full extent of the measure to which his consent is asked; and afterwards, if any unforeseen circumstances arise, to make an extension of the originally proposed measure necessary, another discussion and explanation equally ample and accurate, and detailed with the first, should be resorted to, in order most carefully to prevent any misunderstanding from this variation. His majesty's late ministers, however, thought otherwise, and acted upon that opinion. After much discussion, his majesty was at last prevailed upon to give his reluctant assent to the proposed measure. It is not denied that the consent was positive; but it is equally certain that it was most reluctant. Now, sir, whence did this reluctance arise? Undoubtedly not from any disinclination on the part of his majesty to dispense justice throughout this empire, with the most extended, most liberal, and most impartial hand, certainly not from any want of paternal solicitude of the tenderest nature for the universal welfare, prosperity, tranquillity, and happiness of his subjects. The whole of his majesty's most benignant reign, from the first hour of it to the present, has been one great uninterrupted proof of the contrary. But, sir, I conceive this reluctance chiefly to have arisen from a conviction that the measure was not necessary; and that infinite practical mischief might probably ensue from agitating the question of the catholic disabilities at all, because it might give rise to pretensions and claims which his majesty would find it his indispensable constitutional duty to resist. [The honourable member here went into an elaborate historical discussion of the business, and concluded with saying] His majesty, sir, in the whole of this proceeding has displayed the greatest forbearance, endeavouring by every means in his power to obviate the necessity of removing his late ministers; and he did not resort to that extremity, until they made it quite impossible for him to act otherwise, consistently with any regard for his constitutional duty. When I come to consider, sir, the conduct of his majesty's late ministers since their removal from office, it does indeed astonish me more than I can express. This attempt, direct or indirect does not signify, it is equally an attempt, therefore, sir, I repeat, this attempt to resist the indisputable right of the crown, this disclosure to parliament of what till now was ever considered as confined within the insurmountable limits of inviolable secrecy, this arraigning, as it were, the sovereign at the bar of parliament, to account for his constitutional exercise of the royal prerogative, is, in my mind, as reprehensible a proceeding as has occurred in this country since the Revolution; and I must say, sir, that it meets with my most unqualified condemnation. In taking the part that I do, sir, I feel that I am conscientiously discharging my duty as a member of parliament. I feel that I am actuated by a just sense of what I owe of patriotism to my country, and of loyalty to my king, without

the one being diminished, or the other unconstitutionally exaggerated, by that extreme personal attachment which I have ever borne to the most benign, the most paternal, the best, the most patriotic of sovereigns. I feel, sir, that I am standing forward in defence of the due constitutional exercise of the prerogative of the crown against an attempted invasion, which, if it were to prevail, might ultimately cause our government to degenerate into a tyrannical oligarchy or a factious democracy, and we might then bid adieu to that blessed constitution, the glory of England and admiration of the world; we might then bid adieu to that enviable political existence, which is the honest pride, and forms the foundation of the conscious superiority, of every Briton; we might then bid adieu to that invaluable inheritance handed down to us by such ancestors as no other people have to boast of; and we might soon be fettered by the galling despotism, or tossed in the boisterous whirlwind of democratic fury. I trust, sir, that we shall avert such horrid evils, and that we shall prove, by the vote of this night, that we consider the crown as now standing forward, in the most paternal and most patriotic manner, to support the best rights of the subject, by upholding a main pillar of the constitution, the fall of which would involve the whole fabric in indiscriminate ruin. It only remains for me, sir, to say, that I shall vote most heartily against the present motion; and I must make an ample apology to the house for taking up so much of their time, which might have been better employed than in hearing me."

Mr. Ord was sorry his majesty's late ministers had consented to withdraw the bill, but that did not appear to him to have any thing to do with their removal from office. It was their refusal to give a pledge not to advise his majesty upon the subject that had caused their removal, and if they had signed that pledge, there was no disgrace and reproach which they would not have merited. Such a pledge would have made the king absolute, and removed the responsibility of his ministers. He approved of the measures of the late ministers, and sincerely regretted their removal from office. But that regret might perhaps be lighter, if they had been succeeded by men of talents or abilities. But were not their successors the dregs of a disgraced administration? Were they not the persons who had held the seals of office for a few hours, on a former occasion, in their possession, and carried them back again in acknowledgment of their own imbecility? He wished the house to consider what might be the consequence of their administration in Ireland. If they continued to act upon the principles of the system upon which they had come in, their measures would lead to a separation of the two countries. Such would be the consequences of the administration of those who professed to come into office as the supporters of constitutional prerogatives of the crown, and the existing establishments of the church and state.

Mr. Whitshed Keene expressed his regret to be forced to vote on the question, but felt compelled to vote against the motion, because he thought it amounted to an issue between his majesty and his late ministers, at the bar of that house.

The catholic bill is wholly irrelevant to the question; but as it had been introduced into the discussion, he should say upon it, that though he was a friend to the most unlimited toleration, he would not consent to any grant of power to them.

Mr. Wharton objected to the motion on two grounds; the one, the words in which it was couched; the other, the line of argument which the honourable seconder had taken. Another point on which he opposed the motion was, that it was incompatible with the wisdom of the house to entertain the discussion of any abstract proposition whatever. Many abstract propositions might be considered incontrovertible, except when they were applied to new cases; and surely no case could be more new, than that an administration should lend its weight in parliament to measures which had not only not received the concurrence of the king, but to which his majesty had expressed an absolute repugnance. No abstract proposition was more true, than that it was highly criminal in subjects to take up arms against the sovereign. But suppose that another king James the second were to arise, Would they not be justified in doing so? Any unconstitutional measure of the king to restore popery, would justify what would otherwise be unjustifiable. Supposing that the king might have ministers, who, by advising that papists, acknowledging the power of a foreign potentate, should be admitted to the highest offices of the state, should tacitly declare the immediate ancestors of the king usurpers; surely in that case his majesty would be perfectly right in requiring from such ministers a promise that such advice should not be repeated.

Mr. Fawkes declared that, in his opinion, the question was simply Whether or not we were any longer to adhere to the British constitution. Under all the circumstances of the case, he thought that his majesty's ministers had acted discreetly in withdrawing the Roman catholic bill; but he must at the same time say, that in abandoning the bill, they had paid all the deference that was due so the scruples of an august personage, to whose feelings the bill was repugnant. Had they proceeded one step further, had they signed any pledge for their future conduct, had they ceased for one moment to be the unfettered advisers of their sovereign in the present state of the British empire, they would have been lost beyond all hope of redemption to all sense of decency and shame, and have acted in the most unconstitutional and unjustifiable manner. The responsibility of ministers was the security of the privileges of this country, and distinguished it from every other. If those ministers were no longer free agents, where was this responsibility to be found? If they tied themselves down to give that advice to the crown which should be only palatable to it, in what a state of danger might the country be speedily placed! He was astonished, he was terrified at the language of the present day upon this subject. Such was not the language which prevailed at the time of our great deliverer, when the great councils of the nation recommended to him to dismiss his Dutch guards, and when a refusal on his part might have reproduced those scenes which had once deluged the country with blood. The responsibility

sibility of ministers was one of the best safeguards of the constitution; and, that once destroyed, though the mace might lie on the table, still the essence of the constitution could not be said to be preserved; if the great landmarks were once gone, we should in vain look for the constitution.

Mr. M. Fitzgerald, Mr. Curwen, and Mr. Tuffnel spoke for the original motion, and sir Thomas Turton and Mr. Fuller against it, after which

Mr. Plunkett (attorney general for Ireland) considered this question as important in the abstract; but ten-fold more imperious when viewed in connection with the late measure which was supposed to lead to the dismissal of his majesty's servants. The honourable baronet (sir T. Turton) who had spoken, had asserted, that the resolution went to attach blame to his majesty. He was most anxious to deliver himself, and those who concurred in opinion with him, from such an imputation; for he had the highest respect for his majesty, and believed him to be utterly incapable of doing any thing of himself which was not called for by the interests of his people; and, therefore, those who had secretly advised him had done a double injury: first, in inducing his majesty to believe that he was acting contrary to the interests of his people; and next, in persuading him to demand an unconstitutional pledge. Those who had led the father of his people to believe that such a pledge was proper to be demanded, and who persuaded him that the protestant establishment was in danger, had taken upon themselves the responsibility. The house had yet to learn how the protestant establishment was endangered. He would keep that point in view in what he had to say; for as he was firmly persuaded that the safety of the empire depended on our connection with Ireland, so he was convinced that our salvation depended no less upon the stability of our protestant establishment; and, therefore, he was an enemy to every thing that would have a tendency to injure that establishment. If there were grounds for apprehension on that score, nothing could be more proper than to ring an alarm on the subject; but, on the other hand, nothing could be a greater crime than to ring such an alarm when there were no real grounds for it. He would not say that they who rung this religious alarm asserted what they knew to be false; but he must say that they shewed a want of discretion which completely proved their incapacity to hold the reins of government. The alarm was rung through the country; and if it had been confined to placards on the walls, pointing out the terrors of the pope, and the dreadful evils of popery; if it had been confined to the introduction of choruses into concerts of ancient music, and the singing of catches and glees in favour of the constitution in church and state, the matter might have been passed over. But no one serious thing had been attempted. The peace of the university of Dublin had been disturbed by a person for whom he had great respect. The person he alluded to was the chancellor of the university (the duke of Cumberland,) who endeavoured to procure a petition from this seminary against the bill brought into the house in favour of the catholics. Nothing but an act

act of divine power could keep things as they were. If the catholics were told that they had no hope from the crown, if they were told that they could not proceed to state their wishes and their grievances in the constitutional way, they would do it in an unconstitutional way. What an hon. baronet (sir T. Turton) had said, with respect to political prophecies, was, he conceived, equally unfounded and unparliamentary. He had said, that those who uttered these prophecies had the wish to accomplish their fulfilment. He (Mr. Plunkett) was ready to meet whatever obloquy he might experience on account of his prophecies. He denied the inference drawn by the hon. baronet. He had in Ireland pledges too dear to trifle with the peace of that country. He owed the deepest gratitude to the crown for the confidence which had been reposed in him; he had no feeling of hostility with respect to the present administration—he was under no pledge to the late ministry—he had only the desire to do his duty; and he declared that he regarded the situation of Ireland with a degree of terror and alarm which he could not find words to express. The danger might not be immediately felt; but it was threatening, although it might be secret. It was not when it actually arrived that we were to consider the means of overcoming it; the means of preventing it ought to be considered before-hand. A momentary calm ought not to lull us into security, for the calm would be deceitful. He felt that we were walking "*per ignes suppositos cineri doloso.*" If the impression should go forth among the catholics, that the persecuting spirit was to be revived; if such a line of distinction was to be suffered to exist between the two countries; the very existence of the nation, he was persuaded, would be in the most imminent danger, and the state would be shaken to its very centre. He had now discharged his duty, and whatever might be the consequences of a want of conciliatory measures, that reflection would afford him some consolation.

The chancellor of the exchequer (Mr. Perceval) agreed that the consequences which might be dreaded from any measures, ought to be freely stated. But when he allowed that freedom to others, and put the best construction on their motives, he had a right to expect that similar freedom should be allowed to himself, and that his motives should receive the same liberal construction. If he, therefore, however erroneous his opinion might have been, thought that the measure lately introduced,—a measure which the late ministers represented as so essential to the welfare of the nation, and which they had notwithstanding this abandoned,—if he thought that it was pregnant with danger to the constitution, it ought not to be imputed to him that he had attempted to raise an unnecessary alarm, or that he had only party objects in view. He had stated before, and he now again stated, that the measure appeared to him to be attended with extreme danger to the established religion. The hon. and learned gent. had made an animated appeal to those who had always professed themselves to be the friends of religion; but he could not conceive how there could be any thing unconstitutional or improper in procuring addresses in favour of the protestant religion, by those who thought the measure was calculated to undermine that religion. He agreed

that

that it was improper to make use of his majesty's name for party purposes, or to influence discussions in that house, as had been done on the present occasion in a manner absolutely unprecedented. The endeavour to procure addresses in this case was not unconstitutional: but he was extremely desirous to come to the question. As to the merits of the late ministry, his opinion of their measures had been stated on different occasions. But he could not confine himself merely to the words of the motion. The proposition was itself one which would be generally admitted; but it must be taken in connection with other circumstances, and especially the dismissal of his majesty's late ministers. It was not the expression only that was to be considered, but the implication; for it must be implied that the dismissal of the late ministers was an act deserving of censure. The implication was clear when the motion was coupled with the statement of the noble lord (Howick), relative to a pledge required and refused, and the consequent dismissal of the ministers; but more particularly so when the words respecting the impropriety of granting a pledge, "either expressed or implied," were considered, which must be understood to apply to the present ministers. But it was impossible, in justice to the sovereign, if he was to be called to the bar, and arraigned, [a loud cry of *hear! hear! order! order!*] that the question should be considered without a reference to circumstances. He felt himself under great embarrassment on this occasion. They said that his majesty was not censurable, but his advisers. Now, it was contrary to the fact, that his majesty acted in this case in consequence of any advice; he denied that any advice was given him on this point; [*hear! hear!*] He did not mean as to the dismissal of the ministers, but as to the pledge. He would afterwards maintain the propriety of requiring that pledge; but as far as he knew and believed, no advice had been, in fact, given on this point. But he approved of what had been done, and was ready to be responsible for it; though he was obliged to state the fact exactly as it was. As to secret advisers, he asserted, there were none such while the ministers continued in office; when they were dismissed, his majesty had, of course, consulted others. Now, in considering this question, with a view to the circumstances, he would take three periods into view; first, when the assent was given to the bill; second, when the bill was brought forward; and third, when it was withdrawn. As to the first, the important part was, what must have been the understanding of his majesty when he gave his assent to the bill. His majesty could only have had in contemplation the extension of the Irish act of 1793 to this country. That appeared from the reasoning of the dispatch sent to his majesty, which went to the anomaly of having such an act in the one country and not in the other, and to the pledges that had been given. The words "any military commission," must have been understood as applying to that reasoning, as it was afterwards thought necessary, in bringing in the bill, to add the word "appointments." His majesty had withdrawn what had been considered as a reluctant assent to the additional provisions of the bill, and stated that nothing would induce him to go one step further than

than the act of 1793, hoping, at the same time, that this would relieve him from all further trouble on this point. But it was not his majesty only who understood the measure in this way: even the person who was to propose it laboured under the same misunderstanding, and it was not clear that they themselves intended to go further; for the Irish chancellor of the exchequer, in answer to a proposal for adjourning the second reading of the bill for two days, on account of the absence of Irish members, said that there was no particular occasion for the attendance of the Irish members, as they were already acquainted with the measure. But this was not all; for no less than three cabinet ministers refused to concur in the measure, when they understood the extent to which it was to be carried, he meant lords Sidmouth and Ellenborough, and the lord chancellor. The lord chancellor was not even summoned to the council; and thus the particular adviser of the king's conscience was excluded, in a matter with respect to which it concerned him to be thoroughly informed. It was known from the first authority, that the person who was to procure the king's assent did not understand the extent to which the measure was to be carried. But this was not all; even the Irish secretary had his doubts about it, and under these circumstances it was quite clear that his majesty had only the act of 1793 in contemplation. Here, therefore, he would close the first period, having established this, That his majesty was certainly not apprised of the extent to which the measure was intended to be carried. The next period was, that in which the bill assumed the form in which it was brought into the house, when a reluctant assent was understood to have been given to it. And here, when the Irish dispatch was received, it was ascertained that the design of the catholic petition had not been abandoned on account of this measure. It was ascertained how the demands of the catholics grew out of the relaxation of the laws respecting them. It was supposed that this would content them; but it was understood from the Irish chancellor, that it would not, and that there were two or three other particulars which they required. They wanted to be sheriffs, to be admitted to corporations, and to be king's council. This being the case, in the communications with his majesty a proper explanation was not given; and though there was no intention to deceive, yet there was a highly blameable negligence on the part of ministers. His majesty, however, being averse to the bill, they attempted to amend it, and then agreed to withdraw it. And here commenced the third period. It appeared to him, that those who objected to a general pledge overlooked the violation of the constitution on the part of ministers. They had recommended the measure as indispensable; they said that not an hour was to be lost; and yet they agreed to withdraw it; and this they called "a sacrifice of private feelings to public duty." It was the oddest sacrifice of private feelings to public duty he had ever heard of, to abandon a measure which they had represented as indispensable that they might not be obliged to abandon their places. How did the crown and ministers stand on that occasion? They introduced a measure which they had considered as essential to the

the welfare of the state, and then consented to withdraw it. Who was to be responsible for that? If the minister was compelled to act contrary to his judgment, this brought in the sovereign as the responsible person. The king never stood in such a situation. Ministers stated that they would declare on the catholic question that their sentiments remained the same as ever, and this threw the responsibility on the sovereign. Was that constitutional? However, as to this, the sovereign only expressed his regret, but ministers further stated, that they would from time to time bring the subject before him. They were to do this, though they knew that this was not a common opinion, which he might change, but a rooted principle which he would never abandon. With respect to the pledge, which it was insinuated that the present ministers must have given as the condition of their coming into office, he could assure the house that his majesty's present ministers had come into office unfettered by any pledge whatever.

Mr. Grattan spoke for, and Dr. Duigenan against the motion.

Sir Samuel Romilly said, he should leave to the noble lord opposite (lord Castlereagh) to state to the house what had been promised to the catholics of Ireland, and to assign, if he was able to do so, his reasons for now abandoning them: he had no desire to revive any animosities on account of religious differences of opinion. The question now before the house was one which involved most important constitutional doctrines: it was highly interesting to the people at large, and as interesting to the sovereign himself as to any of his subjects. It was, however, a question, which, although it contained an abstract proposition, was necessary to be brought before the house, because it referred to a principle which had been recently acted upon. The true question before the house was, whether or not it was constitutionally justifiable, or rather whether it was not a high crime and misdemeanour, in any minister in the confidence of his majesty, to subscribe to a pledge, that he would not offer any advice to his majesty which might appear to him to be essential to the interest of the empire. He conceived, that if any minister should give such a pledge to the crown, it would be a high crime and misdemeanour in such a minister to give it, and that the house would neglect its duty, and betray its trust, if it did not impeach such a minister for giving such a pledge. He could not help thinking that this was a matter of more importance to the king, in another point of view, than to any of his subjects; for if his counsellors were to pledge themselves not to advise his majesty upon any particular subject, when it might happen that it was their duty to offer him advice, the most alarming effects might be produced from that pledge. A question more important to the crown than the present was hardly possible to be conceived: indeed, the doctrine he had heard that night led him, from the great respect he had for the understandings of the gentlemen who maintained it, to suspect that all he had formerly heard concerning the proper privileges of a member of parliament, all he had heard of the duties of a confidential adviser of the crown, all he had hitherto reading, and all he had been thinking of the principles of the constitution,

constitution, and all he had read on constitutional authorities, had been entirely wrong; for he had always understood the doctrine to be, that the king could do no wrong; and he had understood that maxim to be one in which the security of the public, and that of the honour and dignity of the crown, were united, and a maxim on which both these points materially depended; for, by this sort of pledge, the whole nature of the responsibility of state affairs would be taken away; there would be no security against the most traitorous intentions of irresponsible advisers; for ministers would not be answerable, and could not be answerable, for any advice which they did not give; and they could not give that which they stood pledged to withhold. This matter was the more alarming, when he learnt from the right hon. the chancellor of the exchequer, that he thought there were cases wherein his majesty acted without any advice whatever. Now, without meaning to involve his majesty in any kind of censure, this doctrine went to charge his majesty with the greatest censure. But the right hon. gent. said, that the present motion went to bring his majesty to the bar of that house. There was no desire whatever to include his majesty in any censure for what had been done, nor had this motion any such tendency; on the contrary, it had a direct tendency to protect the king, and to support the maxim that he could do no wrong, which could never be done by allowing any of his ministers to enter into a pledge not to offer him advice upon any given subject.

Mr. Bathurst and sir Peter Murray spoke against the motion, and Mr. Whitbread and lord Howick for it, after which

Mr. secretary Canning rose amidst a loud call for the question from the opposition benches. He was not surprised on a motion brought forward for the purpose of turning out an administration, that those who supported it should wish to drown by clamour what those ministers had to say in their defence. But however reluctant he might be to trespass on the time of the house at that late hour, and in the exhausted state of the house, he should not be deterred by clamour from offering what he had to urge in his vindication. The noble lord's speech seemed to place him in a state of retrospective responsibility for counsels which he could not be acquainted with, and for that dismissal which was the consequence of his own suicidal act. If he were to follow the course that had been pursued up to the speech of the noble lord, he should contend, what had not been denied on either side, that this question was an issue between the king and his late ministers. This was the first instance since the time of Charles, that a sovereign had been brought to the bar of parliament. The late ministers had by their own acts rendered their dismissal unavoidable, and he denied that he or any of his colleagues had given any counsel on the occasion, or had intrigued for the purpose of getting into their places. On the contrary, they had laboured to prevent the confusion that ensued from the measures that had been adopted. In whatever way the bill should be disposed of, he did not think it desirable that a change of administration should take place in consequence of it. But, when his sovereign was without a ministry, and had called upon

upon him for his services, he did not conceive himself at liberty to withhold them. Nor did he lament the part he had taken. As to the circumstances that caused a change of government, he did not think that there was any intention to deceive his majesty. He should not impute bad motives to any man; but though there was no intention to deceive, there was too much misunderstanding in the progress of that transaction. When his majesty had declared that he would not go a step beyond the act of 1793, it ought to have excited the attention of his ministers, and they should then have distinctly explained what was meant to be conceded by the measure. For his part, he should prefer granting to the catholics, what was refused by the bill, and withholding what the bill conceded. He would sooner give the civil distinction than the sword. As to the call of the noble lord upon him, he should answer, that he did wish to form his conduct on the model of that great man, his late right honourable friend (Mr. Pitt). The noble lord had assumed that he was of the same opinion with himself on the subject of this bill, but the noble lord had no right to judge of him but from his public votes in parliament. He had given but one vote on this question, and that was in 1804, with Mr. Pitt, against the catholic petition. But the conduct of his late right hon. friend, when he went out of office, because he could not carry the great measure he proposed, could not be better illustrated than by comparing it with that of the late ministers. The right hon. secretary here called the attention of the house to the stipulations claimed by the late ministers, that they should be allowed to recommend one policy, whilst they pursued another. The terms upon which they wished to hold their offices were, that they should be allowed to propose measures, that they might afterwards abandon them. The yearly moving of the question would have the effect of making an unfair division of the popularity and odium. The odium would be great, and all fall upon the crown; the benefit would be small, and that the catholics might have; but the whole of the popularity the ministers were to have. The noble lord had told him of the majority he should have, and of the vexatious motions that were to follow. But why waste his majorities? If sufficient to carry vexatious motions to embarrass his majesty's government, they would *à fortiori* be sufficient for the relief of his majesty's subjects; the noble lord ought, therefore, to carry his original measure. It had been said that no notice had been given of an exculpatory statement, till after several partial publications had taken place; but this he denied.—The noble lord, said the right hon. secretary, has chosen to insinuate that the king had in fact some secret adviser, and that the communication between his majesty and those who are now in his councils, began much earlier than we are willing to avow. I know not whether it is intended to extend these insinuations to all the members of the new administration, but as expressions have dropped from many gentlemen, on the other side of the house, which appear to convey that charge of intrigue and secret cabal, I think it right to say distinctly for myself, and I say it with equal confidence for my right hon. friend (Mr. Perceval) near me, and for the noble duke, who is at the head of his majesty's government, that not only we have

not

not to answer for any secret or unfair attempts to obtain the situation we now hold, but that we did, each according to our measures and opportunities, exert ourselves fairly and honestly to prevent the mischief which might be apprehended, as likely to attend a change of administration in the present circumstances of the country. If when the kingdom was left without a ministry, and the country without a government, we have not hesitated to obey the call made upon us, we were not, however, so rash, so presumptuous, or so blind, in the pursuit of objects of ambition, to the real dangers and difficulties of the times, as to labour and intrigue for so perilous a succession. For myself, I confidently aver, that on the first intimation which I received, from authority which I believed to be unquestionable, of the strong difference of opinion subsisting between the king and his ministers, I took the determination of communicating what I had learnt, and I did communicate it without delay, to that part of the late administration, with which, in spite of political differences, I had continued, and with which (so far as my own feelings are concerned), I still wish to continue, in habits of personal friendship and regard. I communicated it for the express purpose, and with the most earnest advice and exhortation, that they should lose no time in coming to such an explanation and accommodation on the subject as should prevent matters from going to extremities. And it has been no small satisfaction to me to find, in the correspondence which I have since had an opportunity of reading, that as the first attempts at explanation, on the part of ministers, appear to have been made on the day subsequent to my making this communication, my intention to do good, though not ultimately successful, was at least not wholly without effect. Precisely of the same sort was the conduct of my right hon. friend (Mr. Perceval) towards that part of the government with whom he had opportunity of communication. With respect to the noble duke at the head of the administration, I can state with full confidence, that the first intercourse which he had with his majesty on this occasion, was taken advantage of on his part, not for the purpose of inflaming differences, and incurring or precipitating a change, but of advising and anxiously recommending a full and amicable, and, if possible, a satisfactory explanation. I venture, then, fearlessly to appeal to the house, whether we can be justly charged with having taken any undue advantage of the circumstances which led to the late change. Our only crime in this respect is, that when the difference between his majesty and his late servants became irreconcileable, and when it was obvious that that administration must go out, we would not consent to join with them in pushing our sovereign to the wall, by reducing him to the alternative of taking them back upon their own terms, to be at their mercy, or of leaving the country without a government.—But, sir, when I contend that we are not responsible, and cannot, in common sense, be held to be so, for acts which were done many weeks before our coming into office, let it not be supposed, however, that I should feel any reluctance to take my full share of responsibility, for that part of the king's conduct which is connected with the correspondence between his majesty and his ministers.

ministers. Far from it. I should indeed be proud to be associated, in any degree, with his majesty's share of that correspondence. And painful as the whole of this discussion has been, painful as it must be to every man who values not the forms only, but the essence of our constitution, to see the king brought here, as it were in person, to be judged at the bar of this house, it is some consolation to reflect, that from the bar of the house of commons there still lies an appeal to the tribunal of the country. It is a great consolation to every loyal mind to feel, that, in proportion as the sovereign has been made most unconstitutionally responsible in his own person, he must inevitably become personally better known to his people. And when that people shall see their sovereign, full as he is of years, and labouring under heavy afflictions, yet retaining, in the vigour of a green old age, soundness of judgement, a promptness and vivacity of intellect, which have enabled him to contend singly in this painful controversy against the united talents of all his ministers; when they shall see him displaying powers as fit as those of any of those ministers, or of any other man that hears me, for the discussion of the most perplexing questions, and the conduct of the most difficult affairs; perhaps, sir, I say, when all this shall be made manifest to the people, and when, by this manifestation, all these sinister and disheartening rumours, which sometimes accident and sometimes industry propagates through the country, shall have received their decisive confutation, perhaps it may fairly be doubted whether the inconvenience, the hazard, and the unconstitutional tendency of this wanton and unjustifiable arraignment of the personal conduct of the king, may not be more than compensated by the advantage of this display of his personal qualities. And while we regret that those qualities should have been put to such a trial, the country will rejoice in the hope which arises from the manner in which that trial has been sustained, that, after having for nearly half a century watched with unceasing care and paternal anxiety over the interests and happiness of his people, he may yet, under the protection of providence, add to that length of life, and to that series of labours, many many years more, of care and anxiety certainly, but of protecting and efficient care, and of anxiety vigorous and active for the benefit of his people. For the advice of restoring lord Melville to his majesty's councils, I am ready to take my full share of responsibility; but I think that such a recommendation would have come with a better grace from the hon. gentleman (Mr. Whitbread) and his friends, who conducted a late prosecution against that noble lord to a fortunate acquittal. I shall only trouble the house with one word more. Whatever may be the issue of the division of this night, or of the series of divisions with which, if successful, it is to be followed; his majesty's ministers are determined to stand by their sovereign, even though circumstances should occur, in which they may find it their duty to appeal to the country.

Lord Henry Petty observed, that however that house might be attacked, however it might be threatened, whatever unconstitutional language might be used towards it, he relied on the manly constitutional spirit and understanding

ing of the house, that no such intimidation could induce it to surrender a constitutional principle. A great constitutional wrong had been done, and the house would act consistently with what was due to its own character, by declaring with firmness its sense of that wrong. The only mode by which gentlemen on the other side defended the question on their side, was by a repetition of the mis-statements, which had already been repeatedly contradicted and disproved. If it were once admitted as a principle, that a king had a right to demand of his ministers a pledge, that they would not again trouble him with any advice connected with that subject, then truly would the protestant establishment be in danger. For his own part, although he believed that the motion of his hon. friend would be carried that night by a majority, he did not believe that, had the catholic bill been persevered in, the influence of the late government exerted at that time could have secured its adoption.

The question being called for, the house divided on the amendment to the original motion, namely, that the other orders of the day be now read. While the opposition members were in the lobby, lord Howick requested their attention: he stated that there were two motions before the house; the first, that the other orders of the day be now read, upon which they were then dividing, and upon which it was pretty certain they would be in a majority; the second would be upon the original motion. Should they, as he trusted they would, negative the first, and carry the original question, it would then be perhaps necessary to propose an address to the throne, to meet the threat which had been thrown out that evening—a threat unexampled in the annals of parliament. The result of the division was,

For Mr. Osborn's amendment - - - - -	258
For the original motion	226
Majority for ministers	32

In the house of lords, on the 13th of April, the marquis of Stafford rose to submit a motion to the house respecting the consequences of the late changes in his majesty's councils. However he lamented that change, he had more to lament the causes that led to it, and the nature of the advice which induced his majesty to make it. For advisers in so critical a measure his majesty most undoubtedly had, whoever those advisers might be. He earnestly deprecated all such pernicious attempts, which could never be ventured on without hazarding the most perilous consequences to the country. Various causes had been assigned for the sudden change that had occurred in the administration, but one of them was sufficient, in his mind, to justify those who had been dismissed from office. It also, he thought, justified him in submitting the following motion to their lordships. The noble marquis then concluded by moving that

"This house, feeling the necessity of a firm and stable administration at this very important crisis of public affairs, resolve, that it is impossible to view, without the deepest regret, the change that has recently taken place in his majesty's councils, which regret is considerably increased by the causes to which that change has been ascribed, it being the opinion of this house, that it is the first duty of

of the responsible ministers of the crown not to restrain themselves by any pledge, expressed or implied, from giving any advice to his majesty, which, to the best of their judgement, the course of circumstances may render necessary for the honour of his majesty's crown, and the security of his dominions."

Lord Aberdeen considered it as an attempt at a justification of the conduct of the late administration; a conduct that, in his opinion, did indeed require a justification; but he did not think that either the motion so submitted, or the efforts making to accomplish that object, would have such an effect. Much had been said about secret advice and secret advisers; but he could take upon him to say, that, in a matter of such great and important moment, the king was perfectly capable of adopting the conduct which, he would say, he happily pursued, without the aid of any exterior advice or secret advisers whatsoever. If an address should be carried to the crown on the subject intimated, his majesty's answer would be, that his own conscience was the monitor and the adviser. This would be the sincere and ready reply of his majesty, which, in his opinion, would be as ready and complete an answer to the advocates of this motion as they or any man living could require. Under the impulse of these considerations, and with the view that it should never enter their walls again, he should move "the previous question."

The earl of Hardwicke expressed his deep regret at the change which had taken place in his majesty's councils, and lamented that a cry should have been set up which could only tend to revive religious dissensions, and produce the most deplorable consequences, and for which there was not the slightest reason arising out of the conduct of the late ministers. Those ministers, anxious, from the best motives of policy, that the whole population of the empire should be effective towards its defence, wished to extend the provisions of the bill passed in the Irish parliament in 1793 to this country. They afterwards found that, if merely that measure was adopted, dissenters would be excluded from those privileges which were granted to catholics; it was therefore deemed necessary to include dissenters, and open the army and navy to both classes.

Lord Erskine said, he was anxious to address their lordships early in the debate, he having recently been honoured with the confidence of his majesty, and having been one of his majesty's late confidential advisers. He ridiculed the idea of danger arising to the church or state from granting the proposed concessions to the catholics; he was convinced there was no such danger: the ground of his objections to the measure he had formerly stated. He was also convinced that the catholic question had nothing in fact to do with the dismissal of the late ministers; he believed, on the contrary, that there were secret advisers about the king whose object was to get rid of the late ministers, and that the catholic question was eagerly seized as the pretext. There were wheels within wheels in the political machine; there were as many wheels in it as in a silk-mill, and the traces of advice might be found, when the secret adviser could not be discovered. He firmly believed that there had been these secret advisers about

the king. If any noble lord stated upon his honour that he did not give any such secret advice, he was bound to believe that declaration, nor should he make any insinuation to the contrary of such declaration, in the same manner as he should expect belief to a similar declaration made by himself: and as he would not do that which he could not himself suffer, so the same with respect to any honourable gentleman who made a similar declaration. He, however, could not help declaring his belief that such advice had existed, although it might be very difficult, if not impossible, to prove it. He could not avoid expressing his astonishment at the expressions used by the noble lord (Aberdeen) when he gave to the house an answer as coming from his majesty to their supposed address: but he could tell that noble lord, that were the same assertion made elsewhere it would be nothing short of sedition, and the question on that principle would be discussed in a different way in the great hall adjacent. Such an answer from the king would amount to this: it would, contrary to the established and known law of the land, take all the responsibility off from the advisers of the crown, and charge it upon his own head. Much had been said about the coronation oath; but he would state a part of that oath, and then ask, where were all those scruples now urged, when the catholic bill passed in 1793? The coronation oath solemnly avows the intention of preserving the laws and customs of this realm. If the laws and customs of the realm were to be violated by the passing of the law in 1793, why was that law passed? or rather, why did not the same secret advisers come forth, warn the king, and admonish him against enacting it?—Why did not the same scruples then prevail that now exist? The reason was self-evident:—it was because the interest of these secret advisers did not then lead that way.—Equally unconstitutional and dangerous was it to state, that the sentiments of his majesty were immutably hostile to granting any further concessions to the catholics. Were three millions of people to be told, that under no circumstances whatever would any further concessions be made to them; that the mind of their sovereign was immutably made up not to grant them any further concessions? Would no such a doctrine be pregnant with the utmost danger to the state? Such a doctrine was, in every point of view, most unconstitutional; the opinions of the king could not be immutably fixed against any particular measure, the king being always constitutionally open to advice from his ministers, according to the circumstances in which the country might be placed. He reverenced the conscientious scruples of his majesty on this subject, but he maintained that the measure which had been alluded to had nothing to do with the coronation oath. By that oath his majesty bound himself to govern according to the laws and customs of the realm, and every measure that might conduce to the welfare of the country must become a subject of consideration. It had been said by the noble earl (Aberdeen) that ministers abandoned the bill, although they considered it indispensably necessary. He denied, however, that it was brought forward as a measure of indispensable necessity: on the contrary, it was brought forward as a measure of expedienc

and was withdrawn when it was understood that his majesty was hostile to its further progress. That the late ministers believed they had his majesty's approbation of the measure, there could be no doubt. His noble friend, one of the secretaries of state, who saw his majesty on the subject, believed that his majesty had given his consent, and so stated it to his colleagues. When it was discovered that there had been a misunderstanding, an attempt was immediately made to modify the bill, and it was afterwards withdrawn. Of the unconstitutional nature of the pledge demanded he could have no doubt. If a pledge could be demanded in one instance it might in others, until no subject was left for ministers to advise the king upon. He therefore approved of the motion.

Lord Boringdon saw no ground for entertaining the question. The first reason was, that the tendency and result of the motion, if carried, would be the inculpation of the king personally; and, 2dly, he did not think there existed any necessity for such a proceeding. He was not surprised that the late ministers should have been anxious to justify themselves to the public; they had obtained leave to do so: but surely, when they availed themselves of this compliance, the matter should have been suffered to rest with their explanation; a sacred barrier was broken down, a constitutional principle was infringed, and unquestionably the evil should not be extended more widely. The conduct of the king, who, according to the constitution, could do no wrong, should not come under a discussion which might lead to a resolution of censure. He readily absolved the late ministers from the imputation of forcing his majesty to adopt a measure repugnant to his feelings and his conscience: he could not, however, absolve them from that want of prudence and management which should govern men through life, even on ordinary occurrences. His majesty did not demand a pledge from his late ministers without good reason; for, when they had resolved to abandon the catholic measure altogether, they accompanied their declaration with a reservation which imposed on his majesty the necessity of requiring a pledge. He confessed, that in having made such a demand he saw nothing unconstitutional or dangerous. Great apprehension seemed to be entertained respecting the effect which this change might produce in Ireland; but he did not entertain as gloomy views on that subject as others. The catholics of Ireland would see their claims had not been defeated by party intrigue or cabals, but that the obstacle was the honest and conscientious feeling of that sovereign, from whom they had received many substantial favours in the course of a long reign: he trusted, therefore, that their conduct would be marked by obedience to the laws and attachment to their sovereign.

Lord Kinnaird rose, and in a very animated manner called the attention of their lordships to the consolation held out to Ireland by the noble lord who had just sat down. That noble lord had been generous of his professions of his loyalty to his majesty's person, and yet that noble lord did not hesitate to tell the population of Ireland, that were it not for their king, they would have been then in the enjoyment of the acknowledged rights and privileges of his British subjects. He could not be brought

to think that such a doctrine could in the slightest degree tend to promote loyalty in Ireland. It had been insinuated that the late ministers and their adherents were now influenced by factious motives, and it had been also said, that the present were an untried ministry. He dissented equally from both propositions. It would be presumption in him to vindicate the late ministers from the charge of faction. In the present instance it was unnecessary; they were well known and deservedly popular. As to the present ministers, he denied that they were altogether untried. Surely the noble duke at the head of the government could not be said to be untried; the noble duke was certainly late in life, and perhaps it was not to be hoped that he should for the remainder of his days profit much by experience. As to the noble secretary for the home department (lord Hawkesbury), who could be so forgetful of that noble lord's talents and success in diplomacy, as to say that that noble lord had not been tried? The right hon. gentleman at the head of the foreign department had been already tried; and surely it was not to be denied that the noble lord, not a member of that house (Castlereagh), who was now secretary for the war and colonies, had been tried, and tried sufficiently: that noble lord had proved that he could have no great difficulty in entering into pledges; the noble lord was in this respect ever willing and competent; he could not be said to be a person of very obstinate opinions, they were often found to be conveniently variable: but at the same time he (lord Kinnaird) had his doubts that even the present ministry would be very cautious of entirely committing themselves with a character so pure and perfect as that of the noble secretary. The noble lord who spoke last had censured the late administration freely for their alleged remissness with respect to continental expeditions.—The objection came with an ill grace from a noble lord, who had himself been a principal agent in planning and forwarding those ill-contrived and unfortunate expeditions which so largely contributed to establish the power of the enemy, and facilitate the subjugation of Europe. He strongly condemned the means that had been resorted to, to set up and maintain the infatuated cry of the "church in danger," and contended that a ministry obliged to resort to such pitiful expedients gave an undeniable proof of their own wretched imbecility. He was afraid that latent intrigue had deprived his majesty and the country of the services of a ministry alike eminent in purity and in talent. Secret advisers had robbed England of lord Chatham's abilities; and the allusion was not the less apt, when it was remembered that that very lord Chatham, notwithstanding the existing prejudices of the day, put arms into the hands of the Jacobites, and sent them abroad. His lordship concluded by supporting the motion.

Lord Sidmouth felt it a very painful duty imposed on him to be obliged to oppose the motion of his noble friend (marquis of Stafford), and to give his support to the motion of adjournment. He had observed, in the course of the debate, that some things connected with this subject had been misrepresented or misconceived; he wished therefore to set their lordships right. His lordship then entered into a detail of the facts and circum-

stances

stances of the case; from which he drew the same conclusion as on a former occasion, namely, that the king had reluctantly assented to the bill in the first instance; that he supposed it at that time to contain nothing more than the provisions of the act of 1793, and that his majesty had explicitly declared he never would go further than that act. His lordship passed an eulogium on lord Howick, and a high panegyric on the conduct of the duke of Bedford in the government of Ireland, placed, as his grace has been, in a situation of considerable difficulty; and after some observations on the government of lord Camden, which, he contended, was good, and that the acts of barbarity and injustice which took place during that noble lord's administration did not arise out of his system, his lordship concluded by declaring, that he must oppose a proposition, the tendency of which went to attach blame to the sovereign, or to infringe his prerogative.

The earl of Lauderdale appealed to their lordships' own recollection, as to what had been the conduct of parliament in the best times of our history. Did not parliament then consider, as indeed it was an acknowledged principle of our constitution, that the legal and ostensible advisers of the crown were alone responsible for every thing that was done by the monarch? And when the king thought proper to take an act entirely to himself, by giving a certificate under his own hand, as an indemnification to ministers for their conduct, did not parliament maintain, that it was an addition to his crime, that he had thus surrendered his own responsibility? Let noble lords consider then for a moment, if it be not equally criminal, at least in some considerable degree culpable conduct in the present ministers, that they have at least virtually assumed the management of public affairs, on a condition, that they will not, if the protection of his majesty's crown and the salvation of the empire depend on it, presume to mention to their royal master, perhaps the only topic that it was their sworn duty to advance, and strengthen by their recommendation? Would not a forbearance to urge a topic that might possibly be most essentially interesting to the general welfare of the sovereign and his people, be highly criminal in the servants of the crown? If his majesty's late ministers had given a pledge of the nature that had been demanded of them, would they not then have given up the exercise of their own judgement, for which alone they could be deemed responsible; and would they not for such a base surrender of their own responsibility be justly liable to impeachment?—If his majesty's present ministers have denied the admission of such a principle as this, they, unquestionably, when the change in his majesty's councils was occasioned by a refusal to fetter their judgement for ever after, and seal up their lips upon a particular question—when this was known to be the case, and when it was not attempted to be denied that the principle upon which such a refusal was given was truly constitutional, most unquestionably those noble lords who succeeded his majesty's late ministers in office ought to have declared themselves, and let their sovereign know what was their opinion on this great constitutional question. If they did so, it was a matter that

could easily be proved, that they did so in so many terms. If they did not so declare themselves, they accepted of office with at least the implication of a pledge of the amount that had been spoken of, and were highly culpable; but if they entered on office with a positive stipulation, they were guilty of a crime in the eyes of the constitution, for which they are answerable to parliament.

Lord Mulgrave denied that the confidential advisers of the crown had a right, on every occasion, to act strictly according to their own opinion. This was in a great measure to be regulated by circumstances; and if, on such a question as that which was now the subject of their lordships' consideration, the servants of the crown should happen unfortunately to differ in opinion from their royal master, it was their duty to retire. It was a general maxim in the British constitution, that the advisers of the crown should give such advice according to the best of their own free and unbiassed judgement; but human institutions were not so perfectly whole and entire that there could not be the least exception to such a general principle.

Several other noble lords spoke at length both for and against the question: after which

Lord Grenville rose and observed, that, late as the hour was, he must state as shortly as he could the grounds on which he would support the present motion, which must, in his opinion, be voted for by every man, unless he was contented to go away with the impression that the constitution was completely overturned. He did not say that their lordships must feel themselves bound to vote for the first part of the motion, though he was grateful to his noble friend who proposed it: but he must say, without affectation, that he regretted the dismissal of the late ministry, because they had a system in train which was working for the best interests of the country. He said nothing of himself, but only looked at the talents of his colleagues, whose unwearied exertions and enlightened views afforded the best hopes to the country: but if he regretted the loss which the country would sustain from their dismissal, he felt that regret doubled when he considered by whom they were succeeded. He did not mean any disrespect to them individually, but looked at their system, the grounds of their conduct, and the unconstitutional doctrines which they held. With regard to the origin of the difference between his majesty and his late ministers, he would not enter upon it, as he had stated it before, with the permission of his sovereign; and he felt it the less necessary, because that statement had not been shaken by any thing now said, though some attempts had been made, as on a former occasion, to garble and misrepresent, by taking detached parts of it. Upon a fair view of all the circumstances connected with this transaction, he was satisfied that no candid man would see any thing to justify, or even excuse, the reproaches so liberally heaped upon himself and his colleagues. With the question now under discussion, however, that transaction had no connection whatever. For, when the period did arrive that misunderstanding as to the bill referred to was found to exist, and the bill in consequence was abandoned, the proposition was made which called for this motion. As to the dilemma put

respecting

respecting this abandonment, he begged to make one short observation. A noble lord on the other side (Mulgrave) had asked why the bill abandoned should have been at all proposed if not necessary, and, if so necessary, it should have been abandoned? But he would beg that noble lord to put the dilemma to some of the persons connected with him, to those who seceded in 1801, but particularly to put it, for instance, to lord Castlereagh, who had so particularly pledged himself to the catholic question—who had, in fact, brought that question from Ireland with him. With regard to the coronation oath, he would ask, whether there could be any man in that house who had front enough to maintain that after the Irish act had been sanctioned, which allowed the catholics to hold certain commissions, it would be a violation of that oath to allow them to hold the rank of generals? The idea was quite untenable, as indeed, in his judgement, was every other proposition which would impress an opinion, that to concede to the claims of the catholics would at all interfere with that general system which the coronation oath bound the king to maintain. The noble lord, after a variety of profound observations, which we regret that the limits of our plan do not allow us to follow, reprobated in strong terms the artifices resorted to by ministers and their adherents, to excite a fanatical spirit in the country. He showed, that so far from the present ministers being uniformly approved of by Mr. Pitt, as a noble lord (Mulgrave) stated, that that illustrious person had on many occasions marked very particularly his disapprobation of the greater part of them, and quoted the instances in which he condemned the conduct of some of them, particularly lord Hawkesbury when presiding at the foreign department. The noble lord remarked upon the explanation which he had laid before the house with respect to the catholic bill, and the pledge required of himself and his colleagues, and concluded with stating, that from the manner in which the present administration was formed, and the persons of which it was composed, he could not think of giving it his support.

Lord Hawkesbury replied to lord Grenville, and contended that the whole of the statement made by that noble baron, and of the debates to which that statement gave rise, were proceedings altogether irregular and unparliamentary. The noble baron had accused him and his colleagues, of being the first set of ministers who had shrunk from responsibility, and meanly endeavoured to shelter themselves under the wings of their sovereign. He would tell that noble baron, that he and his colleagues were the first ministry, who, in order to cloak their own misconduct and absurdities, had so strangely ventured to arraign the personal conduct of his majesty at their lordships' bar. He acted from a sense of duty and conscience in accepting a place in the present government; and as long as he was conscious of acting upon such grounds, he should never shrink from the responsibility, to whatever extent it might be carried, to which his official situation made him liable. He had always been averse from granting any further concessions to the catholics, and even from cherishing any such hope in their minds. It was that

hope

hope which kept Ireland in a state of continual ferment and agitation, and until it was laid asleep, there would be no permanent tranquillity in that country.

Earl Camden, the earl of Moira, lord Eldon, and the duke of Norfolk spoke; when the question was carried in behalf of the new administration by a majority of 81.

On the 15th Mr. Lyttleton, in the house of commons, brought forward a resolution of a nature somewhat different from that moved by Mr. Brand, but evidently with the same view of trying the strength of the new administration. The honourable mover concluded a short but very neat and perspicuous speech with moving, "That this house, considering a firm and efficient administration as essentially necessary at the present crisis, feels the deepest regret at the late change in his majesty's councils." The motion was seconded by Mr. Hibbert; a long and extremely warm debate ensued, which it is not necessary for us to detail, having given already such ample accounts of the debates in both houses on a similar subject, and which occurred only two days before. The division did not take place till half-past six o'clock in the morning, when the numbers were 244 and 198, leaving a majority of 46 in favour of the new administration.

On the 16th a vote of thanks was moved and carried in both houses, to sir Samuel Auchmuty, and the officers, &c. under his command, for the skill and valour which they had displayed in the capture of Monte Video.

On the 17th, in the house of peers, the subject of the courts of justice in Scotland was discussed; and on the same day, in the commons, Mr. Whitbread's plan respecting the poor laws occasioned a long conversation: to these, with their results, we have already referred in a former chapter.

Of the remaining business of the session the most important part was the expulsion of sir Christopher Hawkins for bribery. A motion was also made and carried, for an address to his majesty, praying him to direct the attorney-general to prosecute sir Christopher Hawkins, and eighteen other persons of the committee of electors of Penrhyn, who had fixed the price for which their votes were to be sold, and who had invited sir C. Hawkins, by a deputation, to purchase them.

On the 25th the session and the parliament were put an end to by a speech delivered by the lord chancellor in his majesty's name, declaring that himself and the lords commissioners were commanded to state, "That his majesty is anxious to recur to the sense of his people, while the events which have recently taken place are yet fresh in their recollection. His majesty feels, that in resorting to this measure, under the present circumstances, he at once demonstrates his own conscientious persuasion of the rectitude of those motives upon which he has acted, and affords to his people the best opportunity of testifying their determination to support him in every exercise of the prerogative of his crown, which is conformable to the sacred obligations under which they are held, and conducive to the welfare of his kingdom, and to the security of the constitution." The speech at large will be found among the Public Papers in another part of this volume.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER VII.

New Parliament—Speaker chosen—His Majesty's Speech—His Majesty's Message—Mr. Perceval's Motion on private Bills—Debate on the Finance Committee—Petition against Mr. Mills from his Creditors—Mr. Whitbread's Motion on the State of the Nation—Debate on Lord Cochrane's Motion—Report of the Committee of Privileges—Mr. Whitbread's Motions—Motion on the Irish Insurrection Bill—Lord Cochrane's Motion on Naval Abuses—His Majesty's Message on the Settlement of Frogmore on the Queen—Maynooth College—Whitbread on the Poor—Lord Castlereagh's Military Plan—Debate on the Irish Insurrection Bill—Debate in the House of Lords on the Office Reversion Bill—Reward to Dr. Jenner—Mr. Sheridan's Motion on the State of Ireland.

THE new parliament were summoned to meet on Monday June 22. Having already in the commencement of the present volume given a pretty full account of all the forms used at the assembling of a new house of commons; of the mode of choosing a speaker, with various other interesting topics, it would be tedious again to go over the same ground. It will be sufficient to observe, that Mr. Abbot was re-elected speaker by the unanimous concurrence of the house. After this, and the swearing in of members in both houses, the parliament met on the 26th; when the lord chancellor, in his majesty's name, delivered a speech of considerable length, which will be found among the Public Papers in another part of the volume: an address was moved in the upper house by the earl of Mansfield, and in the house of commons by lord Newark, which, after debates of considerable length, was carried by large majorities, viz. in the house of lords, by 160 against 67, and in the commons 350 were for the address, and 195 against it. From this day the opposition could form no expectation of displacing their opponents from the seats which they had been charged with occupying not in the most honourable manner. By the votes on this question it was evident that the majority of both houses felt very differently on the subject. The debates were animated and interesting, but we feel that the limits of our volume will oblige us to pass over these and others during the short session of about seven weeks, with merely laying before the reader the result, reserving the detail of debates to the great public questions which were discussed during the sitting of parliament.

June 27th, sir Samuel Romilly presented a petition from 130 persons confined for debt in the king's bench prison. They were ready, he said, to give up all their property to their creditors, who refused to consent to their being set at liberty on such terms. One hundred and twelve of the number had families dependent upon them for support, and the number of their children amounted to three hundred and forty-seven. The petition prayed a revision of the laws

laws of debtor and creditor. It had been said, that he had it in contemplation to bring in a bill to alter and amend these laws; but he had no such intention, for he had not been able to discover any effectual remedy for the very great evil complained of. He then moved that it might lie on the table; which was ordered.

On the same day lord Castlereagh brought down a message from his majesty, stating that his majesty, being desirous of conferring some signal mark of his favour and approbation on major-general Stuart for his eminent services in the glorious battle of Maida, recommended to his faithful commons to make provision for securing to him during the term of his natural life an annuity of 1000*l.* per annum. Which on the 29th was granted.

On the same day the speaker acquainted the house, that an account had been prepared of all private bills pending at the time of the late dissolution, with the several stages in which they were on the 27th of April. The account was ordered to lie on the table, and to be printed. After which

The chancellor of the exchequer (Mr. Perceval) rose to submit a motion, which he hoped would remove all the inconveniences affecting private bills, arising from the late dissolution of parliament. Those chiefly complained of were the delay, and the additional expense. The delay of two months, he hoped, could not be attended with any material inconvenience; and as to the expense, it would be obviated in one of its branches, by the liberality of the officers, who, according to the precedent established in 1784, agreed to advance the bills so pending at the dissolution, to their former stages, without additional fees. It remained only to obviate the expense of agency, and the attendance of witnesses in town. This was the principal object of the resolution which he meant to propose, which was, to give an instruction to the committee to which every petition for a private bill should be referred, to inquire whether any petition had already been presented in the late session, from the same parties, on the same subject; and if so, that the minutes of the evidence, taken before the committee on that former petition, should be evidence before the said committee; and so in like manner with respect to private bills founded on such petitions, allowing the committee to call for further evidence, if necessary.

This motion was opposed by lord Henry Petty, Mr. Curwen, and lord Howick; the last of whom said, he could not bring himself to consent to the measure now proposed to remedy the inconveniences occasioned by the dissolution. The magnitude of the inconveniences might well be estimated, from the extraordinary nature of the remedy proposed. That remedy went to suspend, and repeal for the time, the forms by which the privileges of the house of commons, the rights and the property of the people, were secured and protected. However highly he might be disposed to commend the liberality of the clerks, it was not a very pleasant situation in which to place the house or the country, to make them dependent on that liberality.

His lordship was answered by Mr. Perceval; after which

Mr. Rose and others spoke to the question; which was at length

length carried by a majority of eighty-eight.

On the 30th, after much business of less importance, the chancellor of the exchequer rose to move for the renewal of the "finance committee." In recommending the proposition he had to submit to the house, it was unnecessary for him to enlarge upon the importance of such inquiries to the public interest, because no difference of opinion existed, no objection was felt to the revival of the committee. The only question upon which any difference would arise was, as to the appointment of the committee, and the persons whom the house might think proper to select. He had reason to think that a difference of opinion would prevail on this subject, because he had, on a former night, heard expressions from the other side of the house, that the gentlemen there would be disappointed, if all the members of the former committee, who were now members of the house, should not be appointed. He was so sensible of the inexpediency of such an appointment, that though he should propose to continue some of the members of that committee, he should leave out others, in order to make room for the introduction of members of a different description. The noble lord opposite (lord Howick) had said, that all the members of the committee ought to be appointed, except two; his honourable friend (Mr. S. Bourne) and the honourable baronet (sir H. Mildmay) who had, on the preceding day, made the statement in his justification from the charge which had been imputed to him. He should follow, therefore, in that instance, the advice of the noble lord, and not press the appointment of either of his honourable friends: and as the noble lord, who had originally recommended the committee, had not appointed any person in office, he should adhere to his precedent. He could not help here calling to the recollection of the house, the manner in which the committee had been originally appointed, so different from any committee that had ever been appointed in parliament, and composed almost exclusively of one description of persons. There were only two persons upon it, who could be supposed, from their parliamentary conduct, friendly to the present administration; three others were not biassed towards either party; and all the rest were such as would be disposed to view subjects in the same light with the noble lord. A committee so appointed could not be impartial, or answer the expectations of the house or the public. As he did not mean to enlarge the number beyond twenty-five, the number of which the former committee had consisted, because that was the greatest number that could conveniently assemble for business, he meant to exclude some of the former members, in order to introduce others, for the more impartial constitution of the committee. The five that had been removed, by the event of the election, were not enough for that purpose, and the house would in its discretion decide upon that point. In the appointment of the committee also, he meant to adopt the suggestion of the noble lord, by giving the preference to the appointment of it openly, to a ballot. It was his opinion, that the appointment by ballot was in general to be preferred. Nothing could be more invidious than the discussing whether any particular individual

individual was a proper person to be appointed on the committee; and also the fitness of persons to act together upon such a committee, could be better consulted by individuals making out their lists for a ballot. He had acceded, however, to the suggestions of the noble lord, because he would thereby get rid of any suspicion that any thing was intended, which they were afraid to avow openly. The late ministers had expressed themselves, in the first appointment of the committee, very much averse to the grant of places in reversion: there was, however, one instance to which attention had been called, of their having, a short time before they went out of office, appointed to offices in reversion of a most extraordinary nature: he alluded to the appointment of a collector and surveyor of customs in the port of Buenos Ayres, a place not then in the possession of his majesty. These were reversionary grants, to take place upon an uncertain contingency, and made by those gentlemen who appeared to be so nice on this subject. He had on a former occasion stated, without giving any opinion upon the propriety of appointing such officers, the nomination of three hundred surveyors of taxes. The nomination was founded on a representation from the commissioners of taxes, made in March 1803, but the appointment could not take place till the business was submitted to parliament. When the dissolution took place in October, without any sanction of parliament having been obtained for these appointments, the persons were designated to the offices in the way the noble lord had said on a former night: members of parliament waited on the minister, they were received civilly, and the promises made. But the parliament met in December, and sat some months; the measure for sanctioning the appointment was not brought forward; and the honourable gentlemen opposite, when they lost the power of performance, were compelled to revert to the condoling letters which he had before alluded to. This circumstance would induce the house not to place implicit or peculiar confidence in those gentlemen who viewed every thing in the same light with the late administration. Another appointment made by the late administration was that of gazette-writer, created by patent, for Scotland, with a salary of 300*l.* per annum. This office had been before divided between the editors of three newspapers. He wished the honourable gentlemen to hear his statement, and to bear in mind that the business of the office was performed by these three persons, without any expense to the public, though they made a profit of 200*l.* a year by the publications in their newspapers. These persons had been turned out of their employment, and an appointment by patent given to the present possessor; and he should ask whether any gentleman believed, that this had been done with any other view than to give the place to that person. He should not dwell in detail upon all the acts of the late administration, but he confessed himself at a loss to understand what they could mean by the appointment of a professor of medical jurisprudence. He acknowledged that he was ignorant of the duty of that professor, and could not comprehend what was meant by the science he professed. There had also been three new sheriffs appointed in Scotland, with

salaries

salaries of between 250*l.* and 300*l.* a year, on a division of counties, where the duties were before executed as in one shrievalty. These were some of the many acts of the late administration, which would be likely to come under the consideration of the committee. Another appointment, which was equally censurable, was the grant of a pension, during pleasure, of 400*l.* a year, to a civil and criminal judge in Scotland. This grant had, no doubt, not been carried into effect; but it was owing to the doubts entertained by the person who was to carry it into effect in Scotland, as to its legality. He should not go through the other exceptionable appointments made by these gentlemen, as he had stated enough to show, that those who thought exactly with them were not to be exclusively confided in. He should next proceed to read the names of those whom he proposed to be appointed as the committee, entreating, at the same time, that the house would excuse him from being a member of it, according to the usage by which any member who proposes a committee became himself a member of it. The following were the gentlemen he proposed:

Of the former committee.

Mr. Bankes,	Mr. Cavendish,
Mr. Biddulph,	Mr. H Thornton,
Mr. Shaw,	Mr. Ryder,
Lord H. Petty,	Mr. Calvert,
Lord A. Hamilton,	Mr. H. Combe,
Mr. Grattan,	Mr. Baring.
Mr. Addington,	

Not of the former committee.

Mr. H. Brown,	Mr. Pole Carew,
Mr. Joddrell,	Mr. Mills,
Mr. Wharton,	Mr. Rutherford,
Mr. Sumner,	Mr. Ellison,
Mr. Wigram,	Mr. Brogden,
Mr. L. Foster,	Mr. T. Baring.

He concluded by moving, that a committee be appointed to examine the regulations made for controlling the expenditure with respect to offices, how far these had been effectual, and what was further necessary to secure the object in view.

Lord Henry Petty said, that it had been impossible for him not to admire the singular candour and moderation of the right honourable gentleman, who in moving for a committee of this nature had shown a charitable disposition to save them some labour and trouble in the execution of their duty, by a gross and partial statement of matters that might come before them. When he said "gross and partial," he did not mean to say that the statement was intended to be so, but that it proceeded from a bias towards a particular party, of which, however, the right honourable gentleman ought to have been sufficiently aware, not to have prejudged matters which might occupy the attention of the very committee for the appointment of which he was moving. The right honourable gentleman, and those with whom he acted, had the other day deprecated a decision upon a charge, for want of a single document, though a full notice had been given; and yet he was not ashamed to call for an opinion upon charges respecting which all the documents were wanting, and of which no notice had been given; and that too in cases which must depend upon special circumstances, and where even the dates must be of importance. Under all these disadvantages, however, and without any notice till now, that any charges were to be brought against him, he would, as far as his recollection enabled him, refute the charges. One of them related to the appointment of a comptroller

troller and collector for Buenos Ayres. Would it not be supposed that this reversion, as he called it, would have been immediately on its appointment a burthen to the public? It was therefore a gross want of candour in the right honourable gentleman not to have stated, since he brought the affair forward at this time, that the burthen would only commence in consequence of the possession of the place, and that the appointment was without salary. The want of such officers had been severely felt when the place was first taken, and this was the reason that they were appointed to act in case it should be retaken. Then the right honourable gentleman adverted to the surveyors of taxes, but acknowledged that the suggestion had come from the board of taxes. But he believed that the fact was, that the appointments had not actually taken place until the matter should be submitted to parliament. Some notices might have been given, but he had heard that several recommendations had been received; to which the answers had been, that no appointment could take place till the measure was finally adopted. This was the state of the case, as far as his memory served him at present. With regard to the appointment of the gazette-writer in Scotland, it was one that ought to be excepted out of the general rule. It was a case that peculiarly depended on its own circumstances; and when these were examined it must appear obvious to every candid and liberal mind, that no blame could attach to that instance. This appointment had been conferred on a person eminent for talents, literature, and science. He had through a long course of life devoted himself to the public service, and to the promotion of the interests of learning and knowledge. Mr. D. Stewart was one of the most distinguished characters of the age, and had performed his important duties in the most zealous and honourable manner. Yet his salary did not amount to much more than 100*l.* a year. It was thought right, considering the high importance of his services in the department of science and literature, to grant him this appointment, which he might enjoy without any encroachment on his other avocations. It was not on such men that the public money was in danger of being wasted. The appointment was certainly, as the right honourable gentleman had stated, taken out of the hands of the editors of the newspapers, where, no doubt, he would have continued it in preference. That was the sort of literature which they cultivated. That was their science! The gentleman who received it from the late ministers had no claim whatever upon them, except that of uncommon merit in a department of the last importance to the public and the human race. When the present government could find such another man, he certainly would not object to their being equally liberal. The right honourable gentleman had talked of a pension to a civil and criminal judge in Scotland. With the circumstances of that case he was not acquainted, and therefore could say nothing respecting them at present. He would now say a few words as to the formation of this committee. The right honourable gentleman has anticipated his wish, in having the committee appointed openly, and in excluding all persons in office under government. He had also anticipated

anticipated it as to the honourable baronet, against whom a charge now depended. This led him to advert to the gentlemen who had been members of the former committee, and had done their duty in the most zealous and honourable manner. Why were so many of these excluded? The right honourable gentleman had maintained that the dissolution was not in any degree intended for the purpose of putting an end to the committee of finance. If that was the case, why should not the former members be appointed as far as that could possibly be done? Why not leave the committee as much as possible in the same state as before? After naming all the members of the former committee who were in the present parliament, with the exception of the two already mentioned, he would still have had eight to supply, and this might surely have satisfied him! He must appeal to the sense of the house, whether some of those who were left out had not merited confidence by the diligence and fidelity with which they had done their duty. He concluded by reading the names of the following persons, who, he said, ought all to have been in the list:—

Mr. H. Thornton,	Mr. Lamb,
Mr. Bankes,	Mr. Whitbread,
Lord Mahon,	Mr. Brogden,
Mr. Biddulph,	Mr. Calvert,
Lord A. Hamilton,	Mr. Western,
Mr. Cavendish,	Mr. Shaw.

He proposed that the right honourable gentleman should in the first place propose the names retained of those who had been in the former committee, to which there would be no objection, and the rest afterwards.

Mr. Biddulph said, he could not be supposed to have any particular predilection for the gentlemen who formed the last committee; for though he had made the motion, in consequence of which the committee had been appointed, they had not been named by him. He could assert, however, that the spirit of candour, of justice, of inquiry, and of impartiality by which they had been actuated, had not been, and could not be, exceeded. It would have been impossible for any person unacquainted with the gentlemen who composed it, and who only judged from their conduct there, to have discovered the political creed of any one of them. The only act they had done was that of instructing their chairman to move for leave to bring in a bill to prevent the granting of offices in reversion. It might have been supposed they might have done more, but a great part of their time had been occupied in sending about and making inquiries. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Perceval) seemed to think that the committee last appointed was for investigating the accounts of one set of men, and that to be appointed by him for investigating the accounts of another set of men. In acting so, he surely did himself essential injury. If he wished the acts of any future committee to be esteemed acts of fairness, impartiality, and justice, for God's sake let them go forth as the acts of the committee originally appointed. This could alone satisfy the public. The names proposed by the right honourable gentleman were, no doubt, unexceptionable in themselves. At a proper time he should take an opportunity of proposing the name of a person, sir Francis Burdett, known to entertain the keenest sense of public wrongs, and who was particularly zealous in

his desire to alleviate the burthens of the people.

Mr. Brand conceived, that the house was called on to appoint such a committee as would satisfy the anxious wishes of an expecting and oppressed people. He might be presumed to think well of those men who composed his majesty's late government, of whose conduct he had hitherto approved, and to many of whom he was bound in the firmest ties of regard; but if the accusations against them should be true, he would be one of the first to support an inquiry, investigation, and accusation against them. When he looked, however, on the treasury bench, and saw that there were not two on it who had not pensions, reversions, expectancies for themselves and their families and friends, he wished to see a general and fair inquiry.—This he asked in the name of his constituents and of an expecting people. He wished that a fair, or rather an accusing, committee should be appointed. If those with whom he had hitherto acted should differ from him in this, he should think it high time for him to leave them.

Mr. Canning had no doubt that the honourable gentleman who spoke last, delivered the genuine sentiments of his mind, in thinking well of the gentlemen with whom he was connected, and that he would also think, that the fairest and most useful committee could be formed from among them. As no part of the conduct of the house, however, was wanting to show that there are parties in it, he saw no danger in acting in the present case on those practical grounds by which their conduct was in general regulated. The public knew well, that a party feeling pervaded the public life and public conduct of the members of this house. It would be ridiculous, therefore, as well as improper, to endeavour to blind the public mind, by pretending, on an occasion like the present, that all their usual habits and feeling forsook them. The best way was to appoint persons of different ways of thinking, lest, if all of one party, their prejudices might lead them, without regard to the real merits of a case, all to incline one way. Here the honourable gentleman referred to the same topics discussed by Mr. Perceval, and then added, that the noble lord had alluded to the share he and some of his friends had had in the Anti-jacobin. He (Mr. Canning) felt no shame of the principles of the Anti-jacobin, however he might have cause to be ashamed at his own individual share in the work. The noble lord had said, that the place of gazette writer was not a new place, but had formerly belonged to three newspaper printers in Edinburgh. There was then no salary to the office, so there was no pretence for saying it was not a new place. The late government had also made a professor of medical jurisprudence. He could alone account for such a nomination by supposing that, after some long debate, in the swell of insolence, and to show how far they could go, they had said, "We will show them what we can do; we will create a professor of medical jurisprudence!" The noble lord had said, however, that newspapers were the only species of literature which found favour with the present ministers. He, for one, could say, that he felt no predilection of the kind. But would the noble lord venture to say, that there was no newspaper which

which received marks of favour during the late administration? that there was not a newspaper in London which boasted of the purity and uprightness of its principles; which professed to breathe the genuine sentiments of the constitution; which, in all probability, was at this moment manifesting its impartiality, by endeavouring to show with how much fairness it could state what was passing in this house; and the proprietor of which had been appointed to one of the public boards? The right honourable gentleman concluded by declaring, that he should not have objected to the name of the honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. W. Ward) standing on the committee; but had he seen the name of a person who had signed a warrant for a pension of 400*l.* per annum to one of the civil judges of Scotland, standing on that list, he should have objected to it.

Mr. Bankes observed that, as the finance committee was a committee of inquiry only, and had not the power of acting upon whatever might be the result of their investigation, he did expect that not a single member of the late committee would have been excluded on the re-appointment of it. What danger, he would ask, was there to be apprehended from the same persons, that had already shown themselves to be both able and industrious in the pursuit of these inquiries, continuing to inquire, and to report the evidence which they received, together with their opinion thereon, to the house, when the house would afterwards have the power of judging for itself upon the evidence, and of agreeing or disagreeing with their committee as to their discretion might seem fit, and of acting only according to the judgment of the house? There was one point, in fact, upon which the late committee had not entirely made up their minds; it was but justice, therefore, that an opportunity should be given them that they might be enabled to come at that final determination. The particular point to which he alluded, was that of a discovery which was made by the committee of some abuse in the office of the paymaster-general. At the time when that discovery was made, no apprehension was entertained of the sudden dissolution of parliament which afterwards took place. Under the impression that they were likely to sit much longer, they came to a resolution not to deliver in their report, as to the facts on which their discovery rested, until they should have hit on the means that would be most likely to prevent a recurrence of similar abuses in future. Upon that point they had not come to any determination; but for his own part, he believed, that the only radical cure for such an evil was the speedy passing of accounts. But, as the committee had not come to any determination on that head, that was one reason why he wished that the same persons should be again appointed to an office which they had already most honourably filled. But, exclusive of this consideration, there was another, namely, that the zeal, ability, industry, and integrity, which he had already witnessed in the former members, had such weight upon his mind, that he in fact regretted that any one of their names should be omitted on the present occasion; but he was most peculiarly sorry, he must say, at seeing the name of an honour-

able friend (Mr. Sharpe) omitted, as he had been one of the most active, the eminently useful servant to the public in the former committee: a gentleman, to whose acuteness and industry the house and the public were principally indebted for the discoveries which were made in the first report. But as a plain matter of fact, he was confident, it must be obvious to every fair, candid, and impartial man, that those who had already given up a good deal of their time and bent their mind to inquiries of the nature which was spoken of, must be infinitely better qualified to enter on such inquiries in the present parliament, than any other gentleman whatever who has not heretofore turned his attention that way.

Mr. Sharpe acknowledged, that he felt the full force of the two compliments which had been paid him. To his honourable friend (Mr. Bankes) he was extremely thankful for the very handsome manner in which he had mentioned his name. To the gentlemen on the other side, he had also reason to express his acknowledgment of the kindness which they had done him; for he considered it to be as high a compliment as those gentlemen could bestow, when they thought proper to express their objection to him by the omission of his name in the new list. There was one fact, however, with which he thought it right that he should acquaint the house; that was, that if he should not be again chosen a member of the finance committee, and should those that were to be the chosen people of the new ministry attempt to suppress any statement of evidence that had already been entered on, it was some consolation to him to have it to say, that he had in his own hands a number of extracts and minutes from the intended report, which he pledged himself to bring forward whenever he should see any necessity for doing so. But, in point of fact, he had much rather that he should not be again appointed to serve in the finance committee, as he would now stand in a very different situation from that in which he formerly acted.

Lord Howick, after a very able speech, adverting to the suggestion made by the honourable gentleman (Mr. Biddulph) relative to the propriety of appointing sir Francis Burdett as one of the members of this committee, took occasion to observe, that, although he could assure the house there was no gentleman on the other side more adverse to the general conduct of that person than he was, although no man was more the subject of that person's attack, and that of the party, if such they could be called, who acted with him, still he would advise the adoption of the honourable gentleman's suggestion. "It would be recollected by any person acquainted with the history of the times, that, notwithstanding the attempts always made (said the noble lord) to connect us with this person's party, there was no party in the country more obnoxious to them than that with which I have the honour to act. This gentleman, it will be observed, stands forward as the enemy of public abuses, and I would recommend ministers to keep a vacancy open for him in this committee. There he will have an opportunity of inquiring into the abuses of which he complains, and proposing the remedy in a much more proper way than he has hitherto

hitherto done, or attempted to do. I should, therefore, wish to have him afforded the opportunity, although I happen to be so obnoxious to his attacks, probably not so much from the impulse of his own mind, as in consequence of the incitement of others."

Mr. Biddulph observed, that he was actuated wholly by public motives in proposing the honourable baronet's name, and that he acted without any respect, without any connection whatever with the honourable baronet. But having perceived that the honourable baronet had a quick sense of public wrong, and was anxious to remove it, he thought him a very fit person to be appointed a member, and to promote the objects of this committee.—The committee was appointed, consisting of the members proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer. They were ordered to proceed on their inquiries immediately, and to report from time to time, as they deemed meet. The minutes taken before the former committee were referred to their consideration.

July 1. Mr. Huskisson adverted to the order made in the last parliament, for referring the investigation of the question on vaccination to the college of physicians, for the purpose of procuring information. In consequence of such order, and of the diligence and close inquiry of the eminent body to which it referred, the most impartial information had been obtained; and he was peculiarly happy to state, that the value of this great discovery, that its efficiency in forming a complete prevention, was fully established by the authority of this eminent body; which, from its character and the individuals of which it was composed, must be universally considered as incapable of being influenced in their inquiries by any prejudices whatever. When the result of this inquiry should be laid before the house,—when it should appear that this distinguished body had completely done their duty, it would be then for the house to consider the duty which remained for it to perform; namely, what reward was due for such useful exertions; and also what further reward was due to the great and scientific individual to whom mankind was indebted for this important discovery. After a few other remarks, the honourable gentleman concluded with moving an address to his majesty, that he would be pleased to order a copy of the report of the royal college of physicians respecting the state of vaccine inoculation in the united kingdom, to be laid before the house.

Lord H. Petty was happy to congratulate that house, the public, and humanity, upon the beneficial effects of vaccination, now so fully confirmed by the high authority of the distinguished body to whom the motion related; and expressed his concurrence in the sentiment the house had heard from the honourable mover, as to the propriety of making an adequate compensation, not only to those the result of whose inquiry must give satisfaction to the country, but to that great man whose discovery had communicated happiness to nations, and who, in order to propagate the benefit of his discovery, must necessarily have incurred considerable labour and expense.

The motion was agreed to. Adjourned.

July 2. Mr. Huskisson, after briefly commenting on the error which he stated had occurred in the warrant granting Mr. Ponsonby 4,000*l.* per annum on receiving the seals, moved, that copies of all the warrants granting pensions to chancellors in England and Ireland, since the year 1801, be laid before the house.

Lord Howick said, that the house could not but be sensible of the qualifications proposed by the honourable gentleman for discharging the duties of inquiry. He (Mr. Huskisson) was perhaps the best qualified of any gentleman upon that (the treasury) bench for conducting an investigation into the nature of grants; that there could not be found among the present ministers one who did not hold some place, or had not in expectance some contingency; yet among them all surely none could be found better qualified for correcting all errors with respect to grants, than the honourable gentleman. As to Mr. Ponsonby, all who knew that distinguished character knew that he would be incapable of holding any thing which he could not hold with honour and with justice, and that he would scorn to avail himself of any error or informality that might have crept into the grant; but it must be obvious to the public that this was nothing more than a pretence to divert the attention of the public from the finance committee, from the means to which ministers had resorted to secure their own majority in that committee (Hear! hear!) Their rejection of Mr. Sharpe and Mr. Lambe, who had been the most active, most vigilant, and attentive men on that committee—too vigilant, too active, perhaps,—for, if he remembered rightly, both those respectable men had taken a leading part in opposing the memorable job with which the right honourable chancellor of the exchequer thought to have commenced his ministerial career, and which that enemy to jobs would have carried into effect, had it not been for the virtue of the late parliament. Let it be remembered too, that the prosecutor of lord Melville was excluded from that committee; and, above all, let it not be forgotten, that the substitute of that gentleman was one who had, in that prosecution, taken a widely different part. And if all that be but a pretence, who might with more justice be charged with misleading the public? As to the insinuations which he was so much in the habit of hearing from gentlemen opposite, against the late ministers, he had only to repeat, that he challenged inquiry. Let them not insinuate, but speak openly, and if they brought satisfactory evidence against his own brother, upon that evidence should he convict him. Peculation was a charge that the most rash or most inveterate enemy of the late ministers dare not even insinuate against them. Among their many alleged crimes, peculation was not to be found; they scorned its grossness as they abhorred it. It might, perhaps, serve only to revive unpleasant recollections, to attempt to apply such language to all those connected with the present ministers, notwithstanding the blundering accusers. He (lord Howick) had his fears that this blunderer was too shrewd by half in the production and application of his proofs to the charges that house had preferred before the first tribunal in the country. Sorry was he to witness

witness the general spirit of attack and recrimination fostered within that house; it was not a season for it; but when one party was continually throwing out dark and ambiguous hints, threatening to expose a something here, and to detect a something there; perhaps the best, the most manly way to resist such vague attacks, was by bold, express, and direct opposition; to answer hints by facts, and "senseless cries" by a demand for immediate inquiry.

Mr. Huskisson, in explanation, denied that he had said any thing in the slightest degree derogatory to the late chancellor Ponsonby, for whom he professed the most unfeigned respect.

The motion was then agreed to.

July 3. Mr. Huskisson expressed his regret that the noble lord (Howick) who had taken a considerable share in the discussion respecting the late chancellor of Ireland's pension, was not now in the house. He had received such information as satisfied him that the pension was in fact granted with such limitations as were usual in such cases, viz. that it should cease on his being elevated again to the chancellorship (or any office of equal value with the pension). He would be the last man in the world to cast any imputation on the character of any man without full grounds, and least of all on the character of one who had held an office of such importance. He, therefore, lost not a moment in doing him and others justice in this transaction. He was satisfied, that though the clause of limitation was not in the warrant here, it was a mistake, for in the warrant issued by the Irish government it was inserted. It clearly appeared, that Mr. Ponsonby did not wish for an unlimited grant. He, however, had done no more than his duty in bringing forward this subject. There was no ground now for calling for the warrant, and therefore he moved that the order for its production should be discharged. This was agreed to.

July 6. Mr. Cochrane Johnstone presented a petition from Mr. Charles Elliot of New Bond-street, against a member of that house, who had been in custody of the marshal of the king's bench, for a debt due by him to the petitioner, when he was returned to the present parliament. The petition stated, that in the course of his business two bills of exchange had come from Mr. Mills into the hands of the petitioner, which had been respectively dishonoured; that Mr. Mills was also indebted in considerable sums to the petitioner, for work done, goods sold, and money advanced; that in last Michaelmas term the said Mr. Mills had, upon process out of the court of king's bench, been taken into the custody of the marshal of the said court, but entered a sham demurrer, which he afterwards abandoned; that in last Trinity term the petitioner had obtained judgment for 1,013*l.* but that execution had been stayed by a writ of error brought by the said Mr. Mills, to evade justice, and in order to escape the payment of his legal debts; that as no bail can be taken to an action pending a writ of error, the said Mr. Mills was in custody of the marshal of the king's bench, when he was returned to the present parliament as a representative for the borough of Saint Michael's; that the petitioner was informed that Mr. Mills

had it in contemplation to apply for his liberation to that house, he having a considerable colonial property in the West Indies, with a view to withdraw from the jurisdiction of the courts, and for the purpose of evading justice; that under these circumstances the lord chancellor would not grant the writ "*Ne exeat regno*;" that if the said Mr. Mills should be discharged out of the custody by that house, the petitioner would be greatly injured; and that the petioner therefore prayed that honourable house, that it would be pleased to take such measures on the premises as to its wisdom should seem meet, and that the petitioner might be heard, by himself or his counsel, to prove the facts and allegations in his petition. This petition was ordered to lie on the table, as were also similar petitions presented against the same gentleman, by lord Binning, from Thomas Allen of Bond-street; and by Mr. P. Moore, from a creditor to the amount of 19,200*l*.

Mr. Whitbread, in pursuance of his notice, rose to submit his motion to the house. He was not altogether unaccustomed to address that house upon interesting and important questions, and he had, during the number of years that he had enjoyed the honour of a seat in parliament, proposed many matters of moment for its consideration. Some of the propositions which he had the honour to originate had met with a favourable reception from that house, but much the greater number of them had been rejected. On all these occasions he never thought it right to trespass upon the time of the house by any apologies for his own insufficiency, or the inadequacy of his abilities to the satisfactory performance of the duty he had undertaken. It had ever been his opinion, that it was much better to leave the proposition he had to submit, to the support of such arguments as he could urge in its favour, or to be borne out by its own intrinsic value, than to make any attempt to conciliate by such means the attention of the house. But, on the present occasion, whether from that diffidence which must be produced by the doubts and suspicions that prevailed in the public mind as to the motives of public men; whether from the nature and effect of those debates that had lately taken place in that house, which were so little calculated to exalt the character of parliament in the estimation of the public; whether from the difficulties and dangers of the circumstances of the times, or the gloomy and disastrous situation of public affairs; whether from any one, or from a combination of all those causes it proceeded, he confessed that he had never felt the same diffidence in addressing the house, nor the same necessity of soliciting its indulgence. The proposition which he had to make was one that would tend to restore gravity of debate, which had of late been so much departed from in that house, to call them back from that personal acrimony, and those mutual charges and recrimination, which, without promoting the interests of the public, were so little creditable to the character of parliament, and to direct their attention to the means of averting the dangers that threatened the country, and of retrieving the fallen fortunes of this great empire.—Here

Mr. D. Browne moved the standing order for the exclusion of strangers;

strangers; in consequence of which the gallery was immediately cleared, and strangers were not readmitted during the remainder of the debate. It was, however, asserted that Mr. Whitbread took afterwards a comprehensive but aggravated view of the internal and external situation of the empire; referring all means of security and preservation to the return of the late ministers to power, and prophesying every evil from the continuance of the present administration in office. After dwelling at great length upon all the various topics which so large a question afforded him an opportunity of touching upon, the honourable gentleman concluded by moving that a committee be appointed to inquire into the state of the nation.

Mr. Milnes, it was understood, answered Mr. Whitbread. He stated that the proposed inquiry would be vague and delusive; that it was an attempt to censure the late change of administration, and to embarrass the measures of government: that many of the grounds which had been urged by the honourable gentleman for going into the committee, had equally existed during the continuance of the late administration, when no such notice had been made by the honourable gentleman or his friends. Mr. Milnes represented the state of the country to be such as required the exertions and the united energies of all descriptions of its subjects, which it was the object of this motion to distract. Looking to our resources, to the patriotism and valour of our country, he saw nothing to fear, but much to expect. Were we to counteract the exertions of our allies by examples of British valour, were we to evince by our conduct a conviction of the fact that the path of peace was only to be found under the arch of victory, he had no doubt but the ultimate issue of the contest would be honourable to the country. With a conviction of these truths on his mind, and for a variety of reasons, which he alleged with great eloquence, he was so far from giving his support to the motion, that he should move "that this house do now adjourn."

Sir Arthur Pigot answered Mr. Milnes, and was followed by Mr. Henry Smith and Mr. Montague.

Mr. Wilberforce, we are further informed, went at large into the question with his usual ability, and alleged, that he would give his support to any specific subject of inquiry, but must withhold his assent to the establishment of a committee on principles that comprehend every subject of consideration real or imaginary, which must consume much valuable time without producing proportionate good. He strongly exhorted the nobility and gentry of Ireland to use their exertions to instruct and improve the condition of the people of that country; observing, that it would go further to preserve the security and peace of that part of the empire, than any political measure that could be proposed.

Lord Milton supported the original motion; as did also lord Howick, Mr. W. Smith, and some other members.

Mr. Bathurst, Mr. Croker, the chancellor of the exchequer, and Mr. Canning, supported the amendment. After a short reply the house divided:

For the amendment -	322
Against it - - - -	136
Majority for ministers	186

July 7th. The speaker informed the

the house that he had received a letter from George Galway Mills, esq. a member of that house; which he read to the house, and was in substance as follows:

6th July, Temple-Place, Blackfriars Road.

Sir,—I have to inform you, that previous to my being elected to serve in the present parliament for the borough of St. Michael's in Cornwall, I was detained in custody of the marshal of the king's bench prison, by virtue of a writ had on *mesne process*. I have therefore, sir, with due respect, to submit, through you, to the house, my claim to the privileges annexed to all its members, that I may not be now withheld from attending my duties in parliament.

I have the honour to be, sir, &c.

GEORGE GALWAY MILLS.

The chancellor of the exchequer thought it right to refer to what the house had formerly done in a similar case, and proposed that the case of Mr. Steele in the year 1775, as it appeared on the journals, should now be read. Accordingly the clerk read at the table the proceedings on the 15th December, 1775, as entered on the journals; that the speaker had acquainted the house that he had received a letter signed H. Steele, from the isle of Man, in substance as follows:—

Sir,—I find that there has been a call of the house. Not having seen a public paper for this some time back, I did not till now know of the call; but had I even been in due time apprised of it, it would have been impossible for me to have answered it in person, as I was under an obligation to attend a law court on account of a process for a debt which I have disputed. I applied to the duke of Portland. His grace consulted the attorney and solicitor general; who were of opinion, that the house was the best judge of its own privileges, and with respect to my case there were no precedents by which they (the counsel) could be borne out in giving an opinion.

I have the honour to be, &c.

H. STEELE.

It was then ordered by the house that said letter should be referred to a committee of privileges. The chancellor of the exchequer thought that, after what the house had heard, it would be better to pursue the same plan, and therefore moved that the letter of Mr. Mills be referred to a committee of privileges; that the several petitions presented to the house relative to the said G. G. Mills be submitted to the said committee; and that the said committee do sit the next day. Ordered.

Lord Cochrane rose and said, he would not have come forward with the motion he was now about to offer, if there had been any other mode of bringing a sense of shame upon those who were not ashamed to live upon the country, at a time when its burthens were scarcely tolerable; at a time when, if the new system of finance had not afforded a relaxation from any further increase of taxes, it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to discover any taxes that could be borne; a state of things approaching fast to the æra of a national bankruptcy. In this state of things, he thought it would be doing essential service to the country to expose the places, pensions, and emoluments, held by members of parliament, and their immediate connections. He did not wish to diminish the proper patronage, nor to limit the rewards of services, or the

the salaries of public servants. His object was, that no part of the public money should be paid except for services done. It was not the burthen, but the abuse, that the country complained of. The advertisements in the public prints, relating to the purchase and sale of seats in parliament, were with the public a ground for believing that such a traffic was but the entrance into a corrupt trade: such was the language the constituents held to their candidates on the hustings. Revolutionary views may be imputed to him, as they were to others who wished for such investigations: but he was actuated by the purest motives, and he hoped for the unanimous concurrence of the house. It was proper to show the people, that there was nothing in the character and habits of those who composed the house, that ought to be concealed. He therefore moved, that a committee be appointed to inquire and report what places, salaries, or emoluments, derived from the public, were held by members of parliament, their wives or dependants, or others in trust for them, in possession or reversion, throughout the whole of his majesty's dominions.

Mr. Cochrane Johnstone seconded the motion.

Mr. Bankes thought the information desired by the noble lord desirable in many respects, but it would be neither practicable nor proper to pass the order in its present shape. There was no precedent of such an order on the journals, though the house had frequently thought it right to interpose and check the excessive or improper distribution of salaries, pensions, and emoluments derived from the public. So extensive a field of inquiry could hardly be reduced to any of the known rules adopted by committees of the house. The places held by members of parliament were besides known, and the pension list was either regularly laid on the table every session, or may be on the motion of any member.

Mr. Curwen had hoped the noble lord's motion would have passed without a dissenting voice. He had hoped some measures would be taken to put an end to the disgraceful scenes that had formed a subject of such discreditable crimination and recrimination a few nights since. It was no objection that there was no precedent, the unprecedented state of the thing was a stronger ground for the investigation. When the exigency of the times was such as to require the exertion of every arm, the want of precedent was not to be pleaded in bar to the satisfaction due to the public mind. The finance committee had an extensive range of inquiry before it, and ought not to suffer a day to elapse without reporting something. That committee was not constituted exactly as he thought it should be, though, as the change was made, he had no objection to the gentlemen introduced. The practice of granting pensions without the control of the treasury or exchequer, was a stronger ground of inquiry. When it was recorded on the journals that the seats in the house were bought and sold like bullocks in Smithfield market (Horne Tooke's petition), it was too much to find fault with the noble lord for adverting to newspaper advertisements. He had hoped that the obligation on the late chancellor of Ireland to resign his pension, if he should again hold an office of equal emolument,

lument, would have produced a corresponding effect on the holders of pensions opposite, and that they would have resigned their pensions while they held their offices. He complained that the power of the crown had greatly increased since it had been declared to be already excessive; and, as a friend to the democratic part of the constitution, he wished to see that excessive power reduced within proper limits. The excess of power rendered it insecure; and when the influence of corruption and weakness was combined with the operation of that excessive power, the danger was enhanced, and the mischief aggravated. To refuse such an inquiry as this would be to do the house more mischief than all the abuse of all the corresponding societies could do.

Mr. Whitbread hoped, that as there was no doubt that an opinion prevailed as to the existence of much corruption in the house, the motion would be so framed, as to refute that opinion, or at least to show in what degree and in what instance it was warranted. The object of the noble lord seemed to be, to place under one collected view a mass of information now detached, and in many instances inaccessible. If the motion was referred to the committee of finance, with an instruction to inquire into and report upon the matter contained in it, the report would probably be of a most useful description.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, no opposition would be made to the motion, if the noble mover would assent to a modification, such as was suggested from the other side. It was his wish to give all possible information. To call for a return of all those connected with members of parliament, would be to lead to an endless list of persons, from which no practical result could be derived. Officers in the army and navy, for instance, and on the half pay, would be included. If the matter was referred to the committee, it might inquire not only into the pensions held by members of parliament, which would be distinguished by the names, but into all pensions by whomsoever held. The lists of pensions and places may be had from the different departments; but, if the inquiry of the committee was deemed satisfactory, he saw no objection to it.

Mr. John Smith stated, that he had had much communication with his constituents, who were numerous, and an opinion certainly prevailed among them, that the house of commons was not so independent as it ought to be. He wished that the present motion should be agreed to, that the public might see that the pensions and places to members of parliament were much fewer than they imagined them to be. He could not coincide with his honourable friend behind him (Curwen) respecting the extension of the influence of the crown. He thought it would be very imprudent indeed, to diminish the power of the crown, especially at a moment like the present, if certain reports (probably the armistice between France and Russia) which he had heard on his way to the house should prove true. When we were surrounded by so many dangers, he did not wish to have that power diminished, any more than he wished religious cries to prevail, which tended to produce disunion amongst us at a moment when unanimity was so necessary. He thought

thought the agreeing to the motion would do a great deal of good, and could not possibly do harm.

Mr. W. Smith was anxious to rise after his honourable friend (Mr. J. Smith), who had spoken about weakening the power of the crown. No one would wish to weaken the constitutional power of the crown, but it was proper to destroy any corrupt influence that it might possess, as this would strengthen its real power, as far as it rested on public opinion. The noble lord wished for a list of the pensions to members of parliament, and not for a general map, and he saw no good that could arise from putting the house to the trouble of extracting this list. He did not agree with his honourable friend (Mr. Bankes) that the matter ought to be referred to the committee of finance, as that committee had abundance of business already.

Mr. Wilberforce, after adverting to the integrity and independence of his honourable friend (Mr. Bankes), expressed his regret that he should have said any thing on the present occasion, which might have the appearance of a desire to prevent inquiry. It was highly gratifying to him, and must be so to the noble lord (Cochrane), to see that this motion was received with general approbation, and that there appeared to be scarcely any difference, except as to the form. He thought the mode proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer the most proper, but differed from him as to the grants by the crown, which might be examined, though not malignantly nor invidiously. Several other gentlemen spoke; after which the question was put and negatived. Mr. Perceval's amendment was then debated, and carried.

July 8th. Mr. Rose presented the report of the committee of privileges on the case of Mr. Galway Mills, a prisoner in the king's bench. The committee had found that Mr. Galway Mills was a prisoner in the king's bench, as stated in his letter; that he was a member of the house; that they had searched the precedents, and had resolved that the said Mr. Galway Mills was entitled to privilege of parliament; and that the committee had not entered upon the consideration of the petitions, as nothing therein contained could alter the nature of the report. He concluded by moving, that the house do agree with the resolution of the committee.

Mr. P. Moore, as a member of the committee, felt it his duty to make some observations on the case, and also as a member of this house who had presented one of the petitions. He trusted that the house would have a due regard to its own dignity and honour, which ought to be more dear to it than bare privilege. He had stood forward as a mediator between the parties, but his labour had been fruitless, because this honourable gentleman would not stand by his own propositions. Creditors to the amount of twenty-five thousand pounds had presented petitions, and there were more to the extent of six thousand pounds, who were ready to present themselves if it could be of any use. The house therefore ought, while intent on their own privileges, to afford protection to the creditors. As far as he had at a short notice examined the precedents, there did not appear to be one that exactly met the case. There was one allegation in the petitions that merited the most serious consideration, and

that

that was, that this seat was procured with a view to escaping out of the country and to defraud the creditors. It was painful to him, who had been in some degree in habits of intimacy with Mr. Mills, to be obliged to speak thus. But such was the situation of the house, and they ought to look to it. It was stated that the object of Mr. Mills was to provide a temporary protection in order to escape to the West Indies, and to defraud his creditors. He thought that in a case so glaring, when the property at stake was so great, the house ought to pause before they granted the protection of privilege, in defiance of justice. The committee stated, that they could not go into the allegations of the petitions; but the house would consider, before it admitted as legislators those who had no object in view but to elude the ends of justice. As he had presented one of the petitions, he intended to submit a proposition on the subject.

Mr. Rose, in reply to the observation that there was no precedent in point, maintained that the precedent of Mr. Basset was directly in point. Mr. Basset was in custody on *mesne process*, and the determination of the committee upon it was, that he was entitled to privilege. Under these circumstances, the committee thought it waste of time to go into the allegations of the petition.

Mr. Cochrane Johnstone (a member of the committee) agreed that the precedents were all in favour of the report; but he thought that, considering the reflections cast upon a member of this house, a special report ought to have been made on this subject. It was dreadful to think what use might be made of this privilege. He heard that there were four or five in the king's bench, only waiting for the decision of this house on this case, in order to have recourse to the same expedient for eluding justice. He entreated for the honour and credit of the house, that before an order was made to discharge Mr. Galway Mills out of custody, these petitions should be referred back to the committee, or that the house should take the matter into its grave and serious consideration.

Mr. Ellison (one of the committee) said that they had been bound down by the precedents, and were forced to make this report, the nature of which could not be altered by any thing that could be proved by the petitioners. Of course it would have been idle to have gone into the case. The committee entered upon the investigation with a full sense of the foul and scandalous nature of the business, provided the allegations could be proved; but they were completely tied down by the precedents. But the transaction was such, if the allegations were proved, that it was doubtful whether any honourable man could sit in the same house with a man of this sort. If the subject should be taken up, it must be in a general way. He agreed that, if there was any duty more solemn than another, it was that the members of parliament should stand well in the public opinion; but at present the committee had no power to come to any other decision.

The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that the point must be decided on the ground of general privilege. No fault could possibly be found with the report of the committee, who, though the allegations should be proved, could only report as they had done. The

committee

committee had only to ascertain the facts, whether he was a member, and whether he was in custody? If he was in custody, and a member, his discharge followed, according to the known laws of parliament. Therefore the house must concur in the resolution.

Mr. William Smith observed that it was not a law, but a privilege of parliament, which it might dispense with or not, as it thought proper. Therefore, though the house should give it up in this case, it by no means followed that it must do so in other cases. If fraud was proved, the guilty person ought not to be allowed to take advantage of his own wrong. The committee were perfectly right in their report, but it was for the house to consider the allegations. These, indeed, were not proved, but there was a prayer in the petitions for permission to prove them. The privileges of the house existed only for the benefit of the public, and rested on no other foundation. The only question, therefore, was, whether a greater general mischief would result from giving up this privilege in particular instances, than from maintaining it in its full extent? The resolution was put, and carried without a division.

Mr. Rose then moved, that Mr. Mills be discharged out of custody. Ordered.

July 9th. The bill for preventing the granting offices in reversion was read a third time, and passed.

Mr. Whitbread rose, in pursuance of his notice, to move for leave to bring in a bill for establishing parochial schools in England and Wales, for the education of the children of the poor. When he brought the bill before the last parliament, he had not expected to have met with any opposition; but the measure had experienced an opposition from a quarter from which he least expected it. From the additional experience which every contested election gave him, of judging of the character of the poor, he was only the more confirmed in his original opinion, that instruction was the best security we could have of their peaceful demeanour.—Leave given.

Mr. Whitbread said, that he had another bill which he must also move for leave to bring in. In the last parliament he had divided his plan into four heads; two of which he intended to postpone, and the other two to press upon the consideration of the house. He should now move for leave to bring in a bill "for the encouragement of industry among the labouring classes of society, and for the relief and regulation of the necessitous poor." In this bill he had left out a clause which was in the last, and had produced a great difference in opinion. The clause was for giving power to the parishes to build cottages for the poor. Although he considered that such a provision would be very useful, yet, in compliance with the opinion of others who thought differently, he had struck it out.—Leave was given to bring in the bill.

Sir A. Wellesley moved for leave to bring in a bill, for the more effectual prevention of insurrections and disturbances in Ireland. Among the provisions was one for preventing the administering unlawful oaths, and another which empowered the lord lieutenant to proclaim any county or district to be out of the king's peace, which was reported to him, by the magistrates, as in a state of insurrection or of dangerous combination.

There

There was another part of the bill, which would go to prevent improper persons from having arms. The mode by which this would be done, would be, by obliging people to register their arms, and by preventing the forging of pikes. The bill he now moved for leave to bring in, was almost precisely similar to an act which his predecessors in office had intended.

July 10th. Lord Cochrane rose to make his promised motion of inquiry into a variety of naval abuses, of which he complained, respecting ships being sent to sea in an improper state of repair, badly victualled, and without sufficient ammunition; and that, for want of proper attention to the sick, many brave fellows had been lost to the country; all of which he attributed to the late commander in chief (earl St. Vincent), and particularly the latter, as he would not suffer a ship to remain in port more than five days to take in fresh provisions, or the men and officers to go ashore.

Sir S. Hood and admiral Harvey opposed the motion; and admiral Markham, at considerable length, vindicated the conduct of earl St. Vincent.

The chancellor of the exchequer and Mr. Windham also opposed the motion; considering that, if the alleged grievances had existed, an application ought first to have been to the admiralty. After some further discussion, the motion was negatived without a division. The Irish insurrection bill was read a first time.

July 13th. Mr. Whitbread brought up his poor bills, which were read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time this day se'nnight. The house went into a committee of supply, to which accounts of the pay and clothing of the militia, and of the army extraordinaries, were referred.—— 792,710*l.* were then voted towards the defraying of the army extraordinaries in 1805 not provided for by parliament, 2,950,000. for the army extraordinaries of 1807, and the sum of 600,000*l.* for Ireland, for the same year. Report ordered to be received to-morrow.

Mr. Whitbread having moved the order of the day for the second reading of the parochial school bill, a debate took place, in which the members severally went over their former ground. A division took place, when there appeared

for the second reading	-	47
Against it	- - -	13
Majority	- - -	34

The chancellor of the exchequer brought down a message from his majesty, which was read from the chair, in substance as follows:—That his majesty being anxious to settle Frogmore house, and the lands adjoining, on the queen during her natural life, and after her demise on the princesses, recommended to his faithful commons to adopt such speedy and effectual measures for carrying the same into effect as to them may seem most fit. It was ordered that the said message be referred to a committee of the whole house to-morrow: and finally agreed to.

July 14. Mr. Cochrane Johnstone rose, pursuant to notice, to move for certain papers relative to the clothing of the army, and army agency. His object was to appoint a board for clothing and agency, and to abolish the incongruous practice of making tailors of colonels. By this measure he would show that a saving of two per cent. on 20 millions might be made to

the public. He concluded by reading his motions for various papers. After a few words from Mr. Rose and Mr. Windham, the motions were respectively put and carried.

Lord H. Petty rose to move the order of the day, for the house resolving itself into a committee on the acts relative to the redemption of the national debt, with a view of proposing certain resolutions approbatory of the system of finance introduced in the last session. This occasioned a conversation of some length, in the course of which the arguments of both parties for and against the new system were repeated; which were so often before the public last parliament. The motion was negatived without a division.

July 15th. The house resolved into a committee of supply; when it was ordered, on the motion of Mr. Huskisson, that a sum not exceeding 506,300*l.* be granted for the service of the barrack department for the year 1806. That the sum of 841,600*l.* be granted for the extraordinaries of the commissary department for the year 1806.

Mr. Foster, after mentioning that for Maynooth college, which was originally destined for the education of 200 priests of the Roman catholic persuasion, 8000*l.* had at that time been granted, but for which, during the last parliament, 5000*l.* additional had been granted, for the purpose of increasing the establishment from 200 to 400, and also for the erection of additional buildings, (which increase, however, had been made without any documents having been before the house,) stated, that on inquiry into the state of the case, he had found that part of this additional expense had already been actually incurred. Therefore, although he did not wish that this burden should be permanently entailed on the public, he proposed to allow such addition for the present year, as circumstances might seem to require. He therefore moved that the sum of 13,000*l.* be granted for this purpose, from January 1807 to January 1808. This occasioned a long and warm debate, but the motion was at length agreed to. In a committee of ways and means, the war taxes amounting to 19,800,000*l.*, the profits of the lottery amounting to 178,000*l.*, 171,185*l.* the surplus of grants for 1806; and 139,000*l.* the profits of the fourth lottery, were voted on the motion of Mr. Huskisson, for the service of the current year, two-thirds of the last vote to be for England, and one-third for Ireland. The pay and clothing of the English and Irish militia were also voted.

July 18th. Mr. G. Galway Mills (released from the king's bench prison) took the oaths and his seat.

Mr. Whitbread moved the second reading of the bill for the more effectually relieving the poor. On the question being put,

Mr. Morris said, that although he admired a great many parts of the bill, yet there was much still in it of which he could not approve. As the law at present stood, no man was considered as actually a pauper until he became in a state of the most abject and miserable wretchedness, until he has parted with his all, until he has not left a bed to lie on, or a farthing in his pocket. This, he thought, was carrying our ideas of pauperism infinitely beyond the bounds of common policy, as well as com-

mon humanity, and he confessed something should be done to remedy this evil. There were many incongruities in the existing laws; at the same time it would be equally a hardship upon the industrious parts of society to be burthened with additional taxation. The honourable gentleman entered into the general principle of the measure, and hoped that time and opportunity would be afforded to make it unobjectionable. After some debate the motion was carried, and the bill committed for the next day: when

Mr. S. Bourne thought that the compulsory education proposed by this bill was liable to many inconveniencies. It would not be generally acted upon with zeal and good will, and in that case, how could it be attended with beneficial effects? He should, therefore, prefer voluntary education, and for this purpose he should propose a clause purporting "That it should be lawful for the church-warden and overseers of any parish, with consent of the parishioners, to establish a school or schools for the instruction of the poor, to be supported out of the rates, under such rules and regulations as they might think proper." Should this clause be adopted, he did not wish the bill to pass into a law during the present session, but merely that it should be submitted to the country.

Mr. Wilberforce reasoned on the necessity of delay, before the house came to any decision. No man was more strongly convinced than he was of the utility of education; and in this opinion he was the more confirmed by lately observing the astonishing inferiority of the peasantry of the south and west to those of the north of England, where education was general. It was a subject of such great importance, that he thought it were better they should decide well than that they should decide quickly. He had heard the opinions of many magistrates in the country respecting this bill, and he was sorry to say, the majority of them did not think so favourably of it as he did. Yet sufficient care had not been taken in this bill to avail ourselves of the existing charitable institutions for education. Means, he thought, might be found to combine them better with the general education proposed in the bill. The schools should not be made entirely free, but it should be made the interest of the masters to obtain as many scholars as possible. He thought that this was more peculiarly required in Ireland, and that, perhaps, on the instruction of the poor there the very existence of this country depended. He thought that instruction would confirm their attachment to this country, and show them the value of the connection. No man was more a friend to educating the poor than himself; but he hoped the house would adopt such a mode as would meet the wishes and opinions of the country at large.

Mr. Whitbread said, that his object was to give every person a right to claim the keys of knowledge, and to prevent education from being dependent on charity alone. He was surprised to hear the hon. gentleman, at the commencement of his speech, express a diffidence in delivering an opinion. He had supposed, that his mind had been so turned to every subject of the morals of the people, that he would have been the man the most prepared to give a decided opinion on the subject. In the course of his speech, he was however

however agreeably relieved, by hearing him emphatically declare, that "the diffusion of knowledge was the greatest possible blessing to a nation." He was sure that he had always hoped that another race of men, for whom he had so strenuously laboured (the Africans), would be in time benefited by the gospel. But how was it to be diffused, unless people had so much education as to be able to read it? How was any knowledge to be obtained, if the very keys of that knowledge were withheld? He claimed it as the birthright of every subject of the united kingdom, that those keys of knowledge should be given them. The honourable gentleman had appeared to think that it was of the last necessity that the poor of Ireland should be educated. If this were so, surely there was no time to be lost. He reminded the honourable gentleman, that we, who were only sojourners on earth for a short while, must legislate for the passing generation, as well as for posterity; and that, if the measure were allowed to be of great importance, it should not be unnecessarily delayed. The honourable gentleman who spoke last would understand him when he said, that the bill seemed now to be in the hands of the gradual abolitionists. He had no doubt that the present clause would be supported by those who wished to get rid of the bill by any means. It was absurd to talk of compulsory education; there was no power which could compel persons to learn. The bill went merely to compel the establishments of schools, and when they were established, certain he was that education would necessarily follow. He was convinced that if the bill was to stand over for the next session, and, in the mean time, be circulated in the country, it would be no better than so much waste paper; and that next session the same arguments for delay would be again urged. Should the present amendment be carried, he should despair very much of ever, at any future period, accomplishing his object. After a short debate the amendment was carried; the bill was passed August 5th, and carried to the house of lords, where it was thrown out.

July 22. Lord Castlereagh, in pursuance of the notice which he had the honour to give, rose to call the attention of the house to the military measures which his majesty's ministers thought it their duty to propose; a subject at all times important, but perhaps never so important as at the present momentous crisis. It had been to him a subject of considerable uneasiness, that the production of these measures had been somewhat delayed by his own personal indisposition; but there were other and more serious causes which had induced government not to be hasty in bringing them forward. His majesty's ministers could not but feel, on coming into office, that the event of the campaign on the continent which was then opening, whether favourable or disastrous, was likely to present to the observation of parliament the truest motives for exciting them to exertion; motives much more powerful than any which the statements of government could otherwise produce. He could also assure the right honourable gentleman opposite, that his majesty's ministers were anxious that their return to office should not be marked with any undue impatience to subvert the plans of their predeces-

sors. If the late administration allowed, when they were in office, that the military strength of the country was inadequate to its objects, how much more so must it now be, when it was hardly possible to turn our eyes to any quarter in which the interests of Great Britain were not at stake! If the sphere of action were great, when the right honourable gentleman was in power, how much was it extended at the present moment! We had now to support new principles of policy, and to feed so much larger an army employed on foreign service. In the army at home, also, we were called upon either to make a great effort to render the second battalions of our regiments efficient, or, with a due regard to œconomy, to abandon them altogether. He was apprehensive, however, that, should they be abandoned, the weakness which marked them would characterise the first battalions, and that the first battalions would soon become as inefficient as it was so deeply to be lamented that the second battalions now were. It was impossible to look to the general aspect of Europe, and to the returns on the table, by which it appeared how large a portion of our force was employed abroad, and, even on the most superficial view, entertain a doubt of the necessity of great exertions indeed, if we were desirous of preserving our security at home, and of not abandoning our military greatness abroad. If the necessity were disputed, he was prepared, and stated his personal responsibility to prove (could he do so without divulging that which ought not to be divulged), by the most satisfactory and undoubted details, that no voluntary or other local force was adequate to the wants of the country, but that for every thing of that description a regular and efficient force must be substituted. In submitting to parliament what had occurred to his majesty's ministers as most expedient on this subject, he hoped they would not expect any peculiar novelty. He acknowledged that he had not made any very great discovery: he had indeed avoided every thing that appeared mighty ingenious, because he knew very well that on all subjects, and especially on military subjects, these ingenious and complicated theories, although they might look extremely well on paper, were found to be sadly deficient when attempted to be put into practice. He was persuaded, whatever his opinion of the military plans of the right honourable gentleman might be, that at all times, and in a state of war above all other times, it was infinitely better to adopt the military establishments of the country as they stood, and to fortify and support them, than to weaken and throw them down for the purpose of substituting some speculation, of which experience alone could prove the superiority. There seemed to be this simple alternative on which to decide: if we were to raise a great number of men by ballot, the country must be called upon either to submit to a ballot for men direct for the regular army, or to submit to a ballot for men for the militia, with the view of our drawing from the militia that aid which the incomplete regiments of the line required. Having detailed the grounds on which the measure to be proposed had been adopted, it became necessary to state the extent of the levy. At the termination of five years service, all men balloted

balloted for the militia were entitled to their discharge. The official documents proved, that from December next to the succeeding May, between five and six thousand of the militia would be so entitled to their discharge, beside the waste produced by other circumstances. He was anxious, when the subject of ballot was agitated, to submit to the house the expediency of providing not only a cover for this deficiency, and this waste, but also such a number of supernumeraries (for whom the officers now in the militia would be sufficient,) as would render any further ballot for two or three years wholly unnecessary; so that a security would be given to the line, that a continual ballot would not exist in competition with their ordinary recruiting. In looking to the number of men which it would be proper to raise for these purposes, two questions offer themselves for consideration: What number of men could the militia afford to spare? and what number of men did the army indispensably require to put it in a state of adequate efficiency; that was, to place every regiment, including the second battalions, on its proper footing? Having duly weighed these points, his majesty's ministers proposed that all those men now serving in the militia exceeding three-fifths of the militia establishment in Great Britain, and one-half of the militia in Ireland, should be transferred to the line. By this arrangement, about 21,700 men would be gained from the militia of Great Britian, and about 7,000 from the militia of Ireland. It had been thought better to propose to take the excess above three-fifths of the British militia establishment, and the excess above one-half of the Irish militia establishment, rather than to take two-fifths of the British militia and a half of the Irish militia; because, as several of the militia regiments were not completely filled up, the latter mode would weaken them too much. In one word, by the proposed plan, the British militia would remain at three-fifths, and the Irish militia at one-half, of its present establishment. The men to be raised by ballot were, as he before stated, for three objects; to cover the waste in the militia, to supply the deficiencies occasioned by so great a transfer from the militia regiments to the regular army, and to provide a body of supernumeraries large enough to prevent the speedy recurrence of the ballot. To effect these objects, it had been thought better to mention a proportion, rather than a defined number. As the law at present stood, his majesty was impowered to call on the counties to ballot for a supplementary militia, amounting, in Great Britain, to 24,000 men, viz. 20,000 in England, and 4,000 in Scotland. As the number of the supplementary militia was exactly half of the established militia, so it had been deemed advisable to propose that the counties should be called upon for a supplementary militia and a half, making 36,000 men for Great Britain, besides 8,000 for Ireland. Allowing for the necessary waste, this would add at least 38,000 men to the gross military force of the country, and 28,000 men to the regular army; leaving with the militia a large body of supernumeraries, sufficient for a long period to release the standing army from the embarrassments which a ballot must occasion; and, when peace should arrive, instead of not

having any militia at all, the country would possess a militia of 36,000 men, and would only have to raise the difference between that number and the full establishment, namely, a fourth, or twelve thousand men. Having thus stated the extent to which, in the present public exigency, it had been thought wise to carry the increase of the regular army from the militia, he observed that no pains had been spared by his majesty's government to digest a mode of transferring the men from the militia to the line, more free from the objection than any that had hitherto been devised, more palatable to the officers of the militia, and less likely to hurt that just pride in their different regiments, which they so laudably entertained. He had always advised that the character and spirit of the volunteer corps should be upheld, until some other decisively superior establishment could be discovered as a substitute. His majesty's present government had re-established the system of inspection of the volunteers: without that system it was impossible that any principle of œconomy could be observed, that any security could be enjoyed for the proper administration of the funds appropriated to various parts of the volunteers service, or that the volunteer establishment could be kept in an organized state. It was in the contemplation of his majesty's ministers to encourage volunteer corps, not to substitute permanent service for their drill days, for that in most cases would be inconvenient, and in many impracticable, but to pass those drill days in exercises from home. It would then be seen which of those who entered into volunteer corps, did it for the sake of exemption, or for other motives. If parliament should think fit to adopt any subsequent measure on this subject, his majesty's ministers would not shrink from it. Let them, however, be deliberate in their undertaking, recollecting the old saying, "the more haste the worse speed." The noble lord here entered into a brief recapitulation of his arguments. He had been called upon to propose to parliament, in a time of exigency, a measure adequate to meet that exigency, and which therefore, whatever its nature might be, was open to strong and plausible objections, since it must be one of great burden, and imposing great sacrifices on a country which had already borne great burdens and made great sacrifices, not with patience only, but with pleasure. But he was convinced that the country would feel now, as it had always felt, that those who proposed these burdens were its best friends, because they were proposed for the security and welfare of the country. On subjects of this nature, considerable difficulty existed in giving a preference to one among various measures, all standing on the ground of solid argument and ingenious reasoning; but he could assure the house, that the proposition which he had the honour to submit to them was the result of the most anxious consideration from the earliest period after the acceptance of office by his majesty's ministers. They had made the best proposition they could; had disturbed as little as possible the existing establishment, and had not allowed themselves to enter the field of military discovery. Unquestionably the militia service would, for a time, be disturbed; but it would soon recover itself; and he was sure, that when the officers

officers of the militia considered that the men taken out of the militia, for the advantage of the country, were only those men who must soon have been discharged by law, and that in lieu of them they would receive fresh and abundant materials for rendering the militia efficient both in peace and war, they would give their cordial support to the measure. It was a consolation to reflect, that the history of this country did not afford an instance in which, when the public mind was called upon to encounter difficulties, it was not the peculiar characteristic of Britain to rise superior to every obstacle, and never to be so strong, or so distinguished, as after the pressure of distress. That individual, who, unfortunately for the world, had acquired such an ascendency on the continent, was little aware, that by that very ascendency, he was creating in this country a power to which the world might ultimately look for deliverance; and that out of the necessity which his inordinate ambition produced, the military character of Great Britain would probably be raised to a greater height than any to which it had hitherto attained. The noble lord concluded by observing, that he should divide the measure into two bills; and that if the bill for which he was about to move, should not be ready for delivery to members on that night, of which he was somewhat apprehensive, he should not press the second reading on Friday, but propose that it be postponed to Monday. He then moved for leave to bring in a bill, for allowing a certain proportion of the militia, in Great Britain, voluntarily to enter into his majesty's forces.

Sir G. Warrender objected to the period of bringing forward the measure, as a case had not been shown that proved that a disposeable force of 28,000 men to the line was wanting: he considered the measure of ballot as highly objectionable.

Mr. Yorke entered at much length into the critical situation of this country; and insisted that a single false step might now be our utter ruin. He considered the measure proposed as one of peculiar efficacy; but objected to the balloting of 36,000 men to supply the vacancies in the militia. He, however, reminded the house, that there was no great army kept up by any country in the world, without some degree of compulsion. It was by compulsion, in its strictest form of conscription, that the person who is at the head of France was able to conquer almost the whole of Europe; and in order to oppose him, we must at least preserve that power which the constitution of this country gave us by ballot. The greatest exertion which the country could make would be barely sufficient; but certainly it was no time to throw away any of the means of exertion which had formerly been resorted to. He proceeded to comment on the plan brought forward by Mr. Windham, which he considered as both inefficient and dangerous; and he thought that the late ministers must have been insane to have sent such a force as that under general Crawford to a distant climate, after the battle of Jena had been lost.

Mr. Bathurst commended the plan of the late ministers; and made some strictures upon lord Castlereagh for not introducing his measure sooner.

Mr. Windham said, that if

the 25,000 men were prevailed upon to enter immediately into the regular army from the militia, he could not see that there would be any important accession of real strength until their places could be well supplied; nor did he see what great good would result from it, unless ministers could bespeak their invasion at their own time, and tell Bonaparte that he must not come until all those new balloted men were trained, and fit to oppose him. The noble lord need not have taken much pains to assure the house, that there was nothing ingenious or original in his plan, as it is well known that ever since the year 1796, increasing the militia by ballot, and then drafting from them to the line, was the constant resource when a considerable addition was necessary to the regular force. The additional force act had completely failed before he had moved for its repeal. The men that it did raise were an enormous expense to the country, and would be had on much cheaper terms if no such bill had ever passed. As for the plan which he brought forward in the last session, so far from producing it as a grand specific or nostrum, the character that the true practitioner would give of it was this, that he had told the country that there had hitherto been too much quackery, too much bleeding, purging, cupping, and other violent remedies; and that all that he proposed was, that the country should be left a little to its own real strength and constitution, which he was sure had enough of the *vis naturæ* to recover from the situation in which all the doctors had placed it. He only said, that in a free country, if you wished to have an army, you should make the profession of a soldier desirable for men to embark in; but all that we were to hear of in the present bill, were ballot and bounty.

After some further debate, in which the secretary at war, Mr. Bathurst, Mr. S. Lefevre, Mr. Herbert, lord Howick, lord H. Petty, Mr. Whitbread and sir A. Wellesley, briefly spoke, the two bills were read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Monday; and, after much discussion and some alterations, were passed into a law.

The house went into a committee on the Irish insurrection bill. A short conversation took place on an amendment proposed last night by sir J. Newport, which was negatived on a division,

For it 29—Against it 53.

On the clause for empowering magistrates, in the night time, to break into houses suspected of being inhabited by seditious persons, a long conversation arose on the wording of it.

Sir S. Romilly said, that the rules of decorum demanded that, at least, time should be afforded the poor females of the family to put themselves in a state fit to be seen by male visitors of the description likely to storm a cottage in the dead of the night.

Mr. Laing expressed himself hostile to the clause, and averse to the principle of the bill in every shape, especially as being in his opinion unnecessary.

Mr. Grattan considered the power which was committed to magistrates as very dangerous, however necessary, particularly as the execution of it would probably be intrusted to the most desperate fellows in the country. Should they be authorized to break into a house, and even into the bed-room of a lady, after any

time that might seem reasonable to them, this would bring such an odium on the bill as would destroy the purposes intended. Female innocence might then receive injuries which would never be forgotten or forgiven; and to talk of compensation for which would be ridiculous. He, therefore, was anxious that an interval of ten minutes should be appointed to elapse before they were authorized to enter the house.

The solicitor-general (Mr. Plomer) supported the introduction of the words "a reasonable time," contending, that were the magistrates tied down to any set time before they made their entrance, it might happen that they would give time for preparations for attack or defence being made within the house, and which they themselves might perceive, without being permitted by the law to anticipate, if they were in every case obliged to wait ten minutes. A division then took place, when there appeared For the words "a reasonable time" standing part of the clause, 71—Against it 30—Majority 41.

Sir J. Newport moved, as a clause, that the magistrate should be obliged to communicate to the lord lieutenant the names of the officers appointed by them to search houses, in the space of three days after their appointment, under the penalty of 100*l.*; which, after a short discussion, was agreed to. On the clause punishing the concealment of arms, &c.

Lord Howick observed, that arms might be found concealed within the precincts of a house without the knowledge of the owner. He therefore wished that some clause should be introduced for protecting such persons.

Mr. Perceval agreed to the propriety of such a clause; and Mr. Croker then drew up a clause, providing that the person in whose house such arms, &c. were found concealed, should be found guilty, unless he were able to prove that such arms were there placed without his knowledge. The bill finally passed both houses: which gave rise to a motion on the state of Ireland by Mr. Sheridan, to which we shall refer.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

August 4th. Lord Arden rose, on the second reading of the office reversion bill being moved, to oppose it. He considered it as totally unnecessary, and as a very indecentattack upon the constitutional prerogative of the crown. Some reasons, he thought, ought to have been shown for proposing so extraordinary a measure; but no ground had been assigned for it, except a very extraordinary and uncalled-for resolution of a committee of the house of commons. He could not help recollecting the singular circumstances under which that resolution was adopted by the house of commons. Before such an attack had been made on the crown, it ought to have been shown that some unconstitutional exercise had been made of the practice of granting places in reversion: this, however, had not been done, and he, therefore, should vote against the further progress of the bill.

Lord Grosvenor regretted that none of his majesty's ministers were present, and was sorry to see the bill opposed by any noble lord connected with them. The noble lord then showed the advantage which, in his opinion, the public would obtain by the abolition of the

reversions. He observed, that these places were frequently granted to children, and that the ministers of the day had no means of rewarding persons grown gray in the public service. It was, therefore, necessary to give pensions to such persons, and thus the public burthens were greatly increased.

Lord Lauderdale expressed his surprise at the state of the benches opposite to him. The public would learn, with feelings of astonishment, that on a question of so much importance his majesty's ministers had thought proper to absent themselves, while their most immediate connections came down to oppose it. Though every noble lord acted from his own sense of duty, it would be impossible for the public not to suppose that his majesty's ministers had sent down their friends to oppose a measure, though they were ashamed to show their faces against it themselves.

Lord Melville concurred with the noble lord who spoke last, in one sentiment. He thought with him, that his majesty's ministers ought to have been present to defend the prerogative of the crown, which this bill attempted to infringe. He believed, however, that their absence was not owing to any ignorance of its progress, and he had no doubt but that they viewed it in the same light as he did: but, since so much had been said of their absence, he would ask, what had become of the noble lords on the other side, who might have been expected to watch over this bill with a parental attention? He declared that he knew nothing of the bill until he saw it upon the table of the house yesterday, but upon reading it, he immediately determined to oppose it. He could not consent to such a bill as the present, nor could he for a moment consent, that after a beneficent reign, of nearly half a century, such an attack should be made upon the prerogative and influence of a beloved and adored monarch. He was far from believing that the public feeling was interested in this bill in the way the noble lord had represented, and did not think this a period in which the prerogative of the crown ought to be abridged.

Lord Holland replied to lord Melville in a speech of considerable length. He assured the noble viscount, that he was much misinformed if he did not know that the public feeling was very much interested in this bill, and in the measures of which it might be regarded as laying the foundation. He could not help thinking that its rejection would be very injurious to the present administration, and deprecated the coming to a decision upon it in so thin a house. He should therefore move, that the debate be adjourned till to-morrow, and he would pledge himself that the noble lords on his side the house, to whom the noble viscount had alluded, would then be found in their places; for their absence was entirely owing to an opinion impressed upon them, that this bill was so very popular, that it was impossible any could be found to oppose it.

The question was put on the amendment, which was negatived, and the bill was afterwards lost, it being carried on a division, 15 to 9, that it be read a second time this day three months. A protest was entered on their lordships' books, which will be found among the Public Papers.

July 29. Mr. Perceval prefaced his

his motion for an additional grant to Dr. Jenner, by observing, that it was evident that he was the discoverer of the process of vaccination; and if his discovery acted as a preventative of the small-pox, which was satisfactorily shown by the report of the college of physicians, its benefits could hardly be characterized in terms sufficiently strong and expressive. After an inquiry so ably conducted by the college of physicians, the result had been found to be perfectly satisfactory; and he, therefore, should now recommend it to the committee, that Dr. Jenner should receive another grant of ten thousand pounds additional to the former. He then took a general view of the contents of the report before the house. It showed how much preferable vaccination was to the practice of inoculation, both in respect to its great comparative security, and its being free from those dangers and inconveniences which were so frequently attendant on the latter practice. It appeared that one in six died of those who took the small-pox in the natural way; and of those who received the disease by inoculation only one in three hundred died. This certainly demonstrated the vast utility of inoculation: but it was not to be compared with the advantages of vaccination; for it appeared that in 164,381 cases of vaccination, the deaths only amounted to three, which was only equal to one death in 54,000 cases: out of the above immense number of cases, only 56 had been afterwards seized with the small-pox; in 66 cases disagreeable eruptions had appeared; in 24 it was unsuccessful: in all, 179 cases where its effects had not been satisfactory. These were all the inconveniences resulting from vaccination, and they were infinitely smaller in proportion than the deaths that would have been caused by inoculation in the same number of instances, even taking it for granted that those who had the small-pox had really been vaccinated,—which was extremely doubtful,—while the eruptions might proceed from other causes, and, being latent in the system, might be brought out in that particular instance. But not only was its utility experienced in this country, it extended its benefits through the whole world. He had heard a ridiculous objection, namely, that this discovery would produce a superabundance of population, which in a late work had been shown to be productive of so many disorders. But he was convinced that every gentleman who heard him would say, that wherever there was life, it ought by all possible means to be preserved. No sum of money could be an adequate reward for such a benefit conferred upon the human race; but still the science, the industry, and the disinterestedness of Dr. Jenner were entitled to a certain reward from his country. He therefore moved that the sum of 10,000*l.* be paid to Dr. Jenner, as a reward for his discovery of vaccination.

Mr. Morris moved for 20,000*l.* instead of 10,000*l.*; which, after some debate, was carried.

We shall conclude our account of the debates in parliament with Mr. Sheridan's motion on the state of Ireland, on the 13th of August; the nature of which the right honourable gentleman stated in a very argumentative and eloquent speech:—My object, says he, is to awaken the house to what I conceive,

ceive, with deference, to be a just sense of its duty,—to procure from it a pledge that an inquiry will be instituted, and thus to hold out to the people of Ireland some prospect of redress, some assurance of the friendly disposition of the legislature. That inquiry is necessary, no man can deny; and without full information, I must say, that it is not becoming in us to take such serious measures with regard to Ireland. We have, in fact, been legislating for that country upon hearsay and authority alone, and mark, with much more of hearsay and authority against than for the cause you have pursued;—all this, too, while you have had the means of ample inquiry within your reach. Upon what grounds, then, do you shrink from that inquiry? It is preposterous to pretend that you fly from it because you apprehend danger from discussing the affairs of that country. It is our duty to inquire upon such an occasion, and we should not shrink from that duty through any objection to the trouble that might attend it, or through any idle fear of danger; but least of all through a timid apprehension of the truth.

With regard to the motives which have urged me to stand forward upon this occasion, I have been prompted to it by duty and by feeling;—my object, to serve the cause of justice and my country, without exciting any passion or flattering any prejudice. I hope I may take credit for being as little inclined as any man to the use of inflammatory language; as little disposed to promote sedition, or mutiny, or disaffection. For this, I think, I am entitled to take credit. There is not, perhaps, a man more strongly convinced than I am, that the very existence of the two islands depends upon the continuance of their connection. I am quite assured, that if there be any party in Ireland, of any denomination, which would advocate an opposite principle, that party is decidedly hostile to the interests of that country, and should call forth the vigilance and vigour of the law. But I must say, that all appearances are against the belief of any such disaffection, much less of organized treason. Indeed, if I could imagine an observer totally free from prejudice upon the subject, his inference would, I am persuaded, be of quite an opposite tendency.

It has been said, that there exists a French party in Ireland; but when was it that such party did not exist in that country? Since the days of Elizabeth, from the very commencement of those foul and tyrannous measures which originated in national jealousy, political prejudice, or religious dissension, but particularly the latter, which drove catholics of high spirit from their native country, numbers of such exiles found an asylum in France; and hence a correspondence between them and their relations in Ireland, which naturally led to the creation of a French party in Ireland, and an Irish party in France. But the existence of such a party cannot for a moment be insisted upon as a justification for the oppressive laws it was quoted to support. For, what policy could be more mischievous and inhuman, than perseverance in the same persecuting measures which originally created that party? Let the state of Ireland be inquired into, let persecution and injustice be put an end to, and the French party will soon cease to exist. The

cause

cause of emigration and exile from Ireland has been considerably diminished under the auspicies of our present most gracious sovereign; but still a great deal remains to be done to reconcile to their country the great body of the Irish.

Mr. Sheridan now took a comprehensive view of the state of Ireland, and contended that all its faults were owing to ourselves, and that with all its faults there was no necessity for the measures of severity lately passed. "As to the conduct which ought to be pursued with respect to Ireland, don't let it be imagined that I should not desire to have a strong armed force in that country. I would have such a force stationed there, much as I rely on the loyalty of the people. But this force should be the protectors and advocates of the people. It should not be placed there to act as executioners, but as a guard of honour upon the constitution, the liberty, and the property of the people: and such an army would serve still more to render the bills I have referred to quite unnecessary;—because, if invasion or rebellion should take place, the peace of the country would be vested in the army. For it is a prerogative of the crown, in such cases, to put the country under martial law, and in such cases only can martial law be necessary, particularly if you keep a large force in the country. The prerogative of the crown, then, is fully competent to meet any real danger without these bills, which are in fact nothing but martial law in masquerade. It is, however, pretended that these acts are only to continue for a certain time; that they only involve a suspension of the constitution, in which the people have a reversionary interest. But I do not know when the suspension is to cease. It began in 1795, and since then it has continued without interruption, and the lease has just been renewed for three years longer. I am of opinion that a people who can submit so long to such a measure, must be tolerably well prepared for slavery: indeed it cannot be difficult to reconcile them to the loss of freedom. In renewing this lease to government of the Irish constitution, ministers would not attend to the advice of my right honourable friend (Mr. Grattan) as to the duration of the lease. No: where his authority suited their views, they adopted it, and took shelter under it; but when that authority was against them, they rejected it."

Here Mr. Sheridan entered into a review of the conduct of the several members of the present cabinet with respect to the catholic question, and contrasted those who formerly promised so much to the catholics with those who had lately endeavoured to put an eternal bar to their hopes, and who raised the cry of "No popery." There were some of the latter who were, no doubt, actuated by conscientious motives. He was most sincerely disposed to do credit to the motives of his majesty, and had no doubt he was actuated by the purest precepts of conscience. In his honourable mind, he was confident, there existed as much abhorrence of the authors of any cry which could disunite and distract his subjects, as any man in the nation could feel. He had no hesitation in saying, that those men who would raise any thing like eternal obstacles to the views of the catholics, must act disagreeably to him, whose scruples upon the subject might

might be removed by time and consideration. The right hon. gentleman concluded this part of the subject by referring to the conduct of the late administration, whose promptitude in dropping the bill respecting the catholics he approved, perhaps much more than he did of their original introduction of it. "I think," says Mr. S. "they began at the wrong end. They should have commenced the measure of redress in Ireland at the cottage, instead of at the park and the mansion. To have gone first to the higher orders of the catholics, to have sought to make them judges, and peers, and commoners I do not know that such a proceeding, had it taken place, would not rather have served to aggravate discontent, as it might have been construed into a design to divide the interests of the catholics. Sure I am, that with a view to serve or to conciliate the catholic population, I mean the poor, the peasantry, its effect would be nothing; indeed it would be quite a mockery; it would be like dressing and decorating the topmasts of a ship, when there were ten feet water in the hold, or putting a laced hat on a man who had not a shoe to his foot. The place to set out at in Ireland for the relief of the people, is the cottage. The distressed state of the peasantry must be first considered, and above all the tythes.

I have heard it said, and have been always shocked at the assertion, that the Irish peasantry might be comfortable if they would, if they chose to be industrious; and that it is idle to attempt any improvement of their condition. But what palpable evidence do the Irish peasants, wherever you meet them, afford of the falsehood of their slanderers! Can any men exhibit more of enterprise than those peasants, in coming to this country in search of employment, or more of affection for country and family, in returning home with the pittance they earn here? Is it not manifest to every one of you, that the charge of indisposition to industry cannot apply to those poor men, who, in fact, do all the hard work of this metropolis? When, then, the Irish exhibit such a character in this country, it is impossible that such a difference at home as some gentlemen assert to exist, can proceed from any other than gross misrule. If I were proposing this inquiry in time of profound peace, I should expect your acquiescence in it. But in the difficulties which now surround the country, the claim is, in my mind, irrestistible. I know it has been long the hackneyed cant, that such and such is the most perilous period the country has ever known. But without any such cant, without any exaggeration whatever, I defy any man to show me a period in our history so full of peril; and where shall we look for aid? I am sick of continental alliances, of hearing about the magnanimous Alexander, &c. &c. When, however, I look at the conduct of that sovereign, triumphing at Petersburg upon acquisitions of territory plundered from Prussia, her ally, to whom, were he really magnanimous, he ought rather to have given territory, I cannot endure the idea of turning to the continent for any thing to confide in for our existence. When I look at France, not, as Mr. Burke described it, a blank in the map of Europe; but when I see nothing almost but France;—when I look to the state of the East-Indies, and to that of the

the West also—I find, indeed, that on Monday you pledged yourselves to inquire into the state of property in those islands, and very properly too:—but when you thus pledge yourselves to inquire as to the property of the West-India planters, is it too much for me to propose a pledge that you will take into your consideration, not the property of the Irish, but their allegiance, liberty, and rights?—When I look at America,—but, in mentioning that country, I should be sorry if understood at all to speak in terms calculated to encourage a disposition to surrender that privilege which we cannot surrender without abandoning our maritime power and importance;—when I have thus reviewed the state of our colonies, connections, and allies, and find the appearance so gloomy; is it unreasonable that I should ask you to look at your statute book, and to study the means of conciliating the alliance of your own subjects?

While such menacing danger hangs over us, I cannot, without serious pain, reflect upon the manner in which you employ yourselves—one party charging the other, and *vice versâ*—"You did that job"—"No, but you did worse"—"My plan raised more recruits than yours"—"No, but it did not."—As if men were recruiting for a wager, and the only object of debate was to criminate each other. I cannot patiently think of such petty squabbles, while Bonaparte is grasping the nations—while he is surrounding France, not with that iron frontier, for which the wild and childish ambition of Louis the fourteenth was so eager, but with kingdoms of his own creation,—securing the gratitude of higher minds as the hostage, and the fears of others as pledges for his safety. His are no ordinary fortifications. His Martello towers are his allies, crowns and sceptres are the palisadoes of his entrenchments, and kings are his sentinels. In such a state of the world, then, and with such an enemy, viewing this country as the only remaining subject of his ambition to destroy—surely the policy of looking to all the means of strengthening yourselves is too obvious to require comment! Let me then exhort you to consider the means of rendering that country really serviceable to you. I have heard of subsidies. Your subsidies to Prussia were considerable in amount, and yet quite unproductive in effect. Why don't you subsidize Ireland? And all the subsidy I ask for her is your confidence, affection and justice to her people. These I call on you to grant, before it be too late. If you refuse to see the danger that menaces, and will not consider in due time about the means which I propose to you for providing against it, it is a bad symptom. The first character of courage is to look at danger with a dauntless eye, and the next to combat it with a dauntless heart. If with this resolution we front our dangers, history will do justice to our feelings and character, whatever may be the exertions or the success of the formidable tyrant who would destroy us, or of those who succeed to his power and views. The honest historian will not fail to yield a just tribute to our reputation. If faithful to yourselves, if united, we shall in these two little islands, to which, as to an altar, Freedom has flown for refuge, be able to fight with all the valorous

valorous fury of men defending a violated sanctuary. The right honourable gentleman concluded with moving—

"That the house will, immediately on the meeting of the ensuing session of parliament, proceed to take into their most serious and solemn consideration the state and condition of Ireland, in the anxious hope that such measures and remedies may be safely adopted, in regard to the discontents alleged to exist in that country, as may render unnecessary the continuance of those provisions which the legislature of the united kingdom has deemed it expedient reluctantly to adopt at the close of the present session, and the permanence of which would be a violation of the rights of the people of Ireland, and a subversion of the spirit and practice of our constitution."

Mr. Perceval said, that notwithstanding the large drafts of troops which had been made from Ireland, there was still a sufficient number left for its defence. He could not approve of the allusion made to those acts, as requiring, in submission to them, that the people of Ireland should surrender their liberties for ever; nor could he suppose that the house, after adopting them on the most mature deliberation, would commit the inconsistency of passing a resolution conveying the strongest disapprobation of what it had so recently done. He, therefore, moved the previous question.

Mr. Grattan complimented his right honourable friend (Mr. Sheridan), who had upon that night reasserted his claim to the due applause of past times, and the disinterested admiration of impartial posterity. He had evinced a statesman's firmness, and a patriot's love. He heartily coincided with him in his sentiment; it was in the application of that sentiment that he had the misfortune to differ from him. He could not agree with his right honourable friend that there were no just grounds for the passing of the Irish arms bill and the Irish insurrection bill. He had voted for the insurrection bill, because he did not think that the evil apprehended could be sufficiently counteracted by the tardy operation of the common law. Mr. Grattan here went into a review of the question of the necessity for those bills. Speaking of the catholic question, he expressed his assent to Mr. Sheridan's reasoning on that subject. The parliament have no right to impose their religion on a people who obey faithfully, and fight ardently in behalf of, the laws that it enacts. No one set of men can justly dictate to another the creed of their own orthodoxy—no government has a right to obtrude into the sanctuary of the human mind, to decide between its God and its responsibility. But if (continued Mr. G.) the people of Ireland see their situation with a mind truly great,—if with a dignified compassion they pity and forgive the pitiable virulence of party animosity,—if they forget every thing but themselves and what they have been, and what they have done, in 1779, when they got a trade, and in 1802, when they got a constitution;—if Ireland but remember this, and look to the present momentous crisis with the eye of a gallant general, and a high-minded nation, then will she best refute the calumnies of ignorance; she will not turn aside from the cause of Great Britain,

Britain, of Europe, and the globe, to listen to the moody mutterings of any shabby mutineer. French politics are their own remedy. Ireland need not look to Holland, where commerce invited plunder, but could not glut it. Ireland need not look to Genoa, where prostration was the result of an ill-placed and hasty confidence. She need not look to Italy, where all that was made sacred by time, by habit, by national prejudice, by religion, served only, by the richness of the spoils, to heighten the splendour of the conflagration that consumed them. Let her remember that she has qualified herself, in pursuit of the rights she has obtained, by the freedom that sought and the allegiance that acknowledged them. Ireland has fought boldly and faithfully to secure to England the constitution Ireland so naturally wishes to share the blessings of; but she will continue in the pursuit of them, as she has done in the pursuit of a legitimate object, by legitimate means. Let it be for you to answer her accordingly, and let no narrow policy prevent you from making the Irish protestants a people, by making the Irish catholic a freeman.

Mr. Windham and Mr. Herbert recommended to the right honourable mover to leave out the words that seemed to reflect upon parliament for passing the late bills relative to Ireland.

Lord W. Russell spoke on behalf of the motion, and Mr. Lockhart against it. Mr. Sheridan replied.

On a division there were for Mr. Sheridan's motion 33
Against it - - 79

Friday, August 14.

At four o'clock Mr. Quarme, the deputy usher of the black rod, summoned the house to attend in the house of peers to hear the commissions read for giving the royal assent to several bills, and for proroguing parliament.

The speaker, accompanied by the members, immediately proceeded thither; and on their return he read a copy of his majesty's speech, which will be found among the Public Papers, and the gentlemen immediately separated. Thus ended the sessions.

CHAPTER VIII.

Abolition of the Slave Trade—Attempt to render Freehold Property liable for Simple Contract Debts—Consideration of the Poor Laws—Proposed Measures of Reform—System of Finance—Advantageous Negotiation of the Loan—Suspension of the Practice of granting Offices in Reversion—Situation of Ireland—Importance of conciliating it—The Catholic Bill—Its wise Provisions—Its Impediments and Abandonment—Conduct of Ministers on this Subject—Their Resignation—Question of Pledges—General Remarks on the Proceedings of Ministers—Dissolution of Parliament—Outcry against it—Alarm for the Church Establishment—Cry of No Popery—Its Effect at Bristol—at Liverpool—Lord Grenville's Letter to Dr. Gaskin—Contest for Yorkshire—for Westminster—Indiscretion of Mr. Paull—Duel between Mr. Paull and Sir Francis Burdett—Letters of Mr. Tooke—Unsolicited Choice of Sir Francis Burdett for Westminster—Conduct of Lord Cochrane—Sudden Advance upon the Poll, of Mr. Sheridan—Return of Sir Francis and Lord Cochrane—Singular Address of Sir Francis to the Electors—Trial of Strength between the old and new Ministers.

ONE of the first efforts of the ministry in the present year, was directed to the redemption of their pledge on the subject of the abolition of the slave-trade. The discussions of the last twenty years have exhibited this interesting topic in every possible point of view, of justice, humanity, and policy. The efforts of the virtuous and the wise, during this period, were in almost incessant conflict with the struggles of the prejudiced and interested. Some of the advocates for the continuance of this loathsome and disgraceful traffic, even borrowed their arguments in its support from religion, and considered those who were engaged in it as the authorized executors of divine vengeance. Many endeavoured to prove that the trade, with whatever evils it might occasionally or even necessarily be connected, was, in fact, to be regarded as advantageous to the subjects of it, who, being generally prisoners of war, but for this mode of disposing of them, would have had to sustain from their conquerors the infliction of the most horrid tortures; and who would, therefore, invariably prefer a life of slavery to a certain and cruel death, and consider themselves as extricated by their purchasers from the fangs of relentless enemies. Others, and by far the greater number, who admitted its injustice, and deplored its inhumanity, insisted on its political expediency. Without the importation of fresh slaves it was stated to be impossible to keep up the negro population of the West-India colonies, and those dependencies now so admirably productive, and so important and indispensable a source of national strength, would be totally incapable of cultivation. But population flourishes in the laborious classes of every community, when they are not overworked, and their food is nourishing and sufficient, more than in any other; and if the slaves in the British colonies

colonies require annual importations to preserve their number, this must inevitably be occasioned by the scanty nourishment and extreme hardships to which they are exposed, and which alone could counteract the universal tendencies of nature under favourable circumstances. These were in fact the circumstances which required new drafts to be perpetually made on Africa, and contributed to keep that devoted quarter of the world in a state of barbarism and desolation. According to the degree in which the management of slaves in the West Indies has been attended with less rigour and injustice, the proportion of the births to the deaths among them has invariably advanced. Considerations of humanity, and meliorated regulations, have in the few last years brought these very nearly to an equality, and it is impossible to doubt, that, when the African market is completely closed, the interest of the slave-holder will lead him to adopt that treatment which will secure to him from his own premises a supply equal to every possible demand. Thus the abolition of the trade will not only effect its original object, but will prove the most beneficial of all regulations that could be devised for the mitigation of negro bondage in the colonies. Men deaf to the claims of justice will listen to the call of interest. Those who have no sentiments of humanity will be controlled by the calculations of arithmetic. The restrictions on the personal liberty of these degraded men must, to a certain degree, be relaxed. The rights of property will be gradually and increasingly extended to them. These and other encouragements, requisite to the maintenance of families, will inspire gratitude and patriotism. From the extreme humiliation of personal slavery, and by such gradations as will preclude all danger of those convulsions which have occurred in some of the West India islands, and are irrelevantly held up as a warning against all innovation, the negroes will at length attain that improved situation in which the clashing interests of tyrants and slaves will no longer exist; and they will contribute, with the most ardent loyalty, to the defence of their country, enjoying the protection and blessings of its government, and even sharing in the formation of its laws. These prospects will satisfy the judicious friends of humanity, and may well supersede the claims of youthful politicians on behalf of absolute and immediate emancipation; to which undoubtedly the abstract principles of justice, so much insisted upon by many throughout the discussions on this subject, directly lead. But actual circumstances will always operate upon the mind of the enlightened and experienced statesman, more strongly than theories, and practical results be more steadily contemplated by him than moral or metaphysical abstractions.

By the annihilation of this trade, the country has at length expunged the most disgraceful stain upon its character. It will at some future period be scarcely conceivable, that such a mass of wisdom and effort, and for so long a period, should have been required to be kept in motion for terminating a traffic so exceptionable even in policy, and so odious for its inhumanity:—that a nation, perhaps the most enlightened and most virtuous on the globe, should, in the

nineteenth century of the Christian æra, have tolerated and legalized a commerce in human blood, a species of merchandize by which an immense portion of the world was devoted to desolation, or preserved in barbarism, and which, by the depravation of morals, the waste of seamen, and the drain of capital it occasioned, was scarcely less injurious to the oppressor than the victim. Difficulties at a distance, like hills upon a remote horizon, appear far inferior to their actual magnitude. But there will always exist persons capable of forming a due estimate of the merit of those who have perseveringly struggled against established crimes; who will duly estimate all the weight of opposition that could be derived from opulent guilt, and mistaken patriotism, and apprehensive policy, and the difficulty of establishing in one age, by a series of arguments, principles, the truth of which is, as it were, intuitively discerned by that which succeeds. With observers of this description, the ministry who effected the abolition of the slave-trade, whatever other measures may be justly charged upon them as political errors or delinquencies, will ever be considered as deriving from this act no ordinary merit.

Under the auspices of administration an attempt was made in parliament to render freehold property liable for the discharge of simple contract debts, as well as for special securities, a measure called for by natural equity, and which could scarcely give offence to any who were not more fearful of change than they were desirous of justice. By the law of England the possessor of a freehold estate, after involving himself in debt by boundless prodigality, may cut off all the reasonable demands of his creditors upon this estate to which they had looked up as a security, and devise it unincumbered to any individual who may be the object of his attachment or caprice. The source of the confidence of creditors is thus completely dried up. That property is thus permitted to be transferred to another, to which they alone have a reasonable, though not a legal, claim. It is singular that, in a nation which fairly boasts of the general conformity of its legal institutions to the suggestions of reason, this irregularity should exist; and that it should moreover be peculiar to the system of English law. It is, however, a remnant of that order of things in which all land was held of a superior liege, and the relation between the vassal and the lord rendered its alienation impracticable. This relation has long since ceased, but the inconvenient and embarrassing consequence still continues to disgrace the national code and impede the course of substantial justice. To remedy this inconvenience and injustice, was an object well worthy of attention to all who wished that the system of national law should acquire all that purity which tends to excite admiration and dispense happiness. The tradesman who gives credit to the man of landed property, in case of the decease of his debtor without leaving provision, in property of other descriptions, for the discharge of what he owed, has no remedy for obtaining his demand. Yet the same system of law enforces the payment of the debts of the tradesman himself: his stock is sold, often for less than half its value: his person is exposed to the

nauseous and noisome confinement of a dungeon, where he may pass the remainder of his days almost equally without pity and hope. Such flagrant inequality and injurious preference most decidedly call for regulation; and the attempts made for this purpose, but which unexpected circumstances rendered abortive, did credit to their authors, who, in this instance, endeavoured to render law what it should ever be, a transcript of reason.

The situation of the poor was another topic to which the national attention was this year strongly directed. This subject has long called for the notice of the legislature. It must be acknowledged to be pregnant with difficulty, and the most experienced and enlightened will bring forward any plans for removing existing evils only with hesitation. Few persons are more competent to suggest remedies for present abuses and distresses on this topic, so unfortunately fertile in them, than the gentleman who, with the approbation of the principal members of administration, introduced it to parliamentary attention. By an early and national education it was proposed by Mr. Whitbread to instruct the children of the poor in the arts of reading and writing, and in the knowledge of their duties as citizens and Christians. The law of settlement was intended to be considerably modified, and to be liberated, in a great degree, from those restrictions which often operate most injuriously on the inferior classes of the community, by limiting the scope of their industry, the ardour of their exertions, and the chances of their relief. The distribution of rewards to those who should distinguish themselves by their diligence, was a material object of the plan. The reform of parish rates, at present so strikingly unequal, was another point of particular attention. The measure included also a prohibition of any future erection of workhouses, or houses of industry, and all kinds of institutions for compulsory labour on the poor. The raising of cottages for the most exemplary among them, at very moderate rents; the establishment of a national bank for receiving the savings of their income, at simple or compound interest; together with an insurance office for the security of small sums by way of annuity, were also leading features of this comprehensive and important measure. On a subject which has such a multitude of bearings as the regulation of the poor, a subject, in the complexity of which, minds of the first order have ever felt themselves, to a certain degree, bewildered, and been infinitely more prompt to deplore the disease, than to pronounce on the remedy, it would ill become any to decide without great deliberation. It is something, and not inconsiderable, to excite the general investigation of acknowledged evils, and thus, by concentrating upon them the reflections of many understandings, put them in the best train for removal or mitigation. It is possible that the sanguine advocates for Mr. Whitbread's plan may expect too much from the diffusion of that degree of knowledge in society, which alone can be procured by the national system of education proposed by it. The passions and violences of the well educated, the excesses of the enlightened, the ferocity of even priests and legislators, in every age, forbid the hope of that extreme advantage

from the prevalence of that very limited information flowing from the institutions contemplated, which numbers fondly anticipate. Such savings, moreover, from the income of the poor as may furnish, from the interest, any material assistance to their means; valuable reserves against futurity, on the part of those whose supplies, after extreme exertion, seem so inadequate to the necessities of the day, will appear to many scarcely to be expected. The object of the proposer of these suggestions, however, and of those with whom he was politically united on this as well as on other subjects, cannot be doubted to be highly laudable. Whatever opportunities might be supplied for partial rejection, or for modification, on a subject of such comprehensive extent and inevitable perplexity, the attempt to diffuse relief and comfort among the poor, to promote a spirit of decency, independence, and patriotism among the lower orders of the community, was highly meritorious; and the extensive discussions arising from the introduction of the subject; though terminating, for the present, in no adopted act of legislation, can scarcely fail at least to prepare the way for important and valuable changes of the actual system, at no very distant period.

Few circumstances excited more interest or were received with a more cordial welcome than the ministerial plan of finance for this year. The great produce of the war-taxes, the accumulations of the sinking fund, the speedy expiration of annuities granted in payment of former loans, and the prosperous state of the permanent revenue, the continuance of which, in its actual state, is assumed as fully to be depended upon, constitute the foundation on which this plan is erected. For the present, and each of the two following years, the war loan is stated at twelve millions; for the year eighteen hundred and ten it is assumed at fourteen; and for each of the ten years ensuing, should the war continue to the end of that period, at sixteen millions. To provide for the eventual discharge of these various loans, the war taxes are pledged at the rate of ten per cent. upon each loan, five of which will secure the payment of the interest, while the remaining five accumulate as a sinking fund for the liquidation of the capital. The deficiency arising in the disposable revenue of each year, from this application of the war taxes, is to be filled up by supplementary loans, upon the system which has been for some years adopted, of one per cent. on the capital towards the sinking fund. The interest of these loans will be provided for up to the year eighteen hundred and eleven by the intervening expiration of annuities. Till this period, therefore, the war may be conducted without the imposition of new burdens; and for the ten years immediately following, by the imposition of such only as will be required to provide interests for the supplementary loans, and which of course, will be extremely light and trifling.

Those who recollected the gloomy tone of ministers on their advance to power, and their representations of succeeding to dilapidated hopes and resources, might be excused a smile at the official statement displayed, on the opening of the present measure, of the various, productive and unparalleled sources of national wealth, which not

notwithstanding their extreme copiousness, might be relied upon as being equally stable, resulting from none of those precarious circumstances by which the prosperity of kingdoms is suddenly elevated and depressed, but originating in judgment and foresight, in order and industry, in the wise maxims of the government, and the unremitting energies of the people. This representation of the extent of the public means was highly gratifying; and those who now so highly extolled them, and had but recently described them as incompetent to the urgency of the times, and likely soon to terminate in absolute failure and ruin, were easily pardoned the inconsistency with which they were so justly chargeable on presenting the nation with a plan of providing for its wants, which involved no additional burdens for the actual year, and promised so long an interval before new ones would be required.

The difficulty which had been latterly experienced in the imposition of new taxes, both by Mr. Pitt and his successors; the former of whom was compelled to resort to a tax upon agriculture, while the latter, in the preceding session, were driven from various stations, and, amidst all the suggestions of invention and experience, could scarcely adopt one which did not seem exposed to invincible objections, rendered the experiment of some substitute for new taxation at least highly desirable. The continuance of the war taxes, beyond the period originally limited, appears in several other respects also, independently of the above general consideration, more eligible than laying new burdens on the people. In the collection of new taxes, considerable losses are invariably incurred, until government has had time to detect the evasions of artifice, and effectually to counteract them; and the deficiencies thus arising must be made good by further imposts. When taxes have been in operation for a number of years, evasion is practised with less facility; their produce, therefore, is, of course, greater and more ascertainable, and their pressure upon the people at large approaches more to that equality which was contemplated by the legislature, and which it is desirable they should attain as nearly as possible. With respect also to taxes which have existed for a series of years, their influence on the operations of business and the œconomy of private life is settled and ascertained. Men have suited their arrangements to the emergency of circumstances. The fair rise of the article, in proportion to the impost, as it passes through all its stages between its growth and consumption, is accurately defined. The embarrassment and confusion always attendant on the introduction of a new and increased taxation of any article, its more than correspondent advance in price, the extravagant profits made by those who happen to be large holders, and the proportionate losses to those whose stock is exhausted, derangements of method in private families until new retrenchments are adopted and incorporated into the system for the supply of new demands;—all these circumstances, which, trifling as some may deem them, involve in the mass of society a vast extent of inconvenience and confusion, are avoided by substituting the protraction of old taxes for the imposition

position of new ones. And with respect to those of the war taxes, which bear particularly hard on commerce, such as the four per cent. tonnage duty, and the export duty; it cannot be doubted that these, and others which are least politic, will be first discharged. And as it will require between four and five years to absorb even one-third of the war taxes upon this new system, there can be no reason to apprehend that a return of peace will not occur in full time to permit the immediate abandonment of whatever is most justly and particularly obnoxious in them. Though the excellence of any measure of finance is by no means to be judged of by the cordiality with which the public receive it, and that will always be most popular the pressure of which is least direct and immediate; in the present instance the popularity arising from the measure will be admitted by most to have been the attendant on wisdom. The public were gratified by ministers, without any ground of imputation on the firmness and duty of the latter, and the most approving complacency was a result of the most judicious policy.

The favourable impression made by the new method of supply was immediately obvious upon the funds, which advanced very considerably, and gave the minister an opportunity of negotiating a loan to far greater advantage than would have been obtained, had the old system been persevered in. The profit made, in consequence of the changes attending a negotiation, by the holders of the previous loan, the comparative smallness of the present, and the animation and elasticity produced in the money market by the recent measures of finance, contributed to excite a more than usual competition. The three strong parties which had united on the three last loans, endeavoured each, separately, to monopolize the present, but were obliged to yield to the superior biddings of the gentlemen of the Stock-exchange. For every hundred pounds in money, these gentlemen offered to accept 70*l.* consols, 70*l.* reduced, and 10*l.* 12*s.* 5*d.*; terms on which the minister was justified in congratulating the country, and which rendered the contract to the holders of it, though not so lucrative as other engagements of this nature have occasionally been, by no means an affair of loss, and afforded an opportunity, for a long period, of disposing of omnium to certain advantage.

The conduct of ministers with respect to public œconomy was, on the whole, very far from faultless, but, in several instances, drew down the eulogium even of their general opponents. With respect to the abolition of sinecure places, they professed themselves ready to follow up the principles of the various committees on public accounts, which, at several periods since the American war, have suggested, and led to the accomplishment of valuable reforms. In the customs and excise, nearly all the sinecure places had been abolished, in consequence of the representations of these successive committees; and in the office of the exchequer, the expensive post of great chamberlain had been annihilated. The fees of auditor and teller were extremely reduced; and so much had been accomplished, that comparatively little remained to be done.

done. Extreme reformers indeed, who lay it down as a maxim, that where no actual service is performed, whatever labours and benefits have been previously displayed, no salary should be conferred, might still find considerable occupation for their time and their invective. But in every wise government, œconomy will be carefully prevented from degenerating into penury. It is no profusion of the public money to provide, either in sinecure places or by pensions, (the latter of which mode, however, seems by far the best,) for the retreat of those who have deserved well of their country. The public gratitude, dignity, and interest, all require that those who have nobly devoted their best days to the service of the nation, and who, by the requisite splendour or expense of their establishments, have been ill able to accumulate a fund for the infirmities of age and the establishment of families, should possess resources for satisfying these reasonable claims. These claims, however, being compensated, with a bias, as to the rewards and allowances conferred, rather to munificence than parsimony, all beyond should be denounced as prodigal expenditure. The candour and explicitness with which these principles were maintained in parliament by the chancellor of the exchequer, and the disposition on several occasions manifested to facilitate any desirable reduction of expense, and carry onward that system of reform in the management of the public revenue which had been renewed under his administration, merited and obtained considerable praise. The assertion made by the same minister, that since his attainment of power, no office had been granted in reversion, with the express and particular view that no unnecessary impediment might be thrown in the way of any alterations which might be thought requisite on mature investigation, gave great general satisfaction. At the same time it must be stated, that, in various appointments which will be hereafter adverted to, the splendid professions of ministers were by no means steadily adhered to, and œconomy appeared but too obviously sacrificed to patronage.

The political situation of the empire, in consequence of the aggrandizement of France upon the continent, rendered the union of its members, and the concentration of its energies, now, more than ever, desirable. Almost every regular power in Europe was prostrate at the feet of Bonaparte. He was surrounded with kingdoms of his own formation, and at the head of which were men who had fought under his banners, or were attached to him by blood, and whom gratitude and policy bound indissolubly to his interest. The complacency with which he surveyed his elevation seemed impaired only by the circumstance that the British empire appeared both determined and able to oppose his projects. Here, amidst all the devastation and convulsion produced by his ambition, a barrier was erected against which the waves of his fury were impotent and dissipated. Here, notwithstanding some unhappy deviations from the general system, was an asylum for justice and a sanctuary for freedom. The combination of firmness and power here exhibited, inspired him with the most determined and unmitigated aversion. His other adversaries he appeared to consider as unworthy to enter the lists with him,

him, and he would occasionally pity or ridicule their folly. But his comments on the opposition displayed by these islands, indicated the pangs of mortified pride and baffled efforts. They implied that deep-rooted jealousy and hatred which from such an adversary must be regarded as equal to the most glowing panegyric. His hopes of success appeared built only on our dissensions. No endeavours were left untried to kindle these into a flame, and direct it to his purposes. The unfortunate anomalies existing in the distribution of rights or privileges among the various classes of the united kingdom, were urged with all the energy of hostility as well as truth. To work up the spirit of distaste and irritation, which may always be expected to exist in those classes of the community who labour under considerable disabilities and privations, and are denounced as undeserving of national confidence, had been his perpetual aim, as well as that of his predecessors in power. And although such as are animated with the true spirit of loyalty, and enlightened on the motives of human action, will disdain the thought of being impressed by the interested and malignant invectives of an enemy, and will persevere in duty, though unable to attain its full honours and rewards, it cannot be denied that ordinary minds, undisciplined by education, and sore from feeling, are likely from such representations to receive an injurious taint.—Whether their wrongs are represented by a friend or affectedly deplored by an enemy, they will be hurried away by the predominant feeling that they are serious wrongs, and will experience a corresponding diminution of attachment to that government which permits their operation. In such circumstances the attention of ministers was very naturally directed to the production of national unanimity and harmony. They knew that by concessions, which expediency no longer existed for withholding, they should suppress the murmurs of discontent, and convert the lethargy of indifference into the activity of willing service, and thus procure a reinforcement of strength equal to all the pressure of the crisis. They knew that the vigorous hand will ever follow the conciliated heart, and that all the compulsory conscriptions of usurpation are infinitely inferior to those voluntary exertions which originate in the gratitude and happiness of a free people. The situation of Ireland in this point of view, was the principal object of regard. And not only general policy but particular profession and engagement appeared strongly to call upon ministers to direct their attention to this part of the empire, as during a course of long and active opposition they had eloquently advocated the claims of the great proportion of its inhabitants, and whether in a season of peace or war had urged them with ardour. Consistency, therefore, appeared to require that something should be attempted by them on this subject upon their attainment of power. Accordingly, in March a bill was brought into the house of commons, which, without having for its object what was then called the emancipation of the catholics, was adapted to give them great relief and satisfaction. An act had been passed in 1793, by the Irish parliament, by which the catholics of Ireland had been enabled to hold any rank in the army

army except that of commander in chief of the forces, master-general of the ordnance, or general on the staff. No similar act had been passed by the British parliament; the consequence of which was, that, if any circumstances demanded the presence of an Irish regiment in Great Britain, its officers would be disqualified by law from remaining in the service, and must, therefore, either subject themselves, on continuing in it, to certain consequent penalties, or must relinquish a profession to which they had been educated, and to which alone they could look for respectable subsistence and family establishments. It had been distinctly promised at the time of passing the Irish act, that this inconsistency should be corrected without delay. This pledge, however, on the part of the government of the day, had not been redeemed. It was an object of the present bill to do away so absurd an incongruity in the law. It was intended, moreover, by the measure now proposed, to permit persons of every religion to serve in the navy as well as the army. This had been indeed a stated object of the measure pledged to be introduced into the British parliament to follow up the Irish act above mentioned; nor does it appear that any reasonable objection to this permission could exist, which would not also apply to the army, both departments of the war establishment of the country seeming, with respect to danger or advantage, on this question, to be on a precisely similar footing. Besides this extension to the navy which the bill contemplated, the restrictions which had been introduced into the Irish act with regard to generals on the staff, master-general of the ordnance, and commander in chief of the forces, were to be removed, as of no advantage, and operating very seriously to inconvenience and injury. By placing impediments in the career of merit, and precluding the possibility of advance beyond a certain extent of promotion, even after a course of the most faithful and distinguished services, they checked that ambition which must ever be the companion of valour, and reduced to discouragement and despondence those who deserved all the animation of hope, and all the rewards of glory. The bill, moreover, provided for the free and unrestrained exercise of their religion by the catholics who should enter into his majesty's service, so far as this should not interfere with military duties; and all the privileges or rights which it afforded to catholics were to be extended to other classes of dissenters.

It cannot reasonably be doubted that this measure would have answered the most sanguine wishes of ministers. The sons of the nobility and gentry of Ireland, having the path of honour and promotion thus laid open to them, would have entered it with alacrity. No legislative obstruction existing to their attainment of the highest rank, they would have pressed on in the pursuit with all their characteristic ardour and energy, panting with emulation for those distinctions which were no longer withheld by legal anathemas. The sentiments of the lower classes of society, almost uniformly, take the tone of those above them; and with regard to sectarian feelings and considerations, perhaps this adoption is absolutely universal. The complacency and gratitude, therefore, which would have animated

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the principals of the catholic body in Ireland, in consequence of these concessions, would have operated most beneficially through the whole mass. Vast numbers following the example of their superiors would have crowded to the banners of the empire, eager to attest their satisfaction. The population of Ireland, now disproportionally large with respect to the state of its cultivation, capital, and manufactures, would have directed its superabundance into those channels of national defence and hostility which the emergencies of the crisis so loudly demanded. The complete assimilation of their privileges with those of their fellow subjects would have been waived, by a generous nation, to a period in which government might attend more easily to internal arrangements, and in which prejudice might be allayed; and the interval before this period of completed freedom, might have been expected to be employed in every manifestation of order and loyalty. The insinuations of the enemy could no longer have been poured into any ear of disaffection; and it would have been an object both of the thankfulness and policy of this susceptible people, to have exhibited themselves as equally industrious in arts, orderly in manners, and unconquerable in battles; and to have, if possible, wearied out, by the display of every civil and military virtue, the last traces of protestant suspicion.

The objections to a measure thus promising the most advantageous results, may be resolved into that dread of innovation which influences minds of uncommon strength as well as weakness. Innovation has undoubtedly led to the most violent and convulsive movements, in which institutions the most valued and venerated have been swept away, and horror and masacre have in different degrees characterized every devolution of power through a long series of rapid changes. Yet a comprehensive survey will discover that such evils have been often, if not ever, imputable to the want of previous innovation; to that continuance of unnecessary and oppressive restriction, and that connivance at experienced abuse, which have eventually exhausted the patience of the sufferers, and urged on to remedies more desperate than the disease. It must, at all events, be universally admitted, that without innovation human affairs must necessarily be retrograde or stationary, and the detected errors and ascertained abuses of former times must be permitted to stain and darken every succeeding age.

Notwithstanding the benefits likely to result from this measure, it soon became a matter of notoriety that objections to it existed in a quarter to which the British public naturally look up with respect and deference. As the highest rank was never yet known to absolve from human infirmity, there can be no cause for surprise that a sovereign should think it necessary to reject the very means best adapted to accomplish his wishes for his people's happiness. Whenever such an event occurs, however, it cannot fail to be deplored. Uniform panegyric on royal wisdom and virtue, will be employed only by those whose attachment is most questionable. Those who, despising the sycophancy of adulation, express their genuine sentiments with decorum and explicitness, possess, at least, that sincerity and manliness of character which are

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essential to genuine loyalty; and, combining in their statements honest feeling with due respect, will, by a judicious prince, be considered as far more securely to be depended upon than the extreme and perpetual encomiast. These genuine friends to the sovereign consider it of importance that, through the medium of the press, that grand machine in the management of human affairs, opportunity should be offered to the most elevated individual for the revision of his opinions. They will neither blush nor tremble to declare, that they regret the existence of any circumstances which induce the father of his people to think it necessary that disabilities should be connected with merit; and that they will incessantly look forward to the time in which he will see no objection to give a full legal capacity for services and honours to men who are ready to shed their blood for the security of his throne, and, while daring every peril in his cause, naturally consider themselves as possessing no vain title to be precluded from his suspicions and to participate his favours.

Having said thus much on the general propriety and advantage of the measure itself, as a result of liberal policy, any obstacles to the execution of which, wherever occurring, are sincerely to be lamented, it appears necessary to observe, that the credit which ministers deserved for forming this plan, was most unfortunately impaired by their conduct with a view to its execution. The consent of his majesty to the introduction of a bill similar to the Irish act had been obtained from him, though with reluctance. Before the suggestion, however, of the measure to the house, circumstances had occurred which seemed to render the extension of it in several respects highly expedient. Alterations were consequently made; which, although not affecting the principle of the bill, it must have been presumed would give it a very different aspect in the judgment of his majesty. If deference or fidelity obliged ministers to apply for his assent to the introduction of the original qualified measure, and even that assent was so difficult to be procured, there appears no less obligation to have informed him of alterations which were afterwards considered expedient, and to which there was too great reason to presume he would refuse his sanction. This information was, indeed, actually communicated. A detailed dispatch, containing the modifications of the bill, was submitted for the king's inspection. But ministers must have been sufficiently experienced in office, to know that what is thus communicated is certainly often, if not in most cases, never examined: that his majesty, in fact, neither does nor can peruse the various and voluminous documents which, in compliance with established and deferential forms, are perpetually presented to him; and that, when mutual confidence prevails between the king and his ministers, his majesty justly regards the detailed examination of papers as superfluous. It was obviously, therefore, incumbent upon ministers, in the case under consideration, not to content themselves with a mode of information which they had every reason to suppose might be ineffectual.—They ought to have been solicitous to communicate to the king, orally, all those circumstances which had

had suggested the expedience of modifications, and to have entered fully and minutely into the extension of that plan which had been at first presented. This does not appear to have been performed. It is stated, indeed, by the minister particularly concerned, that, at the close of an audience and in the progress of casual conversation, some interrogatives of the king produced a statement, which would not it should seem have been otherwise made, of certain differences between the original and the altered bill, but that for the details of these his majesty was at the same time referred to the dispatches which had been previously sent him. Expressions of general disapprobation of the measure were employed by his majesty, such, it may be presumed, as he had from the beginning manifested to it, and which by no means necessarily implied his full knowledge of its actual extension; and which are admitted not to have excited in ministers any idea of abandoning it. Indeed, at this period, it does not appear that the king was by any means aware of the extent of the intended bill; and a proper explanation on the part of his servants, who ought not to have waited for the conclusion of an audience and for his majesty's questions on the subject, must have superseded the necessity of referring to repeated and lengthened dispatches. Within a short time after the introduction of the bill to the house, however, the king became fully acquainted with the nature of its new provisions, and resolutely declared his dissent from them. He decidedly objected to any extension of the act of 1793: and ministers, after having led the people of Ireland to entertain high hopes, and after having fully developed their plan to the house, thought it preferable to abandon the measure altogether, rather than revert to the original proposition.

It is impossible not to suppose that some portion of irritation now operated in both parties, each having been disappointed, and the sovereign, there is too much reason to apprehend, having been misled. Such a state is always more easily aggravated than healed. Ministers, in withdrawing the measure as already mentioned, required that a declaration should be minuted, in which they reserved the power of expressing their opinions on the subject, and of suggesting any measure on it which in future they might deem expedient; the declaration being at the same time accompanied with a profession of their sincere wish to consult the personal ease and comfort of his majesty. This requisition, it must be acknowledged, wore more the appearance of wayward petulance than of wisdom. Though intimation had been given of a wish that the subject might not be brought forward, no pledge for this forbearance had been demanded; and, consequently, the right of suggesting measures, which the expediency of circumstances might dictate, still remained. The introduction, therefore, of this minuted reserve, not conferring any right which did not previously exist, was altogether unnecessary. Its novelty was calculated to alarm attention. The professions of respect with which it was connected, were ill calculated to do away that irritation which it was adapted to excite. It exhibited on the part of its authors an over solicitude for

for self-vindication in connection with little respect for the sovereign's dignity, and carried the air of menace much more than of deference.

At this proposition, therefore, so indelicate and indiscreet, his majesty appears naturally to have taken the alarm; and, considering that the most scrupulous forbearance need not be exercised towards servants whose declarations of respect seemed connected with acts of defiance, he not only refused his consent to such a record as that required, but in his turn insisted on a written assurance from ministers, that they would never again propose the measure which was abandoned. This demand was resisted, as incompatible with their honour and duty. The breach had now extended too far to admit of being closed; confidence was mutually impaired, and sensibility was incurably wounded; and the necessary consequence, the resignation of ministers, almost immediately occurred.

With respect to the question of pledges, there were many who did not hesitate to represent the royal demand as decidedly unconstitutional. That the king, however, has a right to choose and to dismiss his own servants, is indisputable. With this right no other branch of the state has the slightest participation. That such a right includes in it a power of stipulation with the persons called upon to assist the throne, might naturally be inferred from the ordinary similar relation of principal and servant. Indeed the intended and obvious analogy between the two cases, seems to render it necessary for those who deny such a power to prove their assertion, by producing some positive and express restriction on this political relation, with respect to the point in question, which does not exist in the connection of ordinary life. This, however, it is presumed, will be more than they can accomplish; and if stipulations be at all admissible, the question whether they be verbal or written can certainly be regarded as of no consequence whatever, not at all affecting the right to make restrictions, but merely the facility to attest and verify them. The power of the sovereign to limit, in various respects, those whom he may select for his service, includes nothing more formidable than his unquestionable power of choosing and dismissing them. And the check upon this prerogative lies not in any imagined illegality in his entering into conditions with his servants, but in that substantial power possessed by the parliament of withholding supplies, and of impeachment for crimes and misdemeanours in bar of the royal pardon on conviction. The king is personally presumed incapable of crime, and no object, therefore, of punishment: he acts, constitutionally, only by his servants; and in every act of misgovernment there exist between the throne and the victims of abused authority persons amenable to the laws. Thus the inviolability of the monarch, which adds dignity and stability to government, is not only preserved, but rendered essentially contributive to that security of the people with which it might in theory be most supposed to interfere, as the power and splendour of a throne would too frequently place its possessor beyond the reach of those inflictions which may be extended without difficulty to a fellow subject. If, in a moment of precipitation, which in these times can never happen, the sovereign dispenses

dispenses with that ministerial agency which the constitution always presumes, and appears personally on the stage, he places himself in circumstances the more critical, as no express provision has contemplated them; and in the silence of law the roll of precedents may be consulted by an indignant people more eager to gratify their vengeance, than precisely to appropriate their punishment. Whether stipulations then shall be enforced or yielded to, appears no question relating to the constitution, which satisfies itself with establishing the responsibilities of ministers, with whatever views they may have engaged, and by whatever restrictions they may have suffered themselves to be bound. The yielding to these must be regarded as a matter of discretion, as well as the imposing of them. How far they are to be acceded to will be determined by individuals according as these restrictions affect what they deem important and fundamental principles; as no one would object to being bound to a conformity to those maxims he had previously adopted as the guides of his conduct; and, in the contingency of a change of opinion from these maxims, the remedy is ever within reach, and the power of resignation precludes the possibility of dishonour.

With respect to the late ministers, with all their pretensions to ability, and one of their most unpopular characteristics was their assumption of a monopoly of talent, it appears impossible to vindicate them from a charge of weakness, without subjecting them to an imputation of a more serious nature. They were either not aware of the ground on which they stood with his majesty, on the interesting topic of the catholic bill, or they attempted to impose upon his confidence. Their fall from power excited no strong sensations in the public mind of triumph or regret. Several of their acts and efforts have been mentioned, in this review of events, in those terms of admiration which they were thought to merit, and on several of them even their most determined political opponents freely bestowed their approbation. Their opponents, however, were at least equally eloquent on topics of a very different character. Without adopting any of the violence of political invective and party triumph, it may not be improper to observe, that the arrogant claims advanced by the late ministers to something like a concentration of national property, respectability, and talent in themselves, were very fairly held up to popular ridicule or indignation. Their interference in the election of Hampshire, and other places, was not particularly creditable to those who had distinguished themselves for a long series of years as the advocates for free representation. Amidst their triumphant exposure of the negligences or profusion of their predecessors, they occasionally appeared more solicitous to acquire the fame than the merit of real œconomy. The large number of auditors and examiners of accounts, under various designations, with very considerable salaries, seemed more an affair of patronage than expediency. The announced intention to establish three hundred surveyors of taxes with considerable incomes; the appointment of a full suite of custom-house officers, in contemplation of the recapture of Buenos Ayres, an event which never actually occurred; the pen-

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sion of a convicted judge; the institution of that singular establishment a professorship of medical jurisprudence, were provisions more necessary to secure adherents than required for the public service. Inadequate attention to the affairs of the continent, on which it was at the same time admitted by them that a conflict was passing most interesting to Great Britain, as well as the civilized world at large, must also be imputed to them. Penurious remittances were substituted for those liberal supplies which the emergencies of the occasion required; and while the allies of England were straining every nerve against the most formidable adversary they ever encountered, British blood and treasure were applied to the common cause with a penury which excited the disgust of friends and the sarcasms of enemies. Their expeditions will be the subject of future observations.

Too much might possibly be expected from men who, during a long and energetic opposition, had displayed eminent abilities, and suggested comprehensive reforms, and pictured a most prosperous and happy state of the British empire, which must inevitably result from such plans as, it was intimated, they were fully competent to devise and accomplish. The glowing predictions of an opposition were, too credulously, expected by many on their attainment of power to be converted into substantial facts. It must be acknowledged, however, that not only over-wrought expectations were defeated, but that those which might be reasonably entertained were disappointed; that good was in a great degree counteracted by evil; that wisdom and imbecility seemed applied in almost equal proportions to the machinery of government; and that the termination of their power, which was observed with emotions of indifference, was scarcely entitled to those of regret.

After a period of suspense and agitation, such as must be expected to occur on so comprehensive a change, the names of the new ministers were announced on the twenty-fifth of March. The earl of Westmoreland became lord privy seal; and the duke of Portland first lord of the treasury. Mr. Canning, lord Hawkesbury, and lord Castlereagh were appointed secretaries, respectively, for foreign affairs, the home department, and war and colonies. Lord Eldon resumed the office of lord high chancellor. Mr. Perceval was made chancellor of the exchequer; lord Chatham master of the ordnance; lord Camden president of the council; and lord Mulgrave first lord of the admiralty. A trial between the newly appointed and the recent ministers speedily took place in the house of commons; previously to which the latter expressed themselves with the highest confidence of the superiority of numbers, but of which the event defeated their hopes, convincing them that power had quitted them with office. The majority, however, on the part of their successors was not by any means so great as their wish, and indeed their reasonable desire. The probability, therefore, of a dissolution of parliament was almost immediately held out by Mr. Canning, in the event of administration finding any impediment, from the number of their opponents, to the dispatch of business: and this menace was very soon afterwards carried into effect.

This proceeding was arraigned by the late possessors of authority in terms of no ordinary energy. It was denounced as impolitic, unconstitutional, and a mere wanton abuse of power. The inconveniences which many corporations and individuals must sustain in consequence of protracted business, and the renewal of processes which had been nearly terminated, were aggravated with all the force of exaggeration; and confusion and ruin were described as the almost inevitable consequences of trusting the affairs of government to men who had commenced their career by such a deed of mischief. Yet his majesty had only exercised the power indisputably vested in him by the constitution, and referred to the opinion of the people on the late transactions of his government. Such references, upon important charges, to ascertain the public feelings, are undoubtedly subjects of congratulation instead of censure; and one of the worst indications of the worst times in British history, was the indifference or aversion manifested by the throne to these appeals to the people. These intercourses between the crown and subject are eminently conciliating and beneficial. They must be considered as evincing a disposition on the part of the sovereign to attend to the general sentiment. In critical and momentous seasons, they will inevitably convince him of the necessity of this attention; and in the unforeseen possibility of a conflict, where it is desirable there should ever exist the most cordial attachment, will decide the victory where every friend to freedom must wish to see it rest. In addition to this, it may be remarked, that the persons now so loud in their invectives against a dissolution had themselves adopted the measure soon after their attainment of power, while parliament had a considerable remainder of its natural duration yet to run, and while their majority was ample, and equal to every reasonable demand. This ample majority was by no means yet at the command of their followers.—Obstacles might have been thrown in the way of public business. Surprises might have been effected; and incessant and nearly equal contests would have prevented that acquisition of public estimation and public confidence which are essential both to the happiness and the success of government. It was undoubtedly a serious inconvenience to those who are considered as independent members, that they should be so speedily called upon again to put in motion the expensive machinery of an election. It was no less seriously calamitous, though the case was certainly not so generally deplored, to others, who had recently purchased seats at an expense which they could ill afford, to be obliged to abandon their hard-earned distinctions, or to renew them by still more dreadful and nearly ruinous embarrassment. The evil of delayed business and increased expense to corporate bodies, and private persons, was also not inconsiderable; and the interruption of industry, and the licentiousness and mischief inevitably to be expected on such occasions, were not to be introduced for light and trifling causes. But the case involved only a choice of difficulties: and, had no dissolution occurred or been expected, the king would have been reduced to the alternative of restoring those persons to power whom he regarded as undeserving of his confidence, and

and whom there was every reason to presume a reference to the sentiments of the people would enable him to keep excluded. Every administration, moreover, naturally and wisely wishes to provide, within its full legal limits, for its own adherents, and to work as much as possible with its own instruments.

The endeavours on the part of the old administration, therefore, to agitate the public mind, were fruitless: those, however, of the new were not totally without success. The cry of the church being in danger, which was first started in parliament by Mr. Perceval, on the introduction of the catholic bill, and continued in his address to his constituents at Northampton, previously to his re-election after entering on office, was urged with inexpressibly more energy than truth, was eagerly adopted by many, who had more zeal than understanding; and by many others who were more interested than humane. There were even men of rank and education, whose apprehensions from popery, appeared equally lively with those which actuated the protestants in the reigns of Edward or Mary. Their terrified imagination set before them a renewal of the fires of Smithfield, and of all the mummeries and mischiefs, of all the intrigues and atrocities, which the history of former times has connected with the Romish religion; and no gratitude could be too great to those who had preserved this happy nation from the renovation of such horrors. Such cases, however, it must be acknowledged, were few; and far more occurred of persons in superior life, who, actually ridiculing the cry of danger, availed themselves of it for the purpose of popular inflammation. That ignorance which must almost necessarily exist in the lower classes of society, is connected with a susceptibility of fanaticism, which the zeal of the weak, or the insinuations of the artful, may kindle without difficulty. But the policy which can stoop to solicit the basest passions of the people, must deserve denunciation and abhorrence; and the man who sets fire to his dwelling, with a view to fraud or depredation, is not more criminal than such moral incendiaries. The caution held out in the royal speech, on the dissolution of parliament, with respect to popular irritation, was wisely introduced; and may be presumed to have been the suggestion of those less apprehensive of the dangers of popery, or more scrupulous about agitating the public mind on a subject upon which it had been often wound up to phrensy, than the chancellor of the exchequer. This, and the increased information and tolerance of the superior and middle classes of society, prevented any extensive injury from the application of so critical an engine of policy. The prudence of the clergy, as a body, on this occasion, deserves considerable commendation; and, had the pulpit repeated the cries of peril and alarm, the consequences might have resembled those which occurred in this metropolis in one of the most disgraceful periods of its annals.

At Bristol the populace were excited to a high pitch of resentment against one of their representatives who had voted with the late administration on the catholic bill. His election was, indeed, secured; but the ceremony of chairing commenced amidst the silence of disgust, and the gloom of malignant

irritation. These symptoms were speedily followed by the rudest expressions of abuse. After a very short interval the procession was interrupted by stones and brickbats, and the situation of the member and those who attended him became highly perilous. Instead of daring the full violence of an exasperated mob, by a continuance of the ceremony, it was deemed preferable to leave it incomplete; and, by a precipitate and skilful retreat, the full violence of these enraged devotees to protestantism, which would probably have terminated in some fatal catastrophe, was hapily avoided.

At Liverpool the tide of popularity ran strongly against Mr. Roscoe, whose success, in a previous and recent instance, afforded so high a gratification to all the lovers of learning and taste, of general respectability and enlarged humanity. The indications of public feeling announced that state of exasperation in which a contest of many days could not be presumed possible without circumstances accompanying it, at which every feeling heart, however alive to personal attachment, must shrink with horror. The fanaticism of the multitude appeared in full power, and ready for the summons of those who seemed too inclined to give it activity and scope, and little delicate with respect to any means that might ascertain their triumph. In such circumstances Mr. Roscoe withdrew his pretensions.

In Surrey lord John Russell was unable to carry his election. In Northumberland lord Howick, after representing this his native county for a series of twenty years, was obliged to resign his pretensions to a more opulent and a more popular candidate. In the city of London a decline of that interest which had formerly predominated for alderman Combe was strikingly observable. In addition to the four late representatives, alderman Hankey started as a new candidate, and with a prospect of success, which excited the strongest hopes and exertions. His exertions, indeed, were too great for his strength, and induced a complaint which, after a very rapid progress, carried him off in the midst of anticipated honour and triumph; furnishing a characteristic illustration of the pathetic remark of Mr. Burke, "What shadows we are, and what shadows we pursue!" The election of alderman Combe was thus secured: but he stood considerably the lowest upon the poll.

In Yorkshire the contest was carried on with unexampled vigour and expense. Mr. Fawkes, one of the late representatives, declined standing on the present occasion, alleging the state of the country to be such, that his exertions could be of little or no benefit: language which, in the very worst times, ill becomes the firm and enlightened patriot, whose grand and invariable maxim it should be never to despair of the commonwealth; and who should console himself with the hopes and observation of the immortal Milton, that no well-directed effort will be lost. In the present period, excelled by none in the history of the British empire for the security attaching to the most valuable rights and privileges, this tone of despondence is particularly undignified. Ingenuousness would, perhaps, have substituted a prudential reason for declining the contest, somewhat preferable to this of a fas-

a fastidious and overwrought sensibility of patriotism; nor could any individual have been blamed for avoiding a conflict in which, if he had met with what would have been denominated success, the means of comfortable independence, and family establishments, must have been extremely impaired, if not completely expended, to obtain his triumph.

On this subject Mr. Wilberforce entertained, and did not hesitate to acknowledge, very considerable apprehensions. He was determined not to expose himself to the imputation of endeavouring to render a seat in the house of commons subservient to the repair of a dilapidated fortune. Those who might consider his election, therefore, as an object of corresponding utility, were called upon by him, with honest and manly firmness, to supply the resources for the expense that must inevitably be incurred. A liberal subscription was accordingly instituted in Yorkshire, London, and other places, and a very considerable sum was thus raised. The other candidates were lord Milton and the honourable H. Lascelles. They were men of high respectability and opulent connections. The immediate relations of each had fixed their ambition so perseveringly upon success, as to anticipate the necessary absorption of immense property in the conflict. Notwithstanding the limitations of the Grenville act and the preclusion of that vast expenditure which used to attend the system of open houses, a hundred thousand pounds were calculated upon by each of these two candidates as requisite to defray the expense of conveying votes to the hustings: and this sum may, upon fair presumption, be concluded as not more than adequate to all demands. The political topics by which the elections in other places were affected had little or no influence on this. But a topic on which the large county of Yorkshire was particularly interested, decided the contest in favour of lord Milton. The progress which certain branches of machinery in the woollen business had made in the county, had excited great apprehensions among those manufacturers whose capital or prejudices prevented their adoption of those methods of abridging labour; and some proceedings had occurred in parliament, in which the representatives were inevitably called upon to deliver their opinions. Both Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Lascelles had rendered themselves unpopular by the part they took when the question was agitated; not hesitating to acknowledge themselves advocates for those mechanical improvements upon which domestic accommodation and foreign trade so materially depend. This error, in Mr. Wilberforce, appears to have been in a great measure redeemed by his long connection with the representation of the county, and by that general estimation throughout the kingdom which, on various accounts, attached to his character, and which would have thrown an imputation on the county that could dismiss a representative of such tried moderation and integrity; of such inflexible perseverance and disinterested humanity. With all the respectability attached to Mr. Lascelles, he did not occupy so commanding an eminence. He might, therefore, be more easily punished by the manufacturers of Yorkshire for his local delinquencies. Lord Milton had never been in circumstances to

require his committing himself on the subject. This was a circumstance of most decided advantage to his lordship. To the disgust excited by that correct performance of duty at which senators should ever aim, resulting at once from an enlightened mind and honest heart, the loss of the election, on the part of Mr. Lascelles, may justly be ascribed. The circumstance, however, most consoling under defeat is, in all cases, the possession of that merit which should have ensured success.

The Westminster election, generally so productive of interest and adventure, did not on this occasion vary from its usual character. On the rumour of a dissolution of parliament, Mr. Paull expressed his intention of standing as a candidate for this city. He was encouraged by the near approach to success which he had obtained in a former instance, and by the continuance of much of that popularity which had been the cause of it. At the particular request of this gentleman, sir Francis Burdett consented to be present at the day of election, and put him in nomination. Sir Francis himself, on the first annunciation of a dissolution, disclaimed, in an address to the electors of Middlesex, all intention of becoming a candidate for any seat in parliament. The situation of public affairs was considered by him as desperate.—The omnipotent means of corruption were, he said, in possession of the public spoiler. All parties were evidently struggling only for plunder. No syllable was whispered of the rights, welfare, and independence of the people; and every attempt to bring them forward, was stigmatized as treason. All struggle was, on these accounts, deemed vain by him; and he begged to decline all parliamentary exertion till the arrival of that period, which was rapidly approaching, when regeneration would be effected by corruption having exhausted the means of corruption. After this public notice, it was not perhaps with perfect consistency that sir Francis consented to interest himself in the election of any other person. He appears, indeed, to have been aware of the incongruity, and suffered himself to be involved in it only by the importunities of Mr. Paull, and the attention of particular regard and friendship. Mr. Paull, however, relying upon this esteem of the baronet, in an advertisement for a dinner, to be connected with arrangements respecting the choice or nomination of proper persons for the representation of Westminster, took the liberty of stating, that sir Francis would be in the chair. This, so far from being authorized by the latter, had not even been intimated to him. His surprise, therefore, at the appearance of such an advertisement, was very considerable; and his displeasure little inferior to his astonishment. He immediately communicated these feelings to Mr. Paull, by express. The notice, however, that sir Francis would preside at the dinner was repeated in the public papers on the ensuing day, and the advertisement appeared to sir Francis so drawn as to imply a dissembled wish of being elected to parliament, notwithstanding his professions to the contrary. The appearance of this advertisement was on the very day on which the dinner took place, and no alternative was left but to dispatch a confidential friend to the gentlemen assembled, to explain to them the circum-

circumstances of the case, Mr. Burdett Jones, therefore, was requested to proceed from Wimbledon to town with a letter to the meeting, in which sir Francis stated, that the advertisements alluded to were inserted without any communication with him, and should never have been published had he been furnished with the means of preventing them. Mr. Paull observed, that nothing could be further from his intention than to involve his friend in inconsistency, or to give him the slightest displeasure; that the principles of sir Francis were the guides of his political conduct; and that he conceived a faithful adherence to them, would lay the best claim he could advance to the support of the electors of Westminster. After the breaking up of the meeting, however, an advertisement was sent by him to the morning papers, stating, that sir Francis had consented to be present at the meeting at the Crown and Anchor. This statement, if correct, would undoubtedly mitigate the conduct of Mr. Paull, who might hastily consider the difference not very material to the baronet, whether he were in the chair or not. In consequence of the communication to the meeting made by Mr. Burdett Jones, Mr. Paull, notwithstanding the respectful terms in which he spoke at that meeting of sir Francis, and his disclaiming the least idea of hurting his feelings, after the breaking up of the party and making certain arrangements, went, in extreme agitation and at a very late hour, to Wimbledon. He arrived at about one or two in the morning, when sir Francis and his family had for some time retired to rest; and driving to the house, knocked up the servants, and communicated on paper to the baronet the cause of his visit, and the request of an explanation. What specifically passed in these circumstances, so calculated to aggravate rather than allay irritation, does not appear. The communication was carried on merely by notes, and, after a considerable period spent in the exchange of these, an appointment was at length made to meet, within a few hours, in a neighbouring wood, and adjust the business by an affair of honour. The meeting accordingly took place; sir Francis in the mean time having procured for his second captain Gawler. Mr. Paull was seconded by a Mr. Cooper, a gentleman but little known, and whose inexperience in affairs of this nature was connected on the present occasion with some blunders and negligences which excited no little ridicule. See p. 128 of Public Occurrences. To the principals, however, in the concern, the result of the business by no means wore an aspect of this description. The first fire having taken place without the smallest injury, Mr. Paull was questioned by captain Gawler whether he was satisfied, and answered in the negative; on which both parties fired again, and each shot took effect, Mr. Paull being wounded in the leg, and sir Francis in the thigh. The fever and confinement occasioned to both were of long duration, and the situation of Mr. Paull, in particular, was considered by his medical attendants as extremely critical. Although the public were destitute of means to form a clear and full estimate of the conduct of the parties, from what actually transpired, from appearances striking and impressive they almost unanimously agreed in censuring

Mr. Paull for indecorum and brutality; to which some, in allusion to his second fire in the field, did not scruple to add the spirit of malignity and revenge. In consequence of this general feeling, the estimation in which he had been previously held by many was completely destroyed. From being considered by them the man of liberal sentiments and ingenuous purposes, as a pillar of the state, and a regenerator of the constitution, he sunk into an object of general aversion, or, what was equally fatal to the grand aim of his ambition, into decided insignificance. And though, in opposition to the request of those few who still adhered to him, after his being abandoned by the public and his own committees, he persevered in not withdrawing his pretensions as a candidate for Westminster, the number of votes which he obtained formed a miserable contrast to that state of the poll which the last election had enabled him to exhibit.

While Mr. Paull was thus oppressed not merely by the anguish of his wound, but by the more torturing retrospect of impaired estimation and blasted hopes, Mr. Horne Tooke published two letters to the electors of Westminster, in which he advanced against Mr. Paull an imputation of the most sordid and atrocious crimes. He stated that the grand object of Mr. Paull in connecting sir Francis's name with his own, in the election for Westminster, had been to induce the baronet to make a common cause with him, and in the expectation of deriving a full supply of those pecuniary demands with which a contest for that city is necessarily attended; that, being baffled in this design, his vengeance had prompted him to take away the life of his benefactor; that two attempts for this purpose had not abated the spirit of revenge, and that he still looked forward with malignant exultation to the period in which it would be completely gratified. These letters appeared to many written with a coarseness of language, an asperity of manner, and a destitution of feeling, by no means creditable to their author. Sir Francis was extolled as a man superior to every other. Mr. Paull was described as one who had always appeared, to the writer, a man of dark designs, and an unsafe depository of friendship; as a man whom he had rather tolerated than esteemed; as one who had partaken of the author's convivialities, rather in consequence of impertinent intrusion than regular invitation; a statement extremely inconsistent with certain letters said to have been written by Mr. Tooke to Mr. Paull himself, which were published by the friends of the latter in his vindication.

While Mr. Paull was thus exhibiting an instance of the fatal effects attendant on disingenuousness and precipitancy, of the want of that good sense in the conduct of life which is far preferable to the possession even of the most distinguished talents, the torrent of popularity flowed with a rapid and increasing course in behalf of sir Francis. The errors of his political life seemed absorbed by those recent circumstances in which he appeared as the injured benefactor, as a man who had been embarrassed by his kindnesses and endangered by his friendships, and whose life had nearly been the forfeit of his virtues. In the course of a few days after the commencement of the poll, his name was attended with

with such a number of votes as placed him beyond all the efforts of competition. Of the other candidates, Mr. Elliot persevered for a considerable time without being able once to obtain a hearing; and seeing, at length, nearly an impossibility of success, though he had polled a great number of votes, retired from the conflict. This now rested between Mr. Sheridan and lord Cochrane, the latter of whom had the start on the canvass, and was exerting himself with extreme activity before the prudence of Mr. Sheridan would permit him to decide upon being put in nomination. Thus, a vast number of votes which would have been given to Mr. Sheridan, had he decidedly stood forward at an early stage, were engaged by lord Cochrane. The vulgarity of language which marked his lordship's addresses from the hustings, was a striking feature in the proceedings of this period of agitation. It seems to have been thought that no expressions could be too coarse for such an audience, that no metaphor could have been deemed unseemly, and no profaneness indecorous; and it was at once a novel and an edifying spectacle, to observe a Covent Garden populace lecturing a noble lord into purity and decency of language. In the course of his diurnal addresses, his lordship, also, repeatedly took the liberty of remarking with the severest reprehension upon the naval administration of lord St. Vincent, and of stating what he termed facts, reflecting in the highest degree on the character of the noble earl. This singular attempt to convert an election mob into a tribunal of impeachment, in which, however, no opportunity existed to the defendant of repelling the charge, was regarded as highly unbecoming; and after some manly and liberal suggestions of Mr. Sheridan, this proceeding was at length abandoned. Notwithstanding these improprieties, however, his lordship's interest appeared firmly established from the beginning of the contest, and the valour and success of his exertions against the common enemy seemed to operate as more than a balance to his indiscretions. Mr. Sheridan began, as already intimated, under extreme discouragement, which, for many days, met with only slight alleviation. To those who, lamenting the irregularities of this gentleman's private conduct, have been accustomed to admire his elegant taste, his brilliant wit, and above all that inflexible patriotism from which no temptations of poverty have induced him to swerve, and which, in moments of national danger, has led him to break the ties of party, that he might exert himself with full scope and energy for the salvation of the state; it was not a little grating to persons of this description to see preferred to him, men either of ordinary talents, or untried principles, or indiscreet ardour. In the progress of the election this sentiment of regret considerably extended; and, during the closing days of the contest, the advances made by him were such as to show that the public were still alive to his political merits, and to excite even some faint hope of his success. Though the votes of Mr. Elliot were by no means inconsiderable in number, Mr. Sheridan stood third upon the poll; a circumstance which, towards the conclusion of the conflict, became the sole object of the exertions of his friends, as he thus obtained a prospect,

spect, on any legal impediment being proved to the return of lord Cochrane, (which was thought by no means impracticable,) of attaining that distinction which was the fair object of his ambition.

Sir Francis Burdett and lord Cochrane, having been returned by the high bailiff, the chairing of his lordship immediately took place. That of sir Francis was necessarily reserved for a future period, as he was at the time of the election closely confined to his apartment from the effects of the late duel. As his election also had taken place in very peculiar circumstances, (he never having exhibited himself as a candidate, and being in fact for several days after the commencement of the poll ignorant even of his nomination, in consequence of the advice of the faculty attending him,) it was thought proper to celebrate so singular an election with peculiar distinction; and some time subsequently, this celebration actually took place. See Public Occurrences, p. 158.

Of the late ministry, Mr. T. Grenville was the only commoner in the cabinet who resumed his situation for the place which he had previously represented. Mr. Windham declined standing for Norfolk. Lord Henry Petty was unsuccessful at Cambridge, and lord Howick found it prudent to withdraw his pretensions from Northumberland. Indeed the object intended by the new ministers in the dissolution appeared to be effectually gained. They acquired that accumulation of power which prevented any impediment of their measures, and gave them that command and confidence, without which it is impossible for any administration to secure public estimation, or dispatch of business.

During the short session which followed, mutual recrimination took place between the parties without any particular circumstances to excite interest. No attempt was omitted by ministers to mitigate the inconvenience necessarily incurred by the late interruption of public business, and in a short period these were found by no means so embarrassing or extensive as was originally apprehended. After various vehement debates, and an assiduous attention to business, the particulars of which are related in another part of this volume, the session closed and ministers, relieved from that attendance on the house, were at liberty to apply more fully to the offices of their respective departments.

CHAPTER IX.

Affairs of the Continent—Exertions of the Emperor of Russia after the Battle of Pultusk—Reinforcements of the French Army—War in Silesia—Prince of Pless appointed Governor of that Province—Superseded by Baron Kleist—Courage and Loyalty of the Governor and Troops—Provisionary Government of Poland—State of Austria—Attack of the French by the Russians—Battle of Mohrungen—Battle of Eylau—Its indecisive Result—Siege of Dantzic—Its Bombardment—Three Attempts to storm it—Efforts for its Relief—Its Surrender—State of the War in Pomerania—Stralsund invested—Sorties of the Swedes—Their Success and Indiscretion—Their Defeat—Armistice—Resolution of the King to conduct the War in Person—His singular Conference with Marshal Brune—His Preparations for active Hostility—State of the Turkish War—Grounds of it against Russia—Successes of the Russians—Ineffectual Attempt of the English—Success of the Servians—Army of the Grand Vizier—Its Insubordination—Blockade of the Black Sea and the Dardanelles—Distress of Constantinople—Disgust of the Janizaries—Their Mutiny and Rebellion—Dethronement of Selim—Total Defeat of the Turkish Fleet—Dangers of the Turkish Empire—State of the Grand Armies after the Battle of Eylau, and during the Siege of Dantzic—Caution of Bonaparte—Attack on the French by the Russians—Loss of Gutstadt and Liebstadt by the French—These Positions recovered—Retreat of the Russians—Battle of Friedland—Loss and Rout of the Russians—Evacuation of Koningsberg—Retreat to Tilsit—Armistice—Imperial Interviews on the Niemen—Treaty of Peace between France and Prussia—Treaty between France and Russia.

THE battle of Pultusk, which took place between the French and Russian armies on the 26th of December, and which was described in the French bulletins as most decisively favourable to Bonaparte, terminating in the loss of upwards of ten thousand of the enemy, and their retreat through a vast extent of country, was represented by the Russians in a totally different light. In a dispatch of general Benningsen to the king of Prussia at Koningsberg, that officer states, that, in an attack made upon him by general Juchet, with a force of fifty thousand men, the enemy were repulsed, and lost according to their own admission five thousand men: that general Kamenskoy's having departed on the morning of that day for Ostrolenka, leaving the command of the army to him, had given him the good fortune of thus beating the enemy; that the non-arrival of general Buxhovden, who had been so long expected, had prevented him from following up his victory; and that, although the total want of forage and provisions had obliged him to retreat to Kozaw, he had not been molested in his retreat by the enemy. General Benningsen's dispatch, however was strongly animadverted upon in the official reports of the French, who, from a comparison of circum-

circumstances, must, certainly, be supposed to have enjoyed the advantages, though they may easily be conceived to have overstated it.

A suspension of warlike operation existed for some time after the battle, arising from the difficulty of procuring supplies, and the state of the country at this season of the year. Vigilance and preparation, however, were on both sides connected with this state of comparative quiescence; and no means were omitted by them to qualify themselves for those grand shocks, to which Europe now looked with painful suspense for the decision of its fate.

The approach of the French to the dominions of Russia, which had long beheld the war desolating other countries while its own had been deemed invulnerable, excited in the government that reasonable apprehension which suggested the discussion of the most efficacious means of protection. A general armament was ordered by the emperor of Russia to be raised in a certain proportion to the existing population, according to which the force to be levied would amount to upwards of 600,000 men, who were on any requisite emergency to be ready to support the regular troops of the empire. This plan was however wisely suggested and admirably calculated for its double purpose, to supply the waste of battles beyond the frontiers of the country, and to render any attempt at making an impression on Russia itself a matter highly critical on the part of the enemy that should attempt it, and connected with the bare possibility of ultimate success.

The levies on paper were far from precluding the actual arrival of new additions of strength to the Russian general; nor was Bonaparte by any means less attentive to the arrangements required by his situation. Recruits were perpetually sent off from the interior of France to the seat of war, and an anticipated conscription for the ensuing year was put in requisition, immediatly to be trained and disciplined in readiness, though not immediately to be marched to the theatre of war.

In the mean while prince Jerome was successfully conducting the operations of the war in Silesia. The proclamation of the king of Prussia to the brave inhabitants of this province, though by no means attended with those results which had been fondly expected, was not wholly inefficient. By the exertions of the prince of Pless, who had been appointed to the government of the province, a considerable corps was collected from the troops stationed in the various fortresses, which appear to have derived some increase of force from the zeal and attachment of the people at large. The troops of the kings of Wurtemberg and Bavaria were employed, under prince Jerome, to reduce them, and about the beginning of the year inflicted on them a severe defeat. After this event, the best mode of disposing of the greater part of his army appeared to the prince of Pless to be their rapid dispersion, by detachments, into different fortresses; a plan which was immediately adopted by him, abandoning to the enemy some of his artillery and a considerable quantity of his baggage. On the 8th of January the city of Breslaw, which had been for some time regularly besieged, surrendered to the enemy, who had begun to batter in breach. Its magazines were considerable, and its garrison defiled

before prince Jerome five thousand five hundred men, his prisoners of war. The other fortresses in Silesia were speedily invested. Brieg capitulated in a short time, Schwiednitz soon followed the example. The prince of Pless, who, with the comparatively small portion of troops he had retained under his command, was driven from the positions of Frankenstein and Neurohde by general Le Febvre, took refuge in Glatz, and was soon afterwards suspended in the command by baron Kleist. The activity and energy of the new commander kept all the troops under prince Jerome in sufficient employ. An attempt was made under the direction of the baron to surprise and retake Breslaw, and, in consequence of the cowardice of a detachment of Saxons, who were ordered, together with a Bavarian force, to counteract the attempt, it had nearly succeeded. The siege of Niesse, before which prince Jerome was encamped, occupied a very considerable time; and although this and the other fortresses were at length forced to a capitulation, the bravery and perseverance of the troops and commanders employed in their defence, did no little credit to their loyalty and firmness. By their prolonged exertions in the defence of these places an object highly desirable was effected, the detention of a great body of force from joining the immense mass of the enemy in Poland, and a striking contrast was exhibited to that precipitation and baseness with which, in other provinces of the unfortunate Prussian monarch, fortresses impregnable from their situation, and furnished with means of protracted defence, and even for considerable annoyance to a besieging enemy, had been surrendered almost upon the first summons.

While Silesia was thus in a state which must ensure its reduction, unless the fortune of war should exhibit a most important reverse on the principal theatre of hostility, Bonaparte was employed in prosecuting the sieges of Stralsund, Colberg and Dantzic, the possession of which last particularly he justly deemed of extreme consequence. The idea of the restoration of the kingdom of Poland was apparently abandoned. Whether it was that, having been repeatedly deceived by sovereigns, their pledges were no longer received by the inhabitants of this country with any confidence; whether policy was speedily found to require the renunciation of a project by Bonaparte which he really had intended to accomplish; or, whether the boasted constitution of Poland had no hold on the poor man's heart to nerve his hand for its recovery; it sufficiently appears that few of the Poles contributed to increase the French armies; and that, for the restoration of Poland in its former integrity, was substituted a government of the Prussian districts of it, accompanied with no specious pretensions to liberty and independence, though judiciously enough contrived as a provisional administration.

The representations of Austria, whose military establishments were now on a footing of high respectability, could not, it may be presumed, be safely neglected. She had a formidable army in Gallicia convertible to the emergency of circumstances, and capable of almost indefinite increase from the existing regularity, œconomy, and resources of her establishments. In the

the situation of Bonaparte the interposition of this force might be supposed capable, not merely of preventing the reestablishment of the monarchy of Poland, but of cutting off his return to France, and thus subverting for ever the fabric of ambition which he had been so many years in raising. But the perils, and labours, the achievements and glories of so long a period, were not thus rashly to be ventured for an enterprise of trifling importance to him. Nor, indeed, with respect to the Poles themselves, if the restoration, merely, of what they had possessed had been actually accomplished for them, would their situation have derived from it that improvement which many fondly imagined. The enthusiasm of the poet has given an interest and embellishment to the topic of Polish freedom, amidst the captivation of which we forget, for a moment, the facts of history. By a reference from the page of fancy to that of truth, the charm is instantly dissolved. In no period of the annals of the Poles, has the blood of freemen circulated in their frame. The dominant power had consisted in a rank oligarchy, trampling equally upon the throne and the people, productive of endless local conflicts, and periodical national convulsions, in the course of which the cultivators of the soil were scarcely more respected than the brute companions of their labours. This was the substituted system for that sacred freedom, which, wherever it prevails, glows in the heart and kindles in the eye of its votaries, and, with an energy never exhibited by that long depressed and abject nation, consumes every impediment in the way to independence and glory. Even the improvements projected and adopted by the constitution, which was prevented from establishment by the interposition of three of the regular governments of Europe, (who thus disgracefully exhibited a precedent for those revolutionary violences, which they have since so bitterly inveighed against, and so sincerely deplored;) were, with respect to the mass of Polish population, merely mitigations of slavery. The establishment of these was scarcely an object sufficient to compensate, in the estimation of the lower classes of this nation, for the difficulties and dangers which might occur in its attainment. Indeed the habit of bondage has probably produced in them a supine acquiescense in its pressure; and it would be with extreme difficulty only, that they could be induced to rouse themselves to shake off a load, which, in consequence of having perpetually borne it, they have almost ceased to perceive.

The apprehension which Austria might entertain on this subject, naturally so interesting to her, was thus effectually allayed, and her hostility precluded, by the sacrifice, on the part of the French emperor, of an object which, perhaps, in fact, he never intended to accomplish, and started merely with a view to conciliate the inhabitants of a country in which he might be critically situated, or to facilitate recruits and supplies to his army, and afterwards to make a merit of the concession of it to the representations of a friendly power. And though for the detention of Brennau some allegation was perpetually alleged, more specious than sincere; or rather, indeed, less calculated to impose upon the Austrian cabinet than to preserve the appearances of decorum;

rum; this detention, leading as it must to some degree of irritation, was thought proper to be overlooked. In the situation of Bonaparte, some pledge for the neutrality of Austria must have been admitted to be highly important to him, and political expediency, probably, was considered as palliating conduct, which, in common times would have admitted of no mitigation. On the subject of Austria it may be further observed, that the exertions of the archduke Charles, in his chief military superintendence of the empire, were incessant and invaluable. Those whose conclusions were generally directed by their wishes, and whose wishes were ardent for the subversion of that colossal power which now threatened to bestride the European continent, eagerly inferred that these exertions on the part of Austria were intended for something more than to cause her neutrality to be respected. After encouraging Bonaparte by hollow professions to penetrate deeply into a hostile country, when the Russian sword, a rigorous climate, and wasting disease should have thinned his legions, this, it was presumed, Austria contemplated as the moment in which she might retrieve all her losses, and in which she intended to execute her vengeance. This was the alleged object of her preparations, and every rumour of reverse to Bonaparte was followed by another circulated with equal confidence, that the emperor Francis was coming forward to complete the triumph. What might have been the result of such reverses as those alluded to, and how far they might have induced the Austrian government to deviate from its neutrality, it is impossible to determine. The secrets of cabinets are explored with difficulty, and their mere professions of attachment are certainly little to be relied upon. Austria, however, had felt what it was to fall under the weight of the energies of France. She might, at the same time, not bear so strong a spirit of revenge and antipathy as was imagined against an enemy, who, after overrunning her provinces and capital, by no means inflicted the extremity of vengeance, and, though he detained much of his conquest, also restored much which he could never have been compelled to abandon. She was, moreover, aware of the benefit to be derived from preserving the relations of peace and friendship, with a government which had power to bestow rewards proportioned to its attachments, and seemed on some occasions to pride itself in that wise policy, which liberally bestows recompenses and honours upon those, who, whether by active cooperation, or by neutrality, have considerably aided its designs. In addition to all these considerations, the ancient disgusts between the Austrian and Prussian states and governments must have been still extremely operative; and to this feeling, of almost inborn origin, was added by Austria that retrospect of events, in the course of which she had been sacrificed to the timid policy, or, rather, the grovelling interest, of the king of Prussia. It was not easy to pardon the facility with which that monarch was detained from joining in the contest for the extrication of Europe, by disgraceful barter with the enemy. The meanness of his treachery; the unblushing complacency with which he contemplated the price of his dishonour; the cold-blooded malignity with which

which he appeared even half to enjoy the overthrow of a power, which both pledges and policy bound him to preclude, if possible, from this catastrophe, were but weak pretensions to the interference of Austria to rescue him from his existing humiliation. She could feel no extreme inducement to rely on one by whom she had been so basely deceived, or to return kindness for accumulated and insulting injuries. His present distresses might, not unnaturally, be deemed the just reward of his perfidy. Bonaparte, therefore, whose knowledge of human nature is little inferior to his military skill, might feel himself tolerably easy with respect to the designs of Austria, although prudence required her motions to be observed with that vigilance which is alive to contingencies; and, in fact, she appeared steady in her purposes, and in the course of the campaign took no measures that could reasonably excite offence or alarm.

From the battle of the 26th of December, nothing material occurred between the hostile armies before the 25th of January. The French troops were in cantonments. The emperor was at Warsaw regulating every process necessary for their supply with magazines and provisions, and diffusing order and animation from this point of his residence through every department of his government, relating both to the interior of France and the operations of war. The prince of Ponte Corvo had taken possession of Elbing, and the country situated on the borders of the Baltic. Being informed that a Russian column had gone to Liebstadt beyond the Passarge, and had made prisoners of a party at the advanced posts of the cantonments, he immediately quitted Elbing, and arrived at Mohrungen just as the general of brigade Picton was attacked by the Russians. A village, defended by three Russian battalions, supported by three others, was immediately ordered by the marshal to be attacked, and the contest which ensued was extremely sharp. The eagle of the ninth regiment of French infantry was taken by the Russians, who at this period of the conflict had the prospect of obtaining a most brilliant victory. The sense of disgrace, however, in which the final loss of their standard would have involved the French regiment, produced exertions which gave a turn to the fortune of the day in this part of the field. They precipitated themselves, with inconceivable ardour, on the Russians, who were unable to resist the shock, and, in the rout which ensued, were obliged to abandon the eagle which they had taken. During this transaction in one part of the field the French line was formed, and attacked that of the Russians, which was advantageously posted on an eminence. The fire of the musquetry was at point blank distance, and the firmness and vigour of the action for a considerable time rendered the result highly dubious; when general Dupont suddenly appeared and took part in the engagement. The right wing of the Russians was turned by him, and the impetuosity of the attack of the 32d regiment upon them was irresistible. The Russians were obliged to fly, and were followed till the advance of night put an end to the pursuit. Several howitzers were left by them upon the field of battle, with about 1200 dead and wounded, and 300 were made prisoners of war.

About

About the close of January, Bonaparte quitted Warsaw and joined his army; he formed the corps of marshal Ney in order of battle, on the left, that of Soult on the right, and that of Augereau in the centre, the imperial guard constituting the reserve. Gutstadt was the centre of the Russian magazines; and orders were given to marshal Soult to march towards it, and make himself master of the bridge of Bergfried, with a view of taking the Russians in the rear, and cutting off their retreat. General Guyot was accordingly dispatched with the light cavalry to Gutstadt, where a great part of the Russian baggage and 1600 prisoners were taken.—The bridge was the object of attack, undert he marshal's own inspection; and the importance of its possession by the Russians being well understood by them, twelve of their best battalions were appointed to defend it: the conflict was, of course, obstinate and bloody, but terminated in the rout of the Russian battalions, leaving behind them four pieces of cannon and a very considerable number of dead and wounded. Marshal Ney, in the mean time, made himself master of a wood, which covered the right wing of the enemy. An important position was gained also by the division of St. Hilaire; and several squadrons of dragoons, under the duke of Berg, cleared the plain of the Russians in front. In these circumstances (the Russians repeatedly changing their ground, either driven from their positions, or retreating, with a view to more advantageous ones) night came on, the armies being still within a small distance of each other: at break of day, however, it was ascertained that the Russians had availed themselves of the darkness to retreat still further. On the ensuing day the different corps of the duke of Berg, Soult, Davoust, and Ney, were early on their march towards Landsberg, Heilsburg, and Wormdit, to prevent the retreat to Deppen of the Russian corps which had been cut off. The grand duke soon came up with the rear of the Russians, and attacked them between Glandau and Hoff; their front seemed to support their rear, posted upon the heights of Landsberg; their right and left wings were formed on a circular eminence, and in a wood, and were several times ineffectually attacked; after which a destructive charge was made by the division of general Hautpoult, by which two regiments of Russian infantry were nearly all destroyed or taken, together with their cannon and colours. The body of the Russian army was immediately in motion to succour its rear; but their exertions were incapable of preventing the enemy from possessing themselves of Hoffe, a place of such importance that ten battalions were appointed, by the Russian commander, to retake it; these were prevented from accomplishing their purpose, by a second charge under the orders of the grand duke, by which the Russian battalions were not only disappointed in their views, but experienced, also, a dreadful diminution of their numbers.

These contests occurred early in the month of February, and the evening of the 6th came on while both armies were in the presence of each other: during the night the Russians resumed their retreat, and took up their position behind Eylau. At a short distance from this place there is a flat eminence which commands the entrance into the town, and which it was deemed

necessary, therefore, by the French emperor to gain. The Russian troops in possession of it were put into considerable confusion, by an attack made for this purpose under the direction of marshal Soult; but, by a well timed and admirably conducted charge from a body of the Russian cavalry, some of the French battalions, thus employed, were completely thrown into disorder. During this vicissitude of fortune, attended with an important struggle, the result of which was the continued possession of the eminence by the Russians, the troops came to action in Eylau.—Several regiments had been posted in a church and church yard, which were maintained by the Russians with extraordinary pertinacity, occasioning, on both sides, the most dreadful carnage, till about ten at night, when they were abandoned to the French. The division of Le Grand passed the night in front of the village; that of St. Hilaire was on the right; Augereau was posted on the left; the corps of Davoust began its march early on the ensuing morning, of the eighth, beyond Eylau, with a view to fall on the left of the Russians, while that of Ney was on its march to outflank them on the right. At day-break on the eighth the attack commenced, on the part of the Russians, by a cannonade on the division of St. Hilaire. Bonaparte commanded in person, at Eylau, during this eventful period, and stationed himself at the church which had been so obstinately defended the preceding day, whence he gave orders for the corps of Augereau to advance, and cannonade the eminence which had been before unsuccessfully attempted, with forty pieces of cannon belonging to the imperial guard. The Russian army was formed in columns, and only at the distance of half cannon shot; every ball, therefore, was attended with effect. To terminate the carnage occasioned by this dreadful cannonade, the Russians attempted to surround the left wing of the enemy. The corps under Davoust were, at this moment, perceived by the Russian commander in a situation highly favourable to an attack, and were in danger of being fallen upon by the whole force of the Russian army: to prevent this, Augereau advanced in columns across the plain, to attack the centre of the Russians, and thus to divide their attention. The division of St. Hilaire approached on the right, and was endeavouring to form a junction with Augereau on the plain; during the manœuvres necessary for this object, a thick fall of snow intercepted the view of the French divisions; their point of direction was lost; the columns deviated to the left, and were exposed, for a considerable time, to extreme uncertainty and danger. On the conclusion of the storm, which lasted for more than half an hour, the grand duke of Berg immediately perceived the destruction to which the columns were exposed, and from which nothing but the boldest manœuvre could rescue them; at the head of his cavalry he instantly advanced, with marshal Bessieres and the imperial guard, to the support of St. Hilaire's division, and attacked the main body of the Russians: by this vigorous and unexpected movement, the Russians were thrown into disorder, and sustained the most dreadful slaughter; two of their lines were penetrated, and the third was preserved entire only in consequence of its being supported by a wood. This splendid and successful

successful operation, however, was by no means decisive; the Russian army contended with a firmness and perseverance which rendered the contest long doubtful:—during three hours, three hundred pieces of cannon were scattering death on this scene of conflict and horror.—The brilliant achievement of the duke of Berg served only to keep the fate of the day suspended, and prevent its termination at the time, in favour of the Russians, instead of deciding it positively for the French. The success of marshal Davoust at length made the scale completely preponderate on the side of the French army: his march was retarded by several falls of snow, and the junction of his columns proved an affair of extreme difficulty; but, at length, he was enabled to outflank the Russians, and gain possession of the level height. This possession was disputed with all the vigour and ardour of military combat. After the Russians were obliged, in the first instance, notwithstanding exertions of uncommon energy to abandon it, they attempted to recover it with a vehemence bordering upon rage and a perseverance approaching to desperation. Their reiterated attempts, however, were found ineffectual. They were compelled, finally, to leave it with the enemy, and to secure as orderly a retreat as possible.

This appears to have been one of the most vigorous and obstinately-contested battles in the history of the present war. It was celebrated at Warsaw and Paris, with all the usual accompaniments of triumph, and the losses of the Russians were stated at the immense amount of 20 generals, 900 officers, and 30,000 men killed, wounded, and taken. Their own loss, however, was admitted by the French to be considerable, and general Dohlman was killed in the field, and general Hautpoult died of his wounds. That the victory rested with the French can scarcely be doubted, as the possession of the town, and of the eminence which commanded it, remained indisputably with them, and they continued on the field of battle for some days after the Russians had found it expedient to retreat behind the river Pregel. That the victory, however, was, in their own language, dearly obtained, is equally clear; and that no considerable permanent or immediate advantage resulted from their success may be presumed, as, instead of passing the Pregel in pursuit of a routed enemy, and instead of pushing on to Koningsberg, (which, in a moment of incorrect prophecy, Berthier informed the empress Josephine that the French army would reach on the morrow,) they were content to retrace their steps to their former cantonments, and to defy the enemy again to disturb them in their winter quarters.

The havoc resulting to both armies from this sanguinary contest occasioned great exertions to be made for reinforcements. The emperor Alexander and the archduke Constantine not long after joined the Russian army with upwards of sixty thousand troops; and the efforts of Napoleon, to repair his loss and accumulate a force fully equal to the great struggle which still remained, were unremitting; the greater part of the eighth corps of the grand army, which had been employed under general Mortier in the north of Germany, was ordered to march to the more critical theatre of hostility; and from the different recruiting stations

throughout France and the conquered countries, multitudes were repeatedly sent off to join the imperial standard on the Vistula.—It appears, as already intimated, to have been the expectation of Bonaparte that his arrangements, previously to the battle of Eylau, would have secured to him the possession of Koningsberg: this anticipation, however, being by no means verified, he adopted the plan of caution and prudence, and bent his efforts particularly, now, to the reduction of Dantzic. This place had, for some time, been invested, but the siege was now urged with extreme pressure and perseverance. The garrison consisted of 16,000 men, under the command of the Prussian general Kalkreuth, an officer of tried loyalty and skill.—The difficulties attending the besiegers, from the nature of the ground, so easily inundated, were far from inconsiderable; the battering train was obliged to be conveyed from Stettin and the fortresses of Silesia, along roads in the most complete want of repair. These difficulties, however, and the storms and rigours of the season, were incapable of furnishing any effectual interruption. The troops who surrounded the place consisted, in a great degree, of the auxiliaries of France, of different prejudices, habits, and languages, but whose efforts, under the direction of marshal Le Febvre, were effectually combined by a happy union of encouragement and discipline, and who, in repelling the sorties of the besieged, and in advancing the progress of the works, displayed astonishing alacrity and perseverance. The exertions of the commander of the fortress were, on the other hand, no less striking and meritorious; his vigilance and energy, in this situation of high responsibility, were in incessant operation. Nothing was neglected which could contribute to the means of defence, or to the annoyance of the enemy. The destruction of the suburbs being unfortunately found requisite, in the system of his arrangements, it was accordingly resolved upon and effected: various sorties were made by him, which generally terminated unfavourably to the enemy, obliging them to renew works which they had nearly completed. The destruction of lives occasioned to them, likewise, by these vigorous attempts was considerable, and far greater than what was sustained by the assailants.—On the 24th of April the bombardment began. On the night of the 29th, marshal Le Febvre having concluded the garrison to be sufficiently weakened, and the fortifications so much impaired as to justify the attempt, ordered the storming of the fortress. The governor, however, was well prepared to resist the assailants, whose stratagems were unable to deceive him with respect to the real point of attack, and repelled the effort made by the enemy, with the most dreadful carnage. This overthrow was far from preventing a renewal of the enterprise, and no less than three separate attempts were made on this fatal night to get possession of the citadel. The skill of the commander, however, and the exertions of the garrison, completely defeated each: after the loss of an immense number of lives the attempt was abandoned, and the assailants were obliged to take shelter under the cover of their works.—An armistice of four hours was soon after agreed upon by the hostile commanders, and the work of destruction was suspended by a solemn

solemn pause for the burial of the dead.

The struggles of the garrison were not viewed with unconcern by the commanders of the allied armies. A council of war was held in the Russian camp, with a view to their relief. The most eligible of several plans proposed for this purpose, was concluded to be an attempt by water. Lieutenant-general Kamenskoi, son of the late commander, in consequence, embarked at Pillau, with twelve Russian and several Polish regiments, and landed in the port of Dantzic on the 12th of May, under the protection of the fort of Weichselmunde. Marshal Lasnes was immediately ordered by Bonaparte, on his first intelligence of this plan, to advance from Marienburg with the division of general Oudinot, and reinforce the army of Le Febvre, and, just as the Russians were landing, this reinforcement arrived after a hasty and unremitted march. On the 15th the Russians advanced in three columns, from the fortress towards the town, from which they were not more than one league distant. The space between, however, was now occupied by a sufficient number of the enemy's troops, not merely to prevent the success of this attempt, but to throw the whole of the Russian line and reserve into confusion, and to shut them up within the fort, after cutting off between 2 and 3000 in killed, wounded, and taken. The commander and garrison of Dantzic, who had viewed with the most animated hope the arrival of the expedition, were witnesses from their impaired ramparts to all the circumstances of its failure. Another attempt was made by a corps of six thousand Prussians from Konigsberg, who landed at Nehrung, and advanced to the extremity of the Frische Haff, intending, apparently, to penetrate thence to Dantzic;—an enterprise, however, which they found exposed to insurmountable difficulty, and which they were obliged to abandon after incurring the loss of four pieces of cannon and a great number of men.

The moment was now therefore rapidly approaching in which all the valour and exertions of the garrison would be unable to prevent the success of the French. Nearly a thousand houses had been destroyed in the town, and the distress of the inhabitants was extreme. The troops were exhausted by a series of efforts, interrupted only by short periods of repose, and were not only thinned in numbers, but scarcely able to support any longer those privations and difficulties which daily increased; while their means of sustaining them were daily diminished. The works of the enemy were, in the mean time, proceeding with rapidity;—the covered way was now completed;—the preparations for passing the fosse were finished;—on the 21st of May every thing was prepared for the assault, when general Kalkreuth intimated to the French commander that he was willing to capitulate on the same conditions as he had himself formerly granted to the garrison of Mayence. This proposition was acceded to without hesitation, as it was obvious that delay might yet be interposed were this honourable capitulation refused, and that difficulties were presented to the attack, which could not be overcome but with the loss of many valuable lives. On the 27th of May the garrison, reduced from 16,000 to 9,000, with their general at their head, marched out of the fortifica-

tions with all the honours of war, and were permitted to go where their inclination and convenience dictated; on engaging not to serve against France for the ensuing twelve months.

Dantzic, at the time of its surrender, possessed eight hundred pieces of artillery, and magazines and stores of every kind. It abounded in grain, cloth, spices, and resources of every description for the conquering army. Its principal advantage, however, to the conqueror, lay in its constituting a place of the first order for strength on the left wing of the grand army, while the centre was supported by Thorn, and the right by Praga.

But it is time to advert, for a moment, to other incidents of the extended and destructive hostility in which Europe was now involved. The operations of the 8th corps of the grand army, in the north of Germany, under general Mortier, must be fully recollected:—their exactions and depredations on the devoted towns and territories of this country, left indelible horror on the minds of the unresisting inhabitants; the opulence of the few, and the comforts of the many, were swept away by the rapacity of the unrelenting spoiler, while the ruin and despair of unoffending individuals were contemplated, in many cases, by the instruments of these horrors, with a pity which would willingly have palliated the evils they were commissioned to inflict; but they trembled, lest their compassion should be represented as treason. After a system of violence and rapine had been sufficiently organized to proceed with little military impulse, in Hamburgh, Lubec, and the various other places which, in their turn, became the victims of imperial plunder, the corps of Mortier was ordered to proceed against Swedish Pomerania. The attempts of Bonaparte to detach the king of Sweden from the confederacy, had been such as would have seduced or terrified to his purpose men of less firmness and perseverance, of less ardour and enthusiasm than were possessed by this young monarch, whose ardour, however, it will be admitted, has, on some occasions, risen to something not very different from phrensy, and who, it will be seen, has sometimes appeared as intemperate as he has been persevering. It was an object of some consequence to Bonaparte to conciliate this prince to his views, and no temptation of security, therefore, or of plunder, was unemployed for this purpose. A portion of Prussian and even of Danish territory is stated to have been held out, at different times, as the reward of seceding from the British and Russian alliance; while the consequence of adhering to it would be the loss of the Swedish dominions in Germany. The failure of the overtures of the French government was followed up by the seizure of Anclam, in January.—Griesswald was soon taken by the French troops, and Stralsund itself was invested. The operations of the besiegers, however, were not pushed in the beginning with vigour; and marshal Mortier, being intrusted with the siege of Colberg, had drawn off a considerable force to that place, leaving the operations before Stralsund to be conducted by general Grandjean.

In the mean time the troops in Stralsund received considerable reinforcements, and the garrison made several successful sorties, demolishing the batteries erected by

by the enemy, and spiking their guns. On the 4th of April the Swedish troops issued from the fortress, and, being divided into three columns, rushed unexpectedly upon the works of the besiegers, and put to the bayonet those who defended them. The Swedish flotilla, at the same time, landed troops in the rear of the enemy, and attacked their posts at Anclam, Griesswald, and several other places. These, with the large magazines which had been established in them, fell into the hands of the Swedes. The Dutch military chest, inclosing a vast number of rix dollars, was likewise taken. The whole loss of killed, wounded, and prisoners, on the part of the French general, amounted to several thousand men, and obliged him to retreat with all possible speed, till he could unite various detachments, and might prudently make a stand against his pursuers.

The animation and triumph occasioned in the Swedes by these successes, induced them to follow the enemy with more ardour than precaution. Marshal Mortier, being speedily informed of these movements, collected his forces at Pasewalk. The line of the Swedes was very extended; but the French general was determined to rest his hopes of success on a bold and vehement attack upon their centre; convinced, that, if he could gain the river Peen, the confusion and loss of the Swedes must be great in the extreme. Accordingly at day-break on the 16th of April he attacked and carried Billing. Though displaying the greatest courage and obstinacy, the Swedes were driven from one position to another, so far as Altokosenow, where they were joined by the troops which had occupied Anclam, on its evacuation by the French. Even here the additional force of the garrison of Anclam, and the discharge of ten pieces of cannon, the fire of which was expected to inflict nearly total destruction on the French army, were ineffectual against the impetuosity of their troops, burning to recover the laurels which had been lately wrested from them. This position was obliged to be abandoned, and the Swedes fell back to Anclam. Being followed by the enemy, sword in hand, they were compelled to pass the Peen, with a precipitation which allowed no time for the destruction of the bridge. Six hundred prisoners were the result of this pursuit; while six hundred more were taken by different detachments of the French force following the enemy through other routes; six pieces of cannon were also taken. These losses of the Swedes, in addition to the great amount of their killed and wounded, rendered the actual triumph of the French superior to their recent disaster and disgrace. Proposals from the Swedish commander to the French general for a truce were the result of this signal defeat. An armistice followed, in which the islands of Usedom and Wollenstall were ceded to the French, and it was stipulated that the forces of Sweden should offer no interruption to the sieges of Colberg and Dantzic; besides which, several articles were agreed to, highly favourable to the French in their particular circumstances. In case the armistice should not be ratified by his Swedish majesty, ten days notice was to be given before the recommencement of hostilities.

The terms of this suspension of arms were by no means pleasing to the Swedish monarch, who expressed no little indignation on re-

ceiving the intelligence of them.—He resolved, himself, to embark from Ystad for Stralsund, and take the command of his army, which was speedily expected to be reinforced by a division of Prussians, and by an expedition of great extent and efficiency forming in the British ports. In the mean time all was quiet in Pomerania; and the French general had availed himself of the armistice to dispatch all the troops that could, with propriety, be spared from the north of Germany, to support the operations of the army in Poland. With a view to guard against any attempt on the part of the British, whose preparations began to excite considerable alarm, the Dutch troops, which had been cooperating with the French in Germany, were ordered to their own territory, on a supposition that an attempt might be intended against Holland: and to provide against any efforts in the Baltic, a corps of observation was ordered to be formed, without delay, under the command of marshal Brune. It was an object of great importance to Bonaparte, in these circumstances, to detach the king of Sweden from his alliance; and the attempts for this purpose, which had formerly been unsuccessful, were renewed with increased urgency and offers. The efforts for direct pacification being, however, ineffectual, a prolongation of the notice to be given before the recommencement of hostility was the next object of French policy, which was extremely desirous of extending the period from ten days to a month. An article to this purpose had, indeed, been agreed to by the French and Swedish generals; but, in a conference between the king of Sweden and general Brune, at Schlatkow, relating to the armistice, and originating in the request of Brune for explanation on some points, in which it had appeared to be grossly violated, this article was decidedly rejected by his majesty. The king, at the same time, expressed his attachment to the cause he had so long ardently espoused, and made so explicit an avowal of his principles and feelings, as to leave little hope in the French general that any thing but the necessity of his affairs, or the representations of his subjects, could induce him to retire from the contest.

An account of this conference was published by the royal command, and was interpreted by different parties according to the nature of their political tendencies, as exhibiting a singular instance, on the part of the sovereign, of magnanimity or indiscretion. He attempts to shake the firmness of the French general's attachment to the existing government of his country, and reminds him of a king to whom he owed allegiance, possessing at once, all the virtues which can adorn a throne, as well as all the rights which can entitle him to it, now wandering in poverty and exile. Treason is imputed, without any very circuitous phraseology, to the French nation. A complete counter revolution is adverted to, as an affair of the highest probability. France is designated as the scourge of Europe; and to oblige it to restore its dethroned monarch would, it is intimated, be a fair object of continental hostility; and, should the standard of Louis the eighteenth be abandoned by all the world besides, the king declares that it shall ever be unfurled in Sweden.

Notwithstanding the hesitation and embarrassment stated occasionally

sionally to have involved the French general, during this conversation, and for which the abruptness and singularity of the topics, and the deferential attentions and restraints presumed by him due to majesty, may easily account; he appears to have conducted himself with considerable firmness, most explicitly avowing his ignorance of any lawful king to whom he owed allegiance, and his resolution to abide by the duties imposed by his existing situation. The king, however, in his aspersions of the government and nation, in whose service this brave officer was engaged, and in the almost direct application of the term traitor, to the general himself, must certainly be regarded as deviating considerably from what the ordinary forms of polite intercourse require; and the expectations and projects avowedly entertained by him, appear as little reconcileable with correct and profound views of policy, as the circumstances just alluded to were decidedly inconsistent with good manners. The interference of foreign powers in the government of states, moreover, was a topic of critical suggestion on the part of his Swedish majesty, in whose country the course of succession has been repeatedly broken, and a constitution favourable to the people was overthrown so recently as in the year 1776, when absolute monarchy was established on its ruins. When his majesty, therefore, adverted to prescriptive claims, and invoked the interposition of foreign states in the internal affairs of France, his conduct was not a little injudicious. If rights attach to monarchs, they are at least equally attributable to nations; and if foreign intervention be justifiable to restore a sovereign, whom his subjects have dethroned, it must be equally vindicable in behalf of those popular rights which a tyrant has invaded. The rights of a monarch, disclaimed by a people who acquiesce under the government of his successor, and who, instead of being ready to fight for them, would oppose all who contended for them, as disturbers of their tranquillity and exciters of those horrors which attend civil and revolutionary conflicts, are ill entitled to be so designated, and are invalidated by the disavowal of the nation, in the same proportion as they derived vigour and sanction, at a former period, from that nation's solemn admission of them.

Every proposition for an accommodation with respect to peace, or a protracted armistice, being rejected by his Swedish majesty, he was indefatigable in his exertions to improve the fortifications of Stralsund, and in the erection of new works at Rugen. The ports in the Baltic, under the influence of French domination, were kept, by his navy, in a state of the most rigorous blockade. His army at Stralsund consisted of about thirteen thousand Swedes and four thousand Prussians; these the king was in almost daily expectation of seeing joined by a very considerable British force, which might qualify him to take the field for active operations against the enemy, instead of confining himself within the walls of a fortress. A force was, not long after, landed in Rugen and Stralsund, consisting of several thousand foreign troops, under a British commander, and constituting the first division of the expected armament; but the arrival of this gave no immediate interest to the affairs of the north, and circumstances very speedily occurred

occurred which materially changed the aspect of the continent.

In the view of European hostility, during the course of the present year, the south demands some portion of attention. Towards the close of December, war had been declared by the Porte against Russia. The conduct of the Russian government with respect to the Crimea and Georgia, its reiterated attempts to recruit its forces in the Seven Islands from the Turkish provinces in the Adriatic, and its interference in the provincial administrations of Wallachia and Moldavia, were stated in a manifesto as the grounds of this hostility. The troops of the Asiatic provinces now, therefore, poured into Constantinople; the people were animated by the exhortations of the Ulemas, and all the forms and influences of an impressive superstition, to resort to the standard of Mahomet, which was displayed against its mortal enemies; and an army was ordered to be collected under the grand vizier, with all possible expedition. The straits of the Black Sea were closed against all neutrals, and Tenedos was put in a respectable state of defence, and, with the passage of the Dardanelles, committed to the vigilance and guardianship of a Turkish squadron. In the mean while the Russians were advancing in considerable strength, under general Michelson, through Moldavia and Wallachia. The transactions of the Russian government, in relation to these countries, it was alleged, ought by no means to be considered as indications of hostility; the existing restless and unsettled state of these provinces requiring the most active vigilance of Russia, for the preservation of her own states from anarchy and convulsion. The arms of Russia met with little resistance in these provinces. Choczim, Jassy, Bucharest, and various other places fell an easy prey, and magazines were established in them to facilitate operations which might be required against the more vital parts of the Turkish empire. To promote the success of Russia, and oblige the Turks to accede to terms of accommodation, by which a force would be released from this southern warfare, and enabled to swell the Russian army in Poland, a British fleet, under the command of sir John Duckworth, advanced through the Dardanelles, and appeared at a little distance from Constantinople. Some particulars of this expedition will be given in another chapter; and it will, therefore, be sufficient here to remark, that circumstances occurred which completely frustrated its object. Instead of producing accommodation between Russia and the Porte, a new power only was added to the list of England's enemies; commercial relations with Turkey were, of course, immediately closed; the British agents and settlers in the Turkish territories were exposed to considerable annoyance, and the seizure and sequestration of English property at Smyrna, Salonica, and other places, were ordered by the Porte, with a dispatch which precluded all opportunity for precaution. The power of France over the Divan became materially strengthened; Sebastiani was consulted on almost every emergency and even project of the Turkish government, and his influence became predominant and irresistible.

The Russian general was now rapidly advancing towards the Danube. The fortress of Giurgewo was soon invested, and after resisting

sisting two assaults was obliged to yield to the third effort. Ismael was the next object of general Michelson, and was accordingly placed in a state of siege. In the mean time, to the south of the Danube, notwithstanding the unsuccessful attempts of the English, the Russians still possessed allies, and such as cooperated with great activity and effect. These were the Servians, who had declared themselves an independent nation, and, when called upon by a firman to contribute their assistance in troops and money, to resist the Russian invaders, after replying that they regarded the Russians as their friends, and would be tributary to no power upon earth, ordered the Turkish envoy to quit Semendria without delay. A formidable force had, for some time, been collected in this country, under Czerni George, and the whole of Bosnia, which was little less disaffected than Servia, was under the control of this active and intrepid leader. Czerni George, at the suggestion of the Russian commander, passed the Morawa, with a force of upwards of 30,000 men. The advanced guard of the Turks was attacked by the commander of the two first Servian columns, near Nissa, and compelled to fall back, while the commander in chief was equally successful in a movement towards Sophia. The loss of the Turks, in this affair, amounted to 1500 men and 14 pieces of cannon. Though it does not appear that the junction of the Russians and Servians, which was certainly contemplated, actually took place in the course of the campaign, they continued, separately, to inflict the most severe annoyance on the enemy, who, notwithstanding occasional successes, experienced, on the whole, by far the worst of the conflict. On the 16th of April a desperate action took place between the Servian general Melenko Stoik and Kusansi Ali; the Turks were surrounded in their entrenchments by the Servians, and in three vigorous attempts to break their lines completely failed; at length one column of the Servians was forced and defeated by the left wing of the Turks, which effected its retreat to Widdin. The loss of the Turks in these movements amounted to three thousand men. Their right wing was shut up in Gladowa, where several efforts were made by the commander for extrication, but without any other effect than his own most serious loss, from the effectual resistance of the enemy.

These disasters produced no inconsiderable sensation at Constantinople; a firman was issued by the Divan, devoting the Servians to extermination, unless they instantly laid down their arms and returned to their allegiance. The army which had been collecting at Adrianople, since the beginning of the year, but whose equipment had been carried on only by that tardy progress which characterizes this people, was ordered to be expedited for its march with all possible dispatch; and the grand vizier, at length, joined his troops, towards the close of April, with great pomp, and soon afterwards commenced his march towards the Danube. So full was this army, however, of the elements of insubordination and mutiny, that, before it had been four days on its progress, two of its principal officers were massacred by their own battalions; and so slow were its movements, that it was a very considerable time before it came into contact with the enemy; and, instead of equalling,

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at last, the boasts it had made, and the expectations it had raised, it served rather to increase the triumph of the adversary than to retrieve the national disaster.

While the war by land was proceeding thus unfortunately for this weak and abject government, it was equally unsuccessful by sea.—A Russian fleet cut off the intercourse between the Black Sea and Constantinople, and a Turkish squadron, repeatedly sent against it, returned without daring to venture on an attack. After the departure of the English fleet from the Dardanelles, the castles of those straits were placed, by means of French superintendance, in such a state of repair and power that it was almost impossible for the best-appointed fleet to attempt to pass them without destruction; this attempt, therefore, was not made, but the straits were blockaded by a Russian squadron of ten sail of the line, under admiral Siniavin, who also took posession of Lemnos, and, after several unsuccessful attempts on the important position of Tenedos, at length effected a landing on it of 3000 men, who completed its conquest. The effect of the blockade was severely felt at Constantinople, which was thus deprived of some of its most productive sources of supply.—Orders were given to the captain pasha to attempt to restore the communication thus impeded, and he accordingly sailed for this purpose; but, on ascertaining the force of the enemy, he regarded a contest as too critical to be ventured upon, and resolved not to quit the sea of Marmora. The embarrassment of the capital was now greatly aggravated, and to the discontents of the populace were added those of the military. The principal cause of military disaffection had been the introduction of a new system of dress and tactics, agreeably to the European mode. This the French ambassador had particularly promoted. Several of the Turkish ministers had also been extremely active in its support.—The grand seignior himself had shown a decisive preference to the corps which had been trained and disciplined in this manner; he had even dismissed from attendance on his person, on solemn occasions of state, the troops whom long possession had given a sort of prescriptive claim to this honour, to make way for the soldiers of the new establishment. This conduct was attended with the most serious consequences; the discontent which had been long fostered, now attained a degree of irritation, which insisted on redress. Towards the middle of May the Janizaries crowded from all quarters towards the capital, determined to suppress an institution by which their consequence was so fatally impaired; they were soon joined by the Mufti and various officers of state; a proposition was made that the grand seignior should abolish the new discipline by a fettwa, a sacred and irrevocable decree. Attempts however were, at first, made by this prince to defend the seraglio: this being found impracticable, instead of explicitly complying with the proposition of the insurgents, he injudiciously attempted to compromise by sending to them the heads of several officers supposed to be most obnoxious to them, and among these, by some fatal mistake, the head of Mahmud Bey, who was, in fact, their patron and idol:—this procedure of the court, therefore, instead of allaying, increased their exasperation; they immediately

immediately commenced the most assiduous search for all the supporters of the new code, among the public officers, and having discovered twelve dragged them from their hiding-places to the barracks, where they were instantly cut to pieces.—The grand seignior now dispatched to them a letter of abolition, written with his own hand; but nothing less than his own deposition would, at this time, satisfy the insurgents, who, for this purpose, immediately repaired to the seraglio. The Mufti and Ulemas alone entered the Haram, while the rest of the ministers, the Aga, the Janizaries, and a vast concourse of people, surrounded the palace; a list was read to him of his alleged offences; passages of the Koran were solemnly recited, to prove his unworthiness to reign; and a deed of renunciation of the throne was proposed for his signature, and, of course, immediately received it. Mustapha, the son of Achmet, was the next day proclaimed grand seignior; and an order was dispatched by him to the dethroned emperor to take poison; with which he immediately complied. To complete the vengeance of the Janizaries, the grand vizier, who had, within a few days only, commenced his march, was strangled in his camp. No insult was offered to the French ambassador during these proceedings, nor any outrage offered to private individuals, of any description; no striking change was produced on the foreign relations of the state by this revolution, which appeared to have for its object the redress of military grievances, but was connected also, on the part of the people, with the hope of those plentiful supplies from which they had been so long cut off, and which they can, at all times, be led to imagine that a change of government must restore.

The difficulties of the metropolis, however, on account of provisions, were not removed, amidst all this commotion, and it was deemed necessary that the captain pasha should now risque an action with the enemy: exertions had indeed been made to equip him to the greatest advantage, and in consequence of these exertions, the disparity of force on the side of the Turks was rendered considerably less than it had been. Troops were landed by the Turkish admiral on the island of Tenedos, the recapture of which, also, was an important part of his commission: in three several attempts, however, to effect it he failed, and in the last, so signal was the repulse he met with, that his troops could, with great difficulty only, accomplish their re-embarkation.—Soon after this discomfiture the two fleets appeared in sight of each other, and prepared for immediate action. That of the Russians consisted of 22 sail, 10 of the line.—The Turks had 11 ships of the line, but only 1 besides. The battle took place on the first of July, and lasted for eight hours, being contested with extreme obstinacy. The Turkish admiral, who was wounded in the action, fought his ship with success against five of the Russians, by which, at one period of the battle, he was surrounded. Victory, however, finally declared most decidedly for the Russians; four Turkish ships of the line were taken, one of which was the vice-admiral's, three were burnt, and two were driven on shore, and twelve hundred Turks were killed in the engagement. Thus disastrous to the Turkish empire were the operations of the Russian war, which,

which, in connection with provincial rebellion, an insurgent populace, and a mutinous military, appeared to render its speedy destruction from the continuance of foreign hostilities a matter of high probability. Circumstances, however, about this period occurred, which speedily led to a termination of these hostilities, and to which it is now proper to direct our attention.

After the battle of Eylau, and during the siege of Dantzic, no exertions were omitted by Bonaparte which could add security to his positions and enable him to resist an attack, or, with the least possible injury, accomplish a retreat. The left wing of his army was stationed on the Nogat, and its position reached over Elbingen and Braunsberg, along the left bank of the Passarge up to Gutstadt. The centre was placed somewhat in the rear round Liebstadt and Mohrungen. From Gutstadt the army stretched itself above Allenstein; and the right wing preserved a communication with the left of Massena's army, whose right was on the Bug, and thence to the mouth of the Narew. The whole front of the left wing on the Passarge was protected by deep intrenchmnets, and the most formidable batteries; and an attack on the centre and the right was exposed to almost insuperable difficulties by the extensive morasses and forests which lay immediately before them. Between the Passarge and the Weichsell, to provide for the possible necessity of retreat, a position was established on the Drewentz, where magazines were formed abounding in all those articles which such a contingence might demand. The right bank of the allied army was stationed by the Haffe, and stretched along the right bank of the Passarge to Wormdit. This wing consisted of Prussian troops, admirable for their loyalty, experience and discipline. At Wormdit the position of the Russian army commenced, and stretched over Heilsburg, Bartenstein and Schippendall. Each wing, as well as the centre of the Russian army, had before it an advanced guard, and the left wing was commanded by Hettman Platow, whose activity often led him to push his parties to Ortelsburg, occasioning not unfrequent skirmishes, while, in every other part, there prevailed silent vigilance and solemn preparation. A considerable corps of Russians was also stationed not far from the Narew. And on the part of the French there were, also, various distributions of force in addition to the grand army, whose positions have been mentioned. The corps of Le Febvre, before Dantzic, was composed of French, Poles, and the troops of Baden. Those employed in the siege of Colberg were the German contingent and Italians, with a certain number of French. In Silesia the troops of Bavaria and Wirtemberg were still occupied in reducing the fortresses of Neisse, Cosel, Glatz, and Silberberg. Marshal Brune was collecting an army of observation, to consist of Spaniards, Frenchmen, and Dutch, near Magdeburg: another was formed on the borders of Italy and Germany, connected with a numerous force under Marmont in Dalmatia. The surrender of Dantzic added considerably to the disposable force of the French, but did not appear to offer any immediate and effectual inducement to Bonaparte to quit his almost impregnable positions. Two

mighty armies, however, when the season was favourable for their operations, could not be long nearly within view of each other without the alternative of pacification or sanguinary and destructive hostility; and the confidence still entertained by each party preventing any successful attempts for the former, circumstances soon occurred which drew on an obstinate and decisive conflict.

Almost immediately before the fifth of June the allied army occupied an irregular line from the Frische Haff to Heilsburg and Rastenburgh. Heilsburg was their central point, and, as it lay on the Alle, and in the direct road to Koningsberg, was considered of extreme importance, and, therefore, strongly fortified, and completely furnished with magazines. The line of the French was somewhat more irregular than that of the Russians, and reached from Elbing to Ostrolenka, including Liebstadt and Gutstadt. On the day above mentioned the Russian army were in motion; and, with the whole of their right wing, attacked three divisions of the French army. From two of these they met with a repulse; but in the attack, conducted by general Benningsen and the grand duke Constantine, on the division of Ney, the French general was obliged to fall back and abandon his positions and magazines. Liebstadt and Gutstadt were both evacuated, and the corps of Ney was conducted by him to Ackendorf. On the eighth, however, Bonaparte arrived at the general's camp at Deppen, and immediately ordered an attempt on those important stations, by the corps of Ney and Lasnes, the imperial guard and the cavalry of reserve. This formidable force was opposed by the rear guard of the Russians at Glottau; but, at length, recovered all the positions in advance of Gutstadt, and occupied the town by main force, the contest being continued in its very streets, with the most horrid and destructive carnage. The Russians now fell back upon Heilsburg. Before this place was posted a formidable body of infantry and cavalry supported by sixty pieces of cannon. The French, however, pressed on and gradually gained considerable ground. Both parties fought with the most determined bravery; but, as night advanced, the Russians were compelled to retreat to their entrenchments. Here they were expected to make a stand. The manœuvres of the French were, therefore, now directed to cutting off the retreat of the Russian right wing to Landsberg, in which Berthier was principally concerned; while Davoust threw himself along the Alle to the right of Heilsburg to preclude the retreat of their left. Demonstrations of an intention to attack were, in the mean time, made by the Russians in their entrenched camp. These, however, it appeared were only a cover to the plan which had been now resolved on, to abandon even this chosen and formidable position; and, on the night of the eleventh, accordingly, they began to pass the Alle, quitting the whole country to the left, and leaving to the disposal of the enemy their entrenchments, magazines, and wounded. From the fifth to the twelfth the loss of the Russians amounted to nearly 20,000 men. They were pursued by the light cavalry of the enemy to the right bank of the Alle near Bartenstein. Light corps advanced in various directions

tions to cut off their retreat to Koningsberg. The duke of Berg proceeded towards the latter place, supported by Davoust and Soult; while Bonaparte himself, with the corps of Ney and Mortier and the imperial guard, immediately pressed on to Friedland. On the 14th, the anniversary of the battle of Marengo, a circumstance of which the French emperor did not fail to remind his troops, and which naturally produced the most enthusiastic recollections and exertions, the grand struggle took place. Ney was on the right wing supported by the dragoons of Latour Maubourg; Lasnes in the centre with the dragoons of Lahousaye behind him, and the Saxon cuirassiers. Mortier was on the left wing, supported by the cavalry of Grouchy. The grand reserve was formed of the corps of general Victor and the imperial guard. The Russian army was fully deployed, the left wing extending to the town of Friedland, and its right reaching a mile and a half in the opposite direction. Bonaparte having reconnoitred, determined to attempt the town of Friedland, in the first instance; and, having changed his front, ordered the extremity of the right wing, under general Ney, to advance to the attack. At half past five marshal Ney began to move forward. The division of Marchand, also, at the same time advanced to cooperate with him, in another direction. When the Russians observed Ney to have quitted the wood by which he had been supported, they endeavoured to turn him by several regiments of cavalry, preceded by a multitude of Cossacks, who were, however, repulsed by the firmness of the dragoons of Latour Maubourg. In the mean time a battery was erected by general Victor, in his centre, and pushed on 400 paces by general Lennermont, to the extreme annoyance of the Russians; and which, by commanding their attention to its destructive fire, interfered with those manœuvres which might otherwise have defeated the operations of Ney. The Russian troops, which attacked the right wing of this general, were received on the bayonet or driven into the river, in which an immense number perished. When the left wing of Ney, however, had nearly reached the works which surrounded the town, it was exposed to the most imminent peril. The imperial Russian guard, which had been here concealed in ambuscade, suddenly advanced upon the French, with an impetuosity which threw them into disorder, and nearly rendered the effort of the marshal abortive. The division of Dupont, however, which formed the right of the reserve, marched against the Russian guard, who performed prodigies of firmness and valour, but were unable to resist this effort of the enemy. Various reinforcements were drawn from the Russian centre and other corps in reserve, for the defence of the town, all which proved eventually ineffectual. Friedland was at length taken; and, the struggle being continued in the town, its streets became the scene of slaughter, and were covered with human bodies. The centre, under marshal Lasnes, was now engaged, and the Russians made several attempts against this centre corps of the enemy similar to that which had failed on its right wing; but the repeated efforts of its cavalry were only capable of displaying their valour, and continuing for a longer

er period the work of carnage. The battle lasted from five in the morning till seven at night. Both sides fought with extreme intrepidity and obstinacy, and the superior number of the French, with an impetuous direction of nearly all their force, towards the close of the day, upon the centre of the Russians, decided the fate of the contest. His defeat is admitted by the Russian general, who stated his loss to amount to no less than ten thousand men. It was represented, however, by the French at much more than double that number. Twenty-five of the Russian generals were among the killed, wounded, or taken. Eighty pieces of cannon and a great number of standards also fell into the hands of the enemy. Night did not prevent the pursuit of the Russians, who were followed till eleven o'clock, after which those of the columns which were cut off endeavoured to avail themselves of the fords of the Alle to pass that river; which exhibited to the conquerors, on the ensuing day, marks of the total discomfiture of the allied army. On the fifteenth the Russians followed up their retreat to Wehlau, on the confluence of the Alle and Pregel, where the columns of the French speedily arrived, necessitating a still further retreat towards the Niemen. Near this river several newly formed divisions of Russian troops had arrived; and on the eighteenth of June the Russian army approached the town of Tilsit, and, after having transported its heavy baggage across the Niemen, stationed itself on the great plain on the right of the town. All the bridges were destroyed, immediately after being passed by them; and all the magazines on the Alle were burnt or thrown into the river. On the sixteenth Bonaparte threw a bridge over the Pregel, and took a position there with his army. The defeat at Friedland having caused an order for the evacuation of Koningsberg, general Lestoque's division was, with extreme difficulty, enabled to join the main body of the Russians, and the corps of marshal Soult entered Koningsberg on the 16th. While Bonaparte was approaching to Tilsit, with his usual rapidity, an overture was made by general Benningsen to the duke of Berg for an armistice. A conference was almost immediately held on the subject, between Berthier and prince Labanoff. On the 22d an armistice was signed; and on the 24th an interview took place between the emperors of Russia and France on a raft on the Niemen, and after their conference had lasted two hours, the attendant princes and generals were admitted into their pavilion. While arrangements were making for the preliminaries, the town of Tilsit continued to be the abode of these imperial personages, who, together with the king of Prussia, cultivated mutual intercourse and politeness. Entertainments were given in rapid succession. The troops of marshal Davoust were reviewed by Bonaparte in the presence of his brother sovereigns, and occasioned exchanges of compliment in the different parties, probably with feelings of a very opposite description. The guards of the different monarchs, who occupied appropriated departments of the town, vied with their respective sovereigns in marks of respectful attention, and, for a short time, even exchanged uniforms. During these interviews and attempts at conciliation,

tion, to which the policy of Bonaparte was presumed, at least, as much conducive as his humanity, the arrangements of pacification were completed, and peace between Russia and France was ratified on the ninth of July. The two emperors then separated with mutual expressions of attachment, and after exchanging the decorations of their respective orders. On the same day peace was signed between France and Prussia.

By the latter treaty Prussia is deprived of all her territories on the left bank of the Elbe, and of all her Polish provinces, except that part situated between Pomerania and the Newmarke, and ancient Prussia, and which is to the north of the little river Netz. The king of Saxony is to take the title of duke of Warsaw, and to have free communication, by a military road, between Saxony and his new dominions, which were to consist of Thorn, Warsaw, and the rest of Prussian Poland, except that part which is to the north of the Bug, and which, under the idea of establishing natural boundaries between Russia and the duchy of Warsaw, was to be incorporated with the dominions of Alexander. Dantzic was to be an independent town: East Friesland was to be added to the kingdom of Holland: a new kingdom, under the title of that of Westphalia, was to be formed of the provinces ceded by the Prussian monarch, and others in the possession of the French emperor. The recognition of Jerome Bonaparte as sovereign of this new kingdom; also of the kings of Holland, Naples, and of all the present and future members of the confederation of the Rhine, was, likewise, yielded to on the part of Prussia; with the consent also to close its ports, and become a party in the maritime war against England. By the publication of the treaty with Russia, which was for some time delayed, it appeared that the two emperors mutually guarantied to each other the integrity of their possessions, and of those of the other powers included in the treaty. The kings of Holland, Naples and Westphalia were to be recognised by Russia. The offer of her mediation to effect a peace between France and England was accepted, on the condition, that, within one month from the ratification of the treaty, England should admit this mediation. The independence of Dantzic: the military high way between Saxony and the new duchy of Warsaw: the annexation of part of Prussian Poland to the empire of Russia, forming also articles in the Prussian treaty, which, in many of its other provisions, was also a copy of the present, were mutually agreed to. The restoration of the dukes of Saxe-Coburg, Oldenburg, and Mecklenburg Schwerin, to the quiet possession of their dominions was acceded to by France. The confederation of the Rhine was explicitly acknowledged by the emperor of Russia; who engaged equally to acknowledge the princes or states who might hereafter be added to this union, on the communication of any such change by the French government.

The situation of Prussia in the preceding year, before she embarked in the contest, and her reduced limits and power by the above treaty, formed a painful and melancholy contrast. She was deprived of Thorn, Dantzic, and Warsaw; of all the best and most fertile part of Poland; of the command and navigation of the Vistula;

tula; on the right of which she was suffered to retain a small tract, in order to connect her ancient possessions with the barren province of Pomerelia, and her dominions between the Oder and the Elbe; while on the left bank of the Elbe she no longer possessed a particle of territory. Silesia was restored to her, only on the condition of a free passage to the troops of that prince who was to be the sovereign of her Polish dominions. The present and future members of the Rhinish confederacy being amply recognised by her, she was left unassisted and solitary. All the princes of the north of Germany, who were formerly under her control, and who were to be permitted to retain or recover their possession, being induced or compelled to join the federation of the Rhine, their resources, instead of being combined for her defence, must be capable at the suggestion of France of being directed to her ruin. The causes which led to this humiliation of Prussia are too obvious to be particularly dwelt upon. Her jealousy of Austria, and her acquiescence in the encroachments and even the insults of Bonaparte, have led to that ruin which, for the sake of Europe, will be sincerely lamented; but, with respect to Prussia herself, would have been deplored with inexpressibly more bitterness than it is, if it had been incurred in the struggle for an honest and magnanimous system of policy. But she deceived the hopes of the good, and even the confidence of the wise. She suffered Bonaparte to extend his usurpation, and to consolidate his power, careless who were the victims of his depredation around her, and not considering, that, however remotely he was pursuing his career of havoc, he was only forming a larger circle to be at length completed in herself. Relying on her own strength, such speculations were considered by her as exhibiting only imaginary dangers; and hoping to secure the friendship of Bonaparte, which might raise her to be the first power in Germany, she favoured his views, and apologized for his excesses; and shuddered at the thought of lifting her hand or voice in opposition to his power. But she neither blushed nor trembled to share in his spoil. She was eager to receive the bribe of her inactivity from the pillage of the innocent, whom she was bound by the most positive as well as natural engagements to protect. The property which she had not the spirit to plunder she had the meanness to receive, and, after neglecting opportunities of alliance, which might probably have effected the destruction of this universal enemy, she at length inveighed against those atrocities which she had encouraged, and those spoliations in which she had participated, refused to proceed in the road in which she had so long advanced without reluctance, and entered the lists alone with an adversary whom she had been repeatedly able to control, but by whom she was now sure to be defeated!

In the treaty between France and Russia, the teritories restored to Prussia are stated to have been delivered up from the wish of Bonaparte to oblige the Russian emperor; without the slightest intimation of its being required by Russia as a guarantee of the German empire. Germany was, indeed, left completely to her fate. The acknowledgment by the emperor, not only of what Bonaparte had already done, but of what he

might do, at least so far as concerned the confederation of the Rhine; and the guarantee, not only of the possessions of France, but also of those of the powers included in the treaty, left open an immense field for the regulation and control of France, in which Russia formerly possessed the right and announced the determination to resist her claims. With a spirit somewhat inconsistent with the magnanimity usually ascribed to him, Alexander consented to receive an increase of territory from the dominions of his defeated ally; and thus, by yielding to receive as an obligation what blasted his fame, gratified the subtle policy of Bonaparte. Turkey was treated with little respect by her confederate, who stipulated that, on intelligence of this peace, to which she was no party, she should instantly cease from hostility with Russia, and agree to negotiate a peace with that power, under the mediation of France. So compulsory an interference appeared certainly but little less likely to proceed from contempt than friendship. The article concerning the mediation of Russia between England and France, was attended with a limitation as to time, which would scarcely admit of the supposition that this mediation was suggested, or accepted by France, in any thing of the real spirit of conciliation.

It could not but be noticed that no provisions were introduced into the treaty respecting Cattaro, or the Seven Islands; or relating to the kings of Sardinia and the Two Sicilies. This circumstance made it undoubted that, whatever was developed by the treaty of Tilsit, much yet remained to be explored. Indeed, the secret articles of treaties are not unfrequently of more importance than what is exposed to public observation, and are often inconsistent with professions solemnly made, and expectations studiously excited.

CHAPTER X.

Expeditions of the British Arms—of Admiral Duckworth to Constantinople—Negotiation with the Porte—Humiliating Spectacle exhibited by a British Admiral—Injury sustained by the British Squadron—Expedition to Egypt—Capture of Alexandria—Attempt on Rosetta—Imprudence of the Commander—Defeat and Return of the Troops—A second Attempt resolved on—Treachery of the Mamalukes—Detachment of the British Troops completely cut off—Preparations on a large Scale for the Expulsion of the English—Advance of the Governor of Egypt from Cairo to Alexandria—Evacuation of Egypt by the English—Circumstances of the Recapture of Buenos Ayres—Arrival in the River Plata of British Troops from the Cape—under Sir S. Auchmuty—under General Whitelocke—Attempt to retake Buenos Ayres—Mode of Defence adopted by the Town—Plan of Attack—Disasters of the British Troops—Convention between the English and Spanish Generals—Evacuation of the River Plata by the English—Trial of Sir Home Popham—Fate of Miranda's Expedition—Capture of Curacoa—Expedition to Copenhagen—General Opinion of it—Force employed in it—Proclamation of the British Commanders—Bombardment of the City—Its Surrender—Terms of it—Humane Attention of the British Commanders.

THE war between Russia and Turkey led to an interruption of that harmony which had long subsisted between the latter power and Great Britain. The victory of lord Nelson at Aboukir, and the subsequent advantages gained by the British army in Egypt, had excited the most lively regard of the Turks, whose attachment was attended with various commercial privileges and facilities, not lightly to be abandoned. To political expedience, however, involving the highest interest of any people, all other considerations must yield; and, Russia being engaged in a war with the Porte, by the instigation of France, it was incumbent upon England to attempt an accommodation of the existing difference, and prevent, if possible, the direction of the strength of her ally towards the south of Europe. For this purpose admiral Duckworth was instructed to proceed with seven sail of the line, a frigate, and two sloops, to force the Dardanelles and bombard Constantinople, if certain terms should not be acceded to by the Turkish government. On the 19th of March he proceeded to fulfil his orders. The fire from the outer castles but little annoyed his ships, but a very heavy cannonade was sustained on the passage between Sestos and Abydos from both castles, and within point blank shot. The superior return it received, however, considerably diminished its effect on the sternmost vessels. A small Turkish squadron, at anchor, to the north-east of the castles, was attacked by sir Sidney Smith, and driven on shore, where it was destroyed; and the guns of a formidable battery at Point Pesques were spiked by a detachment of marines from the Active. On the evening of the 20th, the

squadron anchored about eight miles from the city. The dispatches of Mr. Arbuthnot, the ambassador to the Porte, who had quitted Constantinople, and was on board the admiral's ship, were conveyed by a flag of truce. Ysak Bey, one of the ministers, came off, in consequence, to wait on the ambassador, and his expressions implied that the Turkish government was sincerely desirous of accommodation. Two days after the arrival of the English, the ambassador was taken ill, and the important business in agitation devolved upon the admiral. The negotiation continued till the 27th; and, in the interval, such was the unfortunate state of the weather that it was not at any time in the power of sir J. Duckworth to have occupied a situation which would have enabled him to commence offensive operations. The urgency of representation to the Divan, through the long series of his dispatches, that no time was to be lost, was accompanied with reiterated menaces of hostility and destruction, in mortifying opposition to that state of imbecility which he actually experienced, and of which the Turks were well aware, and well knew how to avail themselves. It was, indeed, a novel and humiliating spectacle for a British admiral to employ so many successive days in repeating threats which he had no power to enforce, and in exciting only the ridicule and contempt of the enemy. At length it became necessary to terminate an exhibition thus disgraceful. The time which had been occupied by the English commander in empty menaces had been employed by the Turks in the most active repairs and preparations. The whole line of the coast presented a chain of batteries. Twelve line of battle ships were ready with their sails bent and filled with troops; an innumerable multitude of small craft, with fire vessels, had been collected; and the troops assembled in Constantinople constituted a very formidable force. Had the weather at length favoured an attack, these accumulated means of resistance by the enemy must have been attended with a doubtful issue to the British squadron; and even had the squadron succeeded against all this opposition, the repassage of the Dardanelles was still requisite to complete its triumph; and, in its necessarily mutilated state, after such a conflict, could have been barely practicable. The idea of waiting for a wind, to bombard the city, was now abandoned; and, wounded as the British commander acknowledges himself to have been in pride and ambition, on the first of March he weighed anchor, and by the next day before noon, every ship had cleared the passage of the Dardanelles. This escape, however, was only from destruction, and not from very serious loss and injury. The fire of the inner castles, which had been severe in the first passage, was more than doubly formidable on the return. The Windsor Castle was struck by a granite shot of 800 pounds weight. The killed and wounded during this critical operation amounted to a considerable number. The damage done to most of the ships in hull, masts, and rigging, was very great. In the whole of this deplorable affair were killed and wounded about 300 British officers and seamen; an expenditure of valour and blood which, under wise direction, has often, besides adding to the glory of the country, purchased for it advantages of the first importance, but

but which was here connected only with disaster and humiliation.

The idea of the expedition was certainly judicious and even grand, but the means employed were totally inadequate to the end; and no advertence seems to have been given by those who planned this scheme, to those circumstances of wind and weather, which, in enterprises of such a description, ought ever to be expected to occur to delay the operations of a large force, and frustrate the success of a small one. On a project of such consequence, a larger fleet should have been sent. The Russian fleet might have been required to join the British; and, for an object principally Russian, it cannot be doubted, would have exerted itself to the utmost. But above all, troops should have accompanied the expedition. These abounded, and were unemployed, in the Mediterranean. By the landing of these upon the coast, the line of fortifications might have been destroyed, and their renewal might have been prevented by the fire of one or two ships; which, if the admiral's force had been as large as it ought to have been, might easily have been spared, and stationed off those points most likely to effect annoyance, particularly the straits of the Dardanelles. The passage being thus preserved clear, the fleet might have waited the contingencies of weather; and, indeed, by cutting off supplies from the city, would eventually have answered its purpose as effectually as by bombardment. The Turkish government must inevitably have yielded. Commercial relations would have continued uninterrupted; the Russians on the Danube would have joined their brethren on the Vistula; and the British arms would have been unstained and triumphant.

While admiral Duckworth was advancing to Constantinople to fix between the two countries those relations which were in a situation highly critical, an English expedition was proceeding towards another point of the Turkish dominions. On the 6th of March a detachment, consisting of about 5000 men, under the command of general Fraser, was embarked at Messina in 33 transports, for the purpose of taking possession of Alexandria. The day after quitting Messina 19 of the transports parted company. On the 16th of March the remainder came to an anchor before Alexandria. The intelligence which was received from major Misset, the British resident at this place, who had been informed of the expedition, stated that the inhabitants were well affected to the British; that, notwithstanding the diminished force of the troops, therefore, a landing should be immediately effected, and that within 24 hours a body of Albanians was expected to arrive to the assistance of the garrison. Accordingly, on the morning of the 19th, the commander occupied the spot rendered memorable by the victory under the heroic Abercrombie. Detachments were immediately sent to take possession of Aboukir castle and the cut between the lakes Maadie and Mascati, by which the Albanians were expected. A summons was now sent to the inhabitants. A flag of truce was immediately dispatched in return; a capitulation was agreed to and signed; and on the morning of the 21st general Fraser took possession of the place.

In consequence of the representations of major Misset, that, unless

less Rosetta and Rahmanie were also taken, the inhabitants of Alexandria were in imminent danger of famine, 1500 men were detached against these places, under major-general Wauchope. No opposition occurred to the troops on their march towards Rosetta, and the heights of Abourmandour, which command it, were occupied without any loss. Instead of retaining possession of this post, the general was induced, without any previous examination, to enter the town with his whole force. Preparations, however, had been made for his reception. Turks and Albanians had been posted in various buildings and advantageous situations, and from every window and roof he was assailed by such a severe fire of musquetry, that his troops were obliged to evacuate the place, with the loss of nearly 300 killed and wounded. The commander was killed by a discharge from one of the houses, and brigadier-general Meade was wounded. In the trying situation to which the troops were thus rashly exposed, they behaved with the most admirable courage and discipline, and were able to effect their retreat in good order to Aboukir, whence they returned to Alexandria.

Provisions were now become extremely scarce in this place, and the renewed representations of major Misset, on the necessity of taking Rosetta, were corroborated by the magistrates of the town, in the name of the inhabitants; who stated that a famine must be the inevitable and speedy consequence, if this measure were not executed. Another and stronger corps was therefore dispatched for the accomplishment of this important business, under brigadier-general Stuart. On the 9th of April this force took post opposite the Alexandrian gate of Rosetta. The summons of the town being neglected, they began to form their batteries. The British commander had conceived the greatest hopes from the promised assistance of the Mamalukes, and their appearance was now expected daily, and even hourly. Lieutenant-colonel Macleod was sent to seize an important post at the village Elhamed, by which the junction of this expected succour with the British force might be facilitated. After waiting in these circumstances a considerable time without the arrival of any intelligence respecting this requisite assistance, a resolution was taken on the night of the 21st to retire on the ensuing day. Early, however, in the morning colonel Macleod informed the general that 60 or 70 large vessels full of troops were descending the Nile. The danger was now alarming, and not a moment was to be lost. Orders were immediately dispatched to the colonel to abandon his position and return to the main body; but these orders were most unfortunately intercepted. The commander himself withdrew immediately with his army formed in a hollow square, taking with him all the cannon and ammunition which the circumstances of the crisis would permit. The troops kept the most compact order, and presented each way so formidable a front, that the pursuers, with all their superiority of numbers and impetuosity of attack, were unable to break them, and a smaller loss was experienced than might reasonably have been feared. The detachment at Elhamed, however, was completely cut off, and the whole loss in killed, wounded and missing, from the commencement of the expedition under

under general Stuart, consisted of at least a thousand men.

This succession of disasters made a strong impression on the public mind. To be defeated on the plains of Egypt, which had produced some of the fairest wreaths to adorn the brow of British valour, was particularly mortifying. Disaster, however, was totally unconnected with ignominy in the British troops, who, in both the cases above related, exhibited all that discipline, intrepidity, and perseverance for which they are so nobly distinguished. But though the bravery and good conduct of the troops were unimpeachable in both, the judgment of the commander in the first was by no means so. The idea of quitting the eminence by which Rosetta was fully commanded, and marching, with all his troops, into the town, without having examined it, and without having had any intercourse with it, and also without any artillery by which he might have swept its squares and streets, appears the result of extreme imbecility or infatuation. The expedition itself to Rosetta, in the existing circumstances of Alexandria, was wisely resolved on. The taking possession of this place was an object of Bonaparte immediately after his landing in Egypt. The interruption likely to occur in the regular supplies of Alexandria, from its occupation by an enemy, renders the acquisition of Rosetta, not indeed, necessarily, in all cases, indispensable, but, with a view to contingency and even probability, a primary object of attention. But to accomplish such an object, which every well digested plan must have comprehended, a superior force to what was actually sent to Egypt should have been employed. Indeed the expedition itself to Egypt appears to have been by no means necessary or prudent at the time of its being undertaken. The French had made no preparations for such a conquest, and had no means of effecting it. The occupation of the coast of the country (and, with the force employed in the expedition, more than this was obviously impracticable, and even this probably could not have been maintained) could have been of no material advantage, and a force was locked up by this enterprise which might have been employed to purposes of the utmost consequence.

The anticipations entertained of a famine at Alexandria were happily not verified by events. For several months the British troops remained in possession of it, without Rosetta, and provisions became more and more plentiful. Preparations however were making at Cairo upon a large scale to effect their expulsion; and on the eighth of August the governor of Egypt, at the head of a formidable force of infantry and cavalry, advanced towards Alexandria. The degree of importance attached to the possession of this place by the new ministry, had regulated their instructions to the commander with regard to his conduct in contingencies; and the diminished state of his forces, the disaffection from the inhabitants which must have resulted from his vigorous and determined opposition, and the vast body now collected against him, induced him to abandon the idea of a defence. On the approach of the enemy to the town, therefore, he sent a flag of truce, announcing that, on condition of the delivery of British prisoners, the army under his command should immediately

ately evacuate Egypt. This condition was accepted with as little hesitation as it was made. The English force almost immediately embarked, and on the 22d of September the standard of Mahomet again waved on the towers of Alexandria.

In the beginning of the year the public feelings were considerably agitated by rumours of the recapture of Buenos Ayres, and it was soon confirmed, that the tranquil acquiescence of the inhabitants, on its occupation by general Beresford, was not of long duration. Both loyalty and superstition animated considerable numbers to exert themselves for the expulsion of the English. The mildness of the regulations adopted was insufficient to conciliate the inhabitants to an heretical government. The recollection of the treasure carried off by the invaders was attended with considerable exasperation, and the smallness of the force remaining to protect an acquisition of such extent and consequence, furnished, perhaps, the most powerful motive to attempt wresting it from their hands. Several individuals of the municipality soon began to organize the means of resistance. Pueridon, a member of this body, exerted himself with great prudence and address in stimulating the ardour of the inhabitants and collecting *depôts* of arms. Colonel Liniers, a French officer in the Spanish service, was at the same time in full activity on the north side of the river, from which it was impossible to prevent his passing to the south whenever a fair wind occurred. Having animated the people of the town with a strong spirit of hostility, and formed in it, in places best calculated for annoyance, magazines of arms, Pueridon withdrew with the most regular and disciplined of his adherents, to collect a force with which he might soon successfully advance again and commence an attack. He was speedily joined by numbers from various parts of the country. The governor was now fully aware of the danger of his new settlement. Justly conceiving that the conflict should not be delayed for a single moment, while the enemy was thus reinforcing and extending his preparations, and his own strength was incapable of receiving any addition, he proceeded, at the head of 500 men, five leagues from the town, and made a successful attack on 1500 Spaniards, who had been already collected, taking a number of prisoners, and nine pieces of cannon. The troops under colonel Liniers, however, soon after joined Pueridon, without the slightest molestation, and their united forces now advanced towards the town. General Beresford, well knowing the disaffection of the inhabitants, determined to attack the enemy at a distance; but a succession of the most violent rains taking place, the roads were totally impracticable for every thing but cavalry. This intention therefore was necessarily abandoned. The enemy, possessing an inexhaustible supply of horses, were but little embarrassed by the state of the roads, and were now very rapidly approaching the town in several directions. The various avenues were soon after filled by the Spanish army, and the inhabitants were armed in great numbers on the tops of the houses and churches, designing to conduct a war of ambush. On the 12th of August a smart firing began from the advanced posts of the enemy, which

was

returned with great effect by the British artillery planted towards the principal streets leading to the grand square. The castle was commanded from the tops of the houses by the armed inhabitants, and a cannon had been raised to the top of one of the churches which did considerable execution. Great impetuosity and great firmness were manifested by the Spaniards; and three pieces of artillery were pushed on by them with great rapidity and destruction, but were soon taken, in consequence of a charge by colonel Pack. Reinforcements were every moment crowding from the back streets of the town to the roofs of the buildings commanding the great square, where the English general had hoped to bring the Spanish army to a contest, but where his wishes and endeavours for this purpose were equally ineffectual, and his little army was now rapidly falling by shots from invisible persons. Nothing now remained therefore but to hoist a flag of truce on the castle. The conditions of a capitulation were almost immediately agreed to, and were honourable to the British army. They were permitted to march out with all the honours of war, and to be exchanged for whatever number of Spaniards had been taken by them since their arrival. They were also to be immediately embarked in the transports for England. These terms, however, the Spaniards dishonourably violated.

The smallness of the force under general Beresford, and its known incompetence to contend successfully with difficulties not unlikely to occur, caused a reinforcement, under colonel Backhouse, to be dispatched from the Cape. This force, however, did not reach the river Plate till the 12th of October. The immediate object of this expedition being thus precluded, the first effort of the commander was directed to occupy a position on shore, and there await the arrival of reinforcements, or of further instructions. The town of Maldonado appearing a favourable position for refreshing the troops, and mounting the cavalry, 400 men were immediately landed under lieutenant colonel Vassal, and took possession of it after very slight resistance.

Intelligence was received by the British ministry of sir Home Popham's enterprise against Buenos Ayres in the month of June, after its being undertaken; it was not however till October that a reinforcement was sent out from England under the command of sir S. Auchmuty and the convoy of sir R. Sterling, who was appointed to supersede sir H. Popham in the command of the naval department on that station. This force arrived at Maldonado on the fifth of January. The troops from the Cape were immediately taken under the orders of sir Samuel, and Maldonado was speedily evacuated. An attack on Montevideo was now determined on, and on the morning of the 18th a landing was effected in a small bay about nine miles from the town. During the disembarkation the enemy were in possession of the surrounding heights, in great force, but made no opposition, nor to the subsequent occupation of a strong post about nine miles from the town. On the 19th the army moved on towards Montevideo. Two heights, to their front and left, were occupied by about four thousand horse, and a heavy fire of round and grape shot now opened; but, by a spirited charge from the light battalion

talion under colonel Brownrigge, the corps opposed to him was dispersed with the loss of one of their guns. The enemy on the flank also commenced a retreat immediately, and, without any further opposition but that of a distant cannonade, the British commander was permitted to occupy a position two miles from the citadel. In the morning, the whole force of the Spaniards, consisting of about 6000 men, came out of the town to meet the English, and commence an attack in two columns, one of which was defeated and driven back with the loss of about twelve hundred men. In consequence of this, the other retreated without coming to action. The siege of the place almost immediately commenced. Batteries were in a few days opened upon the town, and all the frigates and smaller vessels approached as closely as they could with safety and cannonaded it. No disposition, however, was shown by the garrison to a surrender. The works were in a respectable state, and ably defended. It was determined, therefore, to erect a battery as nearly as possible to a wall by the south gate of the citadel, which communicated with the sea. A vigorous fire was kept up from this battery, within 600 yards of the gate, and, though exposed to a very superior fire of the enemy, a breach was reported practicable on the second of February. Orders were consequently issued for the assault one hour before day-break on the ensuing morning. The troops destined for this service were commanded by colonel Brown; and the remainder of the British force, including a corps of 700 marines and seamen, were encamped under brigadier general Lumley to protect the rear. The night was extremely dark, and the troops approached very nearly to the breach before they were discovered. A most dreadful fire, however, now opened from every gun that could be supposed to bear upon it, and the discharges of musquetry from the garrison were, also, unremitted. In consequence of the darkness, the head of the column missed the breach, which in the course of the night had been closed up and strongly barricaded with hides, notwithstanding all the fire of the besiegers. It was at length however discovered, and, difficult as it was of access, in consequence of the efforts of the enemy to render it as impracticable as the untouched wall, the soldiers rushed towards it with the greatest impetuosity. They rapidly forced their way through it to the ramparts, and from them into the town, overturning the cannon, which had been placed at the head of the principal avenues, and the fire of which was extremely severe, and clearing the batteries and streets with the bayonet. By eight o'clock in the morning every thing was completely in their possession, perfect tranquillity reigned throughout the place, and the women were seen walking about the town without the slightest alarm. From the first landing to the occupation of the citadel, the British loss amounted to about 600 men; major Dalrymple, a field officer, was killde; and lieutenant-colonels Vassal and Brownrigge died of their wounds. The loss sustained by the enemy was about 800 killed and 500 wounded; about 2000 were made prisoners, and 1500 were supposed to have escaped in boats or to have secreted themselves in the town.

While

While negotiations were pending the preceding year between France and England, transports and troops remained collected in various British ports; and enterprises which had been projected against different quarters for the annoyance of the enemy, were from time to time delayed, in the idea that peace might render them superfluous. According to the fluctuations of diplomacy, orders and counter orders were repeatedly issued; and the relaxation of hostile energy on the part of England, while the enemy was availing himself of every opportunity to extend his triumphs, excited no small disapprobation. At length public opinion having expressed itself strongly against further delay, general Crawford was ordered to sail with an expedition of nearly 5000 men, under the protection of four ships of the line, and wait at Port Praya for orders, which he should receive from admiral Murray, who, with two ships more of the line, had been destined to join and superintend the convoy; but whose ships were not fully equipped at the moment when ministers at last thought it incumbent upon them to urge the departure of the expedition. General Crawford, therefore, proceeded to Port Praya under convoy of the hon. captain Stopford. In this place he waited for a month in expectation of the arrival of admiral Murray, who, however, had been detained in port by unfavourable winds. At the expiration of a month captain Stopford was prevailed upon to quit the port in convoy of the troops, and within a very short period afterwards admiral Murray actually arrived. The conduct of general Crawford in this instance induced ministers to supersede him in the command by the appointment of general Whitelocke, who quitted England in March, and was joined in the river Plata in June, by the British troops which had at different times arrived in that quarter under colonel Backhouse, sir Samuel Auchmuty, and lastly general Crawford himself. An attack on Buenos Ayres was immediately resolved on and prepared for. After many delays occasioned by foul winds, a landing was accomplished without the slightest opposition on the 28th of June at Ensenada, about thirty miles eastward of the town. The country between this spot and Buenos Ayres is intersected by deep and muddy rivulets, and abounds in swamps which rendered the march of the troops extremely fatiguing. Colonel Mahon, who was bringing up the heavy artillery, was instructed to wait at Reduction till further orders; and the army, divided into two columns, proceeded towards the town in opposite directions, and, after surmounting various difficulties from parties of the enemy or the nature of the ground, joined before Buenos Ayres the next day. The line was formed by placing general Auchmuty's brigade on the left, extending within two miles of the convent of Recoleta. The 36th and 88th regiments were on his right. The brigade of general Crawford occupied the principal avenues to the town, and were about three miles distant from the great square and fort, his right being also well supported by an appointment of dragoons, dragoon guards, and the 45th regiment extending to the Residencia. The town was thus nearly invested. In consequence of understanding that the enemy meant to occupy the flat

flat roofs of the houses for defence and annoyance, and of the consideration that the town was divided into squares of about 140 yards each, general Whitelocke states himself to have adopted the following plan of attack. One regiment was to be detached by general Auchmuty to take possession of the Plaza de Toros, and the adjacent strong position. Four other regiments were divided into wings, and each of these was ordered to penetrate the street directly opposite to it. The light battalion and the 98th regiment were in the same manner to proceed down the two streets, on the right of the centre one, each wing being followed by a three pounder; and the 45th regiment, after passing the two streets immediately adjoining, was to fix its station at the Residencia. Two six pounders covered by the carabineers, and several troops of light dragoons, were ordered through the central street. Every division was to proceed along the street directly in its front till it arrived at the last square, adjoining the river, there to occupy the flat roofs of the houses and await further instructions. The seizure of two situations best calculated for annoyance was committed to the 95th. A corporal's guard was to march at the head of every column with crows, to break open the doors of the houses; and the musquets were to be kept unloaded till the columns were formed at their appointed final stations.

These arrangements having been given out, the strong post of the Retiro and Plaza de Toros was approached early in the morning of the fifth of July by general Auchmuty, and, notwithstanding the severe discharges of grape shot and musquetry from the Spaniards, he gained possession of the place, taking 32 pieces of cannon, 600 prisoners, and a vast quantity of ammunition. The 5th regiment advanced to the river after experiencing very little opposition, and took possession of the church and convent of St. Catalina. The division of general Lumley was opposed in its march by an incessant fire of musquetry from the tops of the houses, the doors of which were so firmly barricaded, that scarcely any effort could force them open, while the streets were intersected by deep ditches, in the inside of which were planted cannon, which poured grape shot on the advancing columns. The 36th regiment, however, was enabled to overcome all this formidable opposition, and to reach its final destination. The other regiment was more exposed to the fire of the fort, and the principal defences of the Spaniards, and was completely overpowered and taken. This misfortune rendered unavailing the success of the 36th, the exposure of whose flank now rendered a retreat necessary for it, upon the post of general Auchmuty; which was, also, now become requisite for the 5th regiment from the convent of St. Catalina. In the mean time the six-pounders, appointed to move down the principal streets, experienced the severest fire from an opposing battery. In the attempt to take this by the bayonet the first and second in command were both wounded; and the fire from the battery still continuing, as well as from the windows and tops of houses, a retreat became absolutely necessary. This division, however, occupied a position in front of the enemy's principal defence, and had advanced somewhat

what beyond their first station in the morning. Lieutenant-colonel Pack with the left division of general Crawford's brigade, had advanced nearly to the river, where it was to occupy the Jesuits' college, which commanded the principal Spanish line of defence. But, on turning to the left, the fire of the enemy rendered all further advance absolutely impracticable. Part of them took possession of a house, which was almost immediately found incapable of being maintained, and no alternative remained for it but absolute destruction or surrender. The remainder, after sustaining with intrepidity the incessant discharge of the enemy, by which their commander was wounded, retired upon the right division commanded by general Crawford himself. This division had penetrated quite through the town to the river, after which it turned to the left to approach the great square and fort, from one bastion of which it was only 400 yards distant Learning, however, the fate of the left division, and being now opposed by an immense superiority of the enemy, the general deemed it most eligible to occupy without delay the convent of St. Domingo, near which he was at the moment. The Residencia had been gained by colonel Guard, who was considerably removed from the Spanish centre, with very slight opposition; and leaving it in possession of his light companies, he advanced towards general Crawford and joined him at the convent. The building was almost instantly surrounded; and notwithstanding the reinforcement by colonel Guard, general Crawford was obliged to confine himself merely to defence, and from the top a well-directed fire was for some time kept up on the Spaniards. His troops were, however, exposed, in their turn, to discharges of round shot, grape, and musquetry, which at length obliged them to abandon the roof. A force of nearly 6000 men was advancing with cannon to force the wooden gates of the convent, which were directly opposite to the fort. In these circumstances, all communication with other columns being completely cut off, at four o'clock in the afternoon general Crawford surrendered to the enemy.

Thus dearly were the advantages purchased which had been this day obtained. The occupation of de Toros on the right, and of the Residencia on the left, while an advanced position was maintained by the commander in chief, opposite the enemy's centre, were gained at the expense of 2500 men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Every house had been converted into a fortress, from which the occupier and his negroes had availed themselves of all the means both of defence and annoyance. Musquetry, bricks, and stones were employed from their secure elevation, with all the ardour of patriotism, and all the zeal of fanaticism. Volleys of grape shot were discharged at the corners of almost every street, to the passing of which, barricadoes and ditches presented likewise the most formidable impediments. The whole population of Buenos Ayres seemed to have been long prepared to repel the attack, and were evidently animated by a resolution bordering upon rage. The night exhibited an impressive pause of destruction. In the morning general Liniers addressed a letter to the British commander, offering to deliver up the prisoners taken

now, and from general Beresford, on condition that the attack on the town should be discontinued, and that within two months the river Plata should be evacuated by the British troops. It was stated in this dispatch that the exasperation of the populace against the English prisoners was unbounded, and that if hostilities were persisted in by general Whitelocke, it would be impossible to ensure their safety. These terms were almost immediately yielded to by general Whitelocke, who states himself to have been determined to this assent principally from a reference to the situation of the prisoners, which, from unquestionable intelligence, he understood to be highly critical, and from the consideration that the possession of a country whose inhabitants were so decidedly hostile to the conqueror, could not possibly be attended with the least advantage.

The facility with which errors are detected in plans which have proved unsuccessful, ought not to preclude some remarks on the operations and conclusion of this enterprise. The mode of defence intended to be adopted by the Spaniards, appears to have been perfectly ascertained by the British commander; and every obstacle must have been expected to arise which actually occurred from barricaded streets, and an armed population on the roofs of all the houses and public buildings. Yet, in these circumstances, the application of heavy artillery, in the first instance, at some distance from the town, seems to have been totally unthought of, this artillery being far in the rear of the army; and a *coup de main*, exposed to the most imminent dangers and certain losses, was preferred to this regular preparatory application, which could scarcely have failed to procure the most decisive success. Each division on entering the town was preceded by a corporal's guard, furnished with iron crows to break open the doors of the inhabitants, who, knowing the security with which they were closed against all similar attempts, smiled at their inefficacy, and leisurely directed an unerring aim at those who were employed in a business at once so tragical and ludicrous. The troops were, moreover, ordered to enter the town with their pieces unloaded, as if it had been imagined, that, before their arrival at their several places of destination, through long streets, and a series of obstacles necessarily imposing repeated delays, no discharges of musquetry from British soldiers could have had any effect in counteracting those which were poured with such dreadful havock upon themselves. Notwithstanding, however, the singularity of the mode of attack adopted by the general, several advantages were actually gained; an important post was occupied to the right and another on the left, and a position was maintained by the commander in chief in front of the centre; and, what evinces that these advantages were by no means inconsiderable, the governor of the place urges an accommodation on the English commander, not from the argument of his eventual surrender being inevitable, or of his retreat being impossible, but from the danger of the English prisoners, if hostilities were still persisted in. This overture is acceded to by general Whitelocke, with a view to the safety of the prisoners, and from the general conclusion that the enmity of the Spanish inhabi-

tants

tants, would preclude the possibility of any permanent advantage even after the most decided success. No mention is made in his dispatch of the impossibility of further advance, or of any difficulties which precluded the embarkation and return of the troops to Montevideo; where reinforcements might have been waited for to renew hostile operations, and a decision on the policy of abandoning South America might have been reserved for ministers, instead of being prematurely and irregularly pronounced by a military commander. Six hundred Spanish prisoners were in possession of the British army, at the moment when the accommodation was suggested, who might have been considered as guarantees for the safety of the English soldiers. The enmity of the inhabitants was fully ascertained before the attack, which, if upon that principle it ought to be abandoned, ought also never to have been made. It was by no means certain, however, that under the lenient discipline and fostering care of England, the prejudices of the inhabitants might not have been gradually mitigated. The communication of important privileges might have substituted complacency and even gratitude for exasperation. Or if, during the protraction of the general war, it appeared that this experiment must prove eventually unsuccessful, the retention would at least answer some valuable purpose, as the stipulated evacuation at peace would have induced important concessions by the enemy in Europe. If, therefore, it were impossible for general Whitelocke to have urged further his attempt on Buenos Ayres at this time, he should have retreated to Monte-video. The prudence of evacuating the one station by no means included the necessity of abandoning the other. Indeed, both with respect to the terms of the definitive treaty, and the method of attack, there seem to be the most serious grounds for inquiry.

In connection with the subject of South America, it is proper to notice an event which took place at an earlier period of the year than what has been just recorded, which is the trial of sir Home Popham. It has been observed, that sir H. was superseded by admiral Stirling, and ordered to return home. Immediately on his arrival he was put under arrest by the admiralty, to await his trial by a court martial, which speedily afterwards took place at Portsmouth. The substance of the charges stated, that he had been appointed on an expedition to the Cape in conjunction with the troops under sir David Baird, which expedition had proved successful; but that, with a view to attack the Spanish settlements in the river Plata, for which he had no direction or authority whatever, he withdrew from the Cape the whole of the naval force under his command, which had been placed under him solely with the view of defending it, thus leaving the Cape exposed to insult and attack, unprovided with the means of capturing any ship from the enemy which might put into it, and even of affording protection to commerce. On this interesting trial it was clearly proved, and indeed admitted, that sir Home Popham engaged in this expedition without orders; and on the fifth day of the proceedings, which attracted in a very extraordinary degree the public attention, the evidence being

ing completely closed, the court was in deliberation for four hours. At the expiration of this period, the defendant was called in, the charge was read, and the opinion of the court was stated by the judge advocate to be, that the charge was fully proved. As the withdrawing without orders the whole of any naval force from the place in which it was directed to be employed, and employing it in distant operations against the enemy, more especially if the success of such operations were likely to prevent its speedy return, might be attended with the most serious inconveniences to his majesty's service, any plans formed by ministers for hostile operations in which this force was included being liable to be thus rendered abortive, the court resolved, That the conduct of sir Home Popham was highly censurable; but, in consideration of circumstances, adjudged him only to be severely reprimanded.

This decision of the court was received by the great mass of the people throughout the country, (with whom the success of valour ever atones for deviations from the most important general principles, and who, though the first to blame the failures of temerity, can connect no errors with its triumph,) with considerable disapprobation. Even those who might be supposed more capable of forming a correct estimate of the importance of correct discipline and obedience, expressed no slight disgust at the result of the proceedings; and on the appearance of sir Home in one of the principal places of mercantile resort, speedily after his reprimand, he was received with several distinct peals of applause. Those however who were best qualified to direct the public mind, and were neither led away by the enthusiastic admiration of enterprise, nor so biassed by the pursuit of wealth as to overlook or vindicate the most dangerous irregularities practised in opening for it new channels, expressed very different feelings. The sentence of the court martial, both in the reprimand and its severity, received their complete approbation. It was evidently important to check that comprehensive and indefinable claim, which, under the name of discretion, tended to cut up by the roots the plans of that central and presiding power, by which alone the affairs of kingdoms can be effectually superintended. If the limits be not observed between direction and execution; if a commander be allowed to usurp on the functions of a cabinet; or if hints thrown out in unreserved and confidential conversations be permitted to be substituted for official instructions,—all dependence, even on the most abundant resources for annoyance, is at an end; uniformity of hostile operations is impracticable; all calculation is useless. Instead of the national means being wielded against the enemy in conformity to one clear, consistent, magnificent, and efficacious scheme of hostility, they would be involved in inextricable confusion and dissipated in mutual collision, and a way would be opened for every attempt which might be suggested by the lust of plunder or the rashness of folly.

Before the topic of South America is for the present quitted, it may be allowable to advert to the operations of general Miranda. It appears that the account of his force on landing on the Caraccas was greatly exaggerated, and that he

he had with him, when he sailed from Trinidad, no more than 400 men. Having effected a landing with these, he soon afterwards attacked the Spaniards. His troops, however, speedily found that they had to contend with an enemy whose superiority of numbers would atone for any inferiority of skill or discipline. As many of the assailants had to dread the worst from falling into the hands of the Spaniards, they fought with all that ardour and desperation which these apprehensions must excite, but were at length nearly all cut to pieces or taken prisoners. Miranda himself with a few others effected their escape and returned to Trinidad, where no further exertions were encouraged or indeed attempted for a renewal of the enterprise. The Leander fell into the power of the enemy, and the captain and greater part of the crew were tried and executed. In the course of the present year general Miranda arrived in England.

An enterprise of considerable consequence was accomplished, early in the year, by a squadron of British frigates commanded by captain Brisbane under the orders of vice-admiral Dacres. This was directed against the island of Curaçoa. The harbour was defended by regular fortifications of two tiers of guns. Fort Amsterdam alone contained 66 pieces of cannon. The entrance was only fifty yards wide, and across it were moored two frigates and two large schooners of war. A chain of forts was on the commanding height of Miselburg, and Fort Republique, deemed nearly impregnable, was within the distance of grape-shot and enfiladed the whole harbour. Soon after day-break the British frigates made all possible sail in close order of battle. The vessels appointed to intercept their entrance were taken by boarding; the lower forts, the citadel and town of Amsterdam, by storm.

The port was entered at a quarter after six in the morning, and before ten a capitulation was signed, the British flag was hoisted on Fort Republique, and the whole was in complete possession of the assailants, with the loss of only three men killed and fourteen wounded. This acquisition was announced by the admiralty in a letter to the lord mayor, and the Park and Tower guns were fired on the occasion.

But it is now time to notice an expedition of the British arms, which makes a prominent figure among the events of the war, and which excited an uncommon degree of attention and extraordinary collision of opinion. Some of the first concerns of the new ministers were to take up transports and collect troops, and make all the requisite arrangements for an expedition of extraordinary extent and consequence, which demands the most complicated details, and with all possible dispatch must be the work of considerable time. By the battles of Pultusk and Eylau, it appeared that, though the losses of the allies were greater than those of the French, the latter must have experienced very considerable impairment of force. Both parties had been extremely weakened, and both were, as rapidly as possible, renewing their vigour for a fresh conflict, the result of which would probably be decisive. In these circumstances it was of consequence to throw every impediment in the way of Bonaparte's accumulating reinforcements, and

to excite those alarms on various points which would render his detention of any troops from the Vistula a matter of expedience. Even the alarm excited by the English preparations tended to produce this effect. But in the event of Bonaparte being driven out of Poland, 20,000 British soldiers in conjunction with 7000 Prussians and Russians, and 13,000 Swedes already at Stralsund, would constitute an army, whose operations in Germany might be attended with the most valuable advantages and help to complete his overthrow. Even should the fate of the war be terminated before the completion of the British armament, and terminated in the manner most to be deprecated, the preparation of this force might be found by no means useless. It was possible to descry contingencies in which its application, even in the north of Europe, might still be attended with advantages of the first order to Great Britain, if not immediately to the continent itself. The fluctuations of policy incident to courts, in which the personal inclinations of the sovereign are under comparatively little control from public opinion, and none from popular forms of constitution, the natural ascendancy of a strong mind over a weak one, and the possible substitution of hostility for alliance, were circumstances which, in the formation of this armament, did not escape the comprehension of ministers; and they were evidently circumstances which, after the immediate object of the armament might have become incapable of attainment, might render its actual preparation of the utmost consequence for a very different service, for which it might be suddenly and imperiously demanded. The first embarkation, consisting chiefly of foreign troops, took place as soon as the equipment could be completed, and without any just ground for the imputation of delay. These troops safely arrived at their places of destination, at Stralsund and in the island of Rugen. Before the remainder, however, and by far the greater proportion of troops destined for this expedition could be embarked, intelligence arrived of the battle of Friedland, and of the peace of Tilsit.

It was supposed that this intelligence would immediately check the preparations going on in the British ports, and that the object would be to withdraw in safety those forces which were already in the north of Europe, instead of adding to their number. The hostility of the king of Sweden to France might indeed still be continued, and from his experienced perseverance and high chivalrous principles, defying the calculations of discretion and probability, there was reason to imagine that he would still carry on an useless war. Yet it did not appear consistent with the wisdom of a British council to join in attempts which could not possibly succeed, and pour out the blood of those heroes in the North, who might, within a short time, be wanted for the protection of their native soil. The expedition, however, was still continued, and even with increased vigour. Its supposed destination for co-operation with Sweden was the theme of perpetual invective or ridicule. Those who conceived it impossible that this should be its real object, imagined it might be intended for some enterprise on the opposite shores of the enemy. Flushing, Boulogne, Antwerp, and

the Texel, were successively announced as the intended places of attack, and many applauded the energy, while others condemned the temerity, of administration. But, again, the nature of the preparations, calculated for regular approaches and a protracted siege, and not for a *coup de main*, interfered with these conclusions, and doubt and mystery were still suspended over a subject which now attracted universal attention and speculation.

Every thing being at length completed, lord Cathcart embarked as commander in chief of the land forces, and set sail under the protection of admiral Gambier, with an admirably appointed and most formidable fleet. Within a few days, the objections to disclosure being considerably lessened, it was circuitously asserted that the object of all this mighty armament was no other than Denmark. Incredible as this appeared, circumstances were every day occurring to give it probability. Dispatches were anxiously expected which must expound every difficulty: and at length, after very considerable delay, these dispatches arrived, and confirmed the suggestion that Denmark was, indeed, the object of the expedition, and that it had proceeded to Copenhagen to take possession of Zealand, and secure the Danish fleet and naval stores.

This attempt against a state with which England was in profound peace, and whose neutrality had been the topic of her perpetual admiration and eulogium, was instantly and extremely reprobated. British honour was asserted to be indelibly stained. The atrocities of the enemy could no longer be exposed with honest indignation. In his most wanton aggressions and usurpations, he was now imitated by those who had held him up to the detestation of mankind; and the meanness of hypocrisy was added to the flagrancy of injustice. Such was the expression of the general feeling with respect to this important undertaking: and even those who were prepared to vindicate it by a reference to the comprehensive principles of political morality, were, at the same time, pleased with this ebullition of the popular sentiment. In the mass of a community, that discrimination necessary to decide on complicated cases of policy can never be expected. They are incapable of admitting exceptions to rules, or, rather, of enlarging their rules so as to include these exceptions. While this incompetence for decision on cases of great political crisis and complication exists, as it ever must exist, in the great body of the people, it is highly pleasing to observe in them at least that honest feeling, which, in the general course of human affairs, guides to correct decision, tends to the preservation of peace and justice, and is adequate to the purposes of social intercourse; that, in short, though not qualified by profound views to estimate correctly the circumstances of every case, there are few cases in which this feeling will permit them to go astray.

The right of attacking a neutral power, then, is by no means to be negatived by the popular observation that hostility can be justified only by aggression, and, that where no provocation has been given no attack ought to be made. The important inquiry is, whether the state which professes, and even unquestionably means, the strictest neutrality is capable of maintain-

ing it; or whether it be not under the inevitable control of a power which may at any time occupy its territory, and compel it to an application of its resources, foreign indeed to its most decided and ardent wishes, but eminently injurious to a nation with which that power is at war. If, during a period of conflict between two mighty empires, it has been the invariable practice of one to swell the amount of its means, by drawing into the vortex of its hostility subordinate powers, desirous, but totally unable, to avoid interference; if there remain one of this description, on which it has hitherto forborne attack, from policy, and most assuredly not from principle, but the attack on which recent successes and even strong intimations have rendered in the highest degree probable and imminent, surely the anticipation of such views by the empire against which these new resources are designed to be directed, falls within the limits of the most decided expediency. It is indeed an inevitable result of that morality which alone deserves the name, and which in all cases, presenting only a choice of evils, avoids the greater by the less. Men who, rather than adopt this system of energy and counteraction, would permit the adversary to mature his plans and aggrandize his means, and could console themselves for their incurring serious dangers, under the idea of adhering to abstract and universal maxims of justice, might adorn the intercourses of private life, but are incompetent to superintend the affairs of nations. They act upon the rules of the peasant when they should exhibit the principles of the sage.

Nor is this occupation of the resources of neutral nations by any state, with a view to preclude their probable and almost certain direction against itself, to be justified only in cases of such extreme urgency as would imply that the salvation of the country depended on this measure. The reasonable fear of consequences inexpressibly short of this result is fully adequate to its vindication. It is sufficient to evince the incapacity of the state to maintain the neutrality, so strongly professed; the high probability of the enemy's infringement of it, and that this infraction would be attended with serious, though by no means overwhelming injury. In such circumstances the invasion of the neutral territory requires no other vindication than those circumstances supply. No means are torn from it of maintaining its independence, as of this it was incapable. No ravages are presumed to be committed; no contributions are raised; none of those alienations of revenue or appropriations of territory are inflicted which usually follow in the train of conquest. It is only withheld from compulsorily concurring to produce the success of that system of usurpation which would eventually involve it in all these horrors; and at a period of general pacification, what itself would have been unable to secure, would be restored to it without waste or impairment.

Where hollow professions of neutrality have been maintained by states, which have delayed striking a blow only till they have accomplished some previous object of policy, after which they might strike it with superior effect, this anticipation of their views has been admitted to be just. The invasion of Saxony by Frederic William

liam of Prussia, in a time of profound peace with that state, was considered vindicable by the reasonable suspicion that that state had assembled its troops, and occupied an important station with a view to join the forces of Austria and Russia then combined against the Prussian monarch. The proposition of Mr. Pitt in 1761 to intercept the rich flotilla of Spain, and thus secure a pledge against the hostility to which that nation had manifested symptoms of strong inclination, was regarded by nearly all men of sense as deserving of adoption, and, if adopted, would in all probability have precluded that war in which Spain engaged almost immediately on the safe arrival of its treasure. But whether the neutrality of any state be intended by that state itself to be terminated, or whether it is intended to be violated by another power fully capable of executing this purpose, and of wielding all its means to the injury of a third state, expedience requires in both cases that this third state should anticipate the blow and preclude the injury. Such a measure, in the one case, indeed, is provoked, and whatever consequences it may entail on perfidious policy are justly merited. In the other, the measure is adopted with no spirit of revenge, because no aggression has been menaced, and while it is executed will be sincerely deplored. In both instances, however, the hostile anticipation is indispensable to ward off serious and equal injuries, and is therefore equally vindicable, though the hostile mind can operate only in consequence of wrongs committed or intended.

If we advert from principles to facts, it will be seen that Great Britain had been put by Bonaparte to the ban of the continent. The property of her subjects had been confiscated in the neutral territories of the north of Germany. In Switzerland, where no connection existed with England but through the peaceful exchanges of commerce, her trade was excluded by the most rigorous edicts. Portugal was permitted to keep open her ports to the commerce of this country, merely because the rapacity of the emperor predominated over his vengeance, and he consented to accept bribes for delaying what he was resolved, ultimately, and at a more convenient season, to inflict. The negative and positive means of annoyance belonging to those states which were denominated by him independent, but were subject to his control, were directed to the accomplishment of the grand object of his policy and resentment, the humiliation of the British empire. By restrictions on trade, and exactions of money, and demands of provisions, or troops, or stores of various descriptions, he obliged all neutral powers within his reach to aid in his views and contribute to his success. He had in no instance manifested any scruples but those of policy; and his system, of converting to his purpose all the resources within his grasp, had been acted upon with firm decision and unrelenting oppression.

With an enemy of this description it became necessary to adopt a mode of proceeding, which, if the ordinary practice of civilized nations had received no infraction from him, would never have been resorted to. It was resolved not to imitate him in his injustice and atrocity, not to invade neutral states with a view to alienate their territories or exhaust their revenue,

but merely to obtain security, that their resources should not be applied to the promotion of his schemes.

That Denmark was unable to maintain, any longer, that neutrality which it had hitherto observed, seems to require no proof. In a former war, after the profession of the strictest neutrality, it was induced, at the instigation of France and Russia, to quit this system, and explicitly alleged external and overbearing influence in vindication of this departure from its solemn declaration. This influence, however, in the present case, was at least equally difficult to be resisted, if it were applied. After Austria, Prussia, and Russia herself had been subdued or defeated by France, it is no gratuitous assumption to say that Denmark could oppose no effectual resistance. The threat merely of the temporary occupation of Holstein, Schleswig, and Jutland, might be presumed sufficient to alarm the Danish court into compliance; this temporary occupation, it might be well known, would be attended with requisitions and oppressions, with waste and ravage, which even the industry of years would not adequately repair. But the menace of appropriation might also have been held out: that these fertile districts, the most valuable portion of the Danish territory, should be for ever alienated from that government—and there would, in case of refusal, have unquestionably been only a short interval between the decree and its execution; that Denmark would have submitted to see detached from her the better half of her possessions, rather than cooperate in French hostility and supply her navy for the invasion or annoyance of England, is a presumption of what is barely within the limits of moral possibility.

As France possessed this power, so it cannot be doubted by any who have adverted to the course of events, that she had both the inclination and intention to wrest the Danish resources to her grand purpose, the injury of England. Intimations had repeatedly dropped from the French press, that Denmark might be induced to shut the Sound against the English. The system of Bonaparte, by which, in every instance within his reach and within his expedience, he had turned the means of neutral powers to swell the tide of his own, rendered it barely possible that Denmark alone, now perhaps affording the very strongest inducement to his following up this practice, would prove an exception to it. Besides these probabilities, in themselves abundantly sufficient, it is superfluous to add that intelligence had been actually received by the English government of the design of Bonaparte to occupy Holstein, with a view to exclude the British trade from the continent, and to the application of the Danish navy against Great Britain or Ireland. The arrangements of the peace of Tilsit, also, if not fully known at this period, might at least be strongly suspected to be of a description highly favourable to a project against these islands from the north of Europe. Russia proposed, indeed, to mediate a peace between France and England; but this proposition was attended with a limitation of time, highly indecorous and offensive, and calculated to do away all the merit and effect of the proposition itself, and which showed but little respect for a power for which she had recently entertained the strictest amity and alliance,

alliance. France was to mediate a peace between Russia and Turkey; but this provision was expressed in language, with regard to the latter power, more descriptive of insult than of deference, and, in connection with other circumstances, naturally suggested the idea that Russia might derive, from this mediation for peace, more than she would probably have gained by the continuance of war, and that Russia would be ready to balance these good offices of France, by the concession of points by which the latter power would feel amply compensated. It was known that the boasted magnanimity of Alexander had not prevented him from sharing in the conquests made from Prussia, and rounding his dominions by an accession from her territories, carrying with it a population of 200,000 persons;—and the monarch who could robe himself in the spoil of one of his allies, might be easily presumed not incapable of engaging in direct hostility against another. Not to have entertained apprehensions from Russia, could only have arisen from a confidence, blinding its possessor to the series of events and the developments of character; and to have doubted the intentions of France, would have betrayed a scepticism implying mental imbecility or infatuation. It may be worth while to observe, that these intentions are sufficiently, though undesignedly, revealed in the very invectives with which the official paper of France abounded against the Danish expedition, as a violation of the rights of nations, and unexampled in the history of modern governments, or of civilized warfare. The epithets of dishonour and atrocity were nearly exhausted in their application to a measure, which rests its justification on the foul and wanton aggression of that very government which now exhibited itself as the model of political forbearance and scrupulous hostility. The vindication is, however, at length, with most singular inadvertence, furnished in this attack, and it is represented as extremely natural that the English should be desirous of destroying a fleet which, at some time or other, might hurl on Great Britain the vengeance of the continent.

If it be remarked that, in the event of the occupation of the Danish navy by France, we should have had force enough to cope with her, without any doubt of a secure and even a triumphant result, and that the irritation to be expected from this measure was likely to give a formidable aspect to the politics of the North, and to delay the accomplishment of peace; it is sufficient to reply, that the union of the Turks and Russians in the Archipelago, and of the Russians, Danes, and Swedes in the Baltic, and, indeed, of all the naval powers in the world besides, against that of England, with respect to the ultimate result and victory, might be securely defied: yet much serious injury, much alarm and confusion, much interruption of agriculture and commerce, and much effusion of blood might intervene, before the period in which the contest would meet with this glorious termination. If considerable evils have, in all probability, been prevented by the adoption of this measure, it is abundantly sufficient; and it is by no means necessary to prove that without its adoption, Great Britain must, necessarily, have become a province of France. Peace is not the less likely to occur because the presumption

presumption of France has been checked, and her hopes have been blasted, and her maritime claims have one chance less of being realized. Nor can the consequent exasperation on this measure (and this exasperation has been far from inconsiderable) be regarded, as having given that formidable aspect to Northern politics which some have suggested. That they would have been much more formidable if this measure had not been taken, is most highly probable. The exasperation, perhaps inevitable in such circumstances, will be soothed by time and reflection, and the admission of urgent policy and reluctant inclination will, at length, draw over them the veil of oblivion. In every case, however, the impotent irritation of Denmark can excite no alarm, while her armed confederacy with France and Russia might have given the most just cause to deplore a forbearance which must have originated in folly, and the effects of which could not have been repaired by regret.

The force destined for this expedition consisted of about 20,000 men, under the command of lord Cathcart, and forty sail of ships of war, twenty-two of which were of the line. On the 12th of August his lordship joined the admiral off Elsineur, and Mr. Taylor, his majesty's resident at Copenhagen, having now made every overture to the Danish government, with a view to amicable arrangement, in vain, the army was landed on the 16th, at Wisbeck, on the island of Zealand, eight miles north of the capital. Nearly at the same time the British troops from Stralsund, also effected a landing in Keoge Bay. A proclamation was immediately issued by the commanders, declaring the circumstances under which they were obliged to proceed to this debarkation; that the deposit of the Danish ships of the line was the sole object of their enterprise, which was undertaken in self-defence, merely to prevent those who had so long disturbed Europe from directing against Great Britain the resources of Denmark; that the most solemn pledge had been given, and was now renewed, that if the demand were acceded to, every ship should be restored in the same condition as when delivered up; that Zealand should be treated by the British forces, while on shore, on the footing of a province of the most friendly power of Great Britain, the strictest discipline being observed, and persons and property held most scrupulously sacred: that the innocent blood which must be shed, and the horrors of a besieged and bombarded capital, must fall on those only who advised resistance to a measure thus dictated by imperious circumstances; and that, though the Danish government had hitherto declined an amicable accommodation, the voice of reason and moderation might yet be heard.

The determination on resistance, however, unhappily was decided, and unalterable. On the day after the landing of the troops, therefore, they advanced, in three columns, with very trifling opposition, to invest Copenhagen, which was effected on the north and south by the military force of England, and by its naval power on the east. The regular works were now commenced and carried on; and while these were rapidly advancing, notwithstanding some annoyance from the enemy's gunboats, the conveyances by which water was introduced into the city were sought, and many of them cut

off. The frigates and gun-boats took advantage of a favourable breeze to station themselves near the entrance into the harbour, from which they might throw shells into the town. Brigadier-gen. Decken took, by surprise, the post of Fredericksworck, by which a *depôt* of cannon and powder and 850 Danish soldiers fell into the hands of the besiegers. The country being in an extreme state of irritation against the English, preparations of force were accumulating, with great rapidity, under general Castenschield, who, in addition to this irregular force, had three or four battalions of disciplined troops.—As it was of importance to attempt the dispersion of this force before it should become capable of giving any formidable annoyance, sir Arthur Wellesley was dispatched, on the 26th, for this purpose, and soon effectually accomplished it, with the loss, on the part of the Danes, of 60 officers and 1100 men, together with ten pieces of cannon: he afterwards moved towards the centre of the island, to disarm and quiet the country; and, during the remainder of the operations before the town, no further molestation was experienced from this quarter by the besieging army.

In the mean time, the contest between the Danish gun-boats and praams, supported by the Crown battery, a block house, and some other works, and the advanced squadron of British gun-boats stationed near the entrance of the harbour, was carried on with vigour, and the latter were obliged, at length, to retire, some of them having been in imminent danger from the red-hot shot of the enemy. Between the British batteries on shore, and the enemy's gun-boats, the conflict, on the part of the former, was more successful, and the Danes were, in their turn, obliged to retreat with considerable loss, one of the gun-boats being blown up. The besieging army had now advanced its positions, and driven back all the picquets of the enemy to the lake, or inundation, in front of the city; all the suburbs on the north bank of the lake, including some posts within 400 yards of the ramparts, were occupied by the British; a division under sir David Baird carried a redoubt, which the enemy had been some days constructing, and which was immediately turned against them. The works which had been intended and begun by lord Cathcart were now abandoned, in consequence of these successes, and a line was taken within 800 yards of the place.—The moment now approached in which the more serious operations of the siege were to commence. As no overtures for accommodation had been made or yielded to by the Danes, and every thing evinced their determination to endure the horrors of a bombardment, by the 26th, the heavy ordnance was landed, and the batteries were nearly completed for mounting it; and by the 31st the platform was laid, and the mortar batteries were almost ready for action. A summons was now dispatched to general Peiman, the commandant, containing the same offers which had been originally made, but which were now again, most unfortunately refused.

On the morning of the 2d of September, therefore, the bombardment of the city commenced from the mortar batteries, which had been erected by the army, and from the bomb vessels, stationed in the most convenient places for cooperation. In a short time the town

town was on fire in several places. In hopes that the determination of the garrison might yet be changed, the vigour of the discharge was, after the first attack, considerably abated, and it was not until the next day, (no overtures for accommodation having been in the mean time made,) that the discharge was renewed with all its original effect. From the morning of the 2d the city was kept in flames, in different points, till the evening of the 5th, when a considerable part of it was consumed, and the conflagration had attained a height threatening the speedy destruction of the whole place.

In this crisis general Peiman sent out a flag of truce, desiring an armistice of 24 hours to prepare for a capitulation. It was explained, in reply, that the basis of the capitulation must be the delivery of the fleet, which, in a subsequent letter from the general, was admitted; and in the night between the sixth and seventh the articles were settled, and on the following morning ratified. The British troops were, by these articles, to be put in immediate possession of the citadel and dock yards; all the ships of war and naval stores of his Danish majesty were to be delivered up; prisoners were to be mutually restored; private property was to be respected; the functions of the civil and military officers were to receive no interruption; and, within six weeks, the citadel was to be restored to his Danish majesty in the state in which it was occupied, and the British troops were to have evacuated the island of Zealand. The navy delivered up, in consequence of this agreement, consisted of sixteen ships of the line, fifteen frigates, six brigs, and twenty-five gun-boats, besides vessels on the stocks; in the arsenals were found stores sufficient to fit for sea all this formidable fleet; all the ships of the line and frigates were laden with masts, spars, and timber that remained; a considerable part of stores of this description was put on board the Leyden and Inflexible; and some of the more valuable articles on board others of his majesty's ships, notwithstanding which, there yet remained sufficient to load 92 transports and other vessels, chartered for this express purpose, and whose cargoes amounted, at least, to twenty thousand tons.

The grand object of gaining possession of the fleet being attained, every provision that might tend to wound the feelings of the Danish nation was most sedulously avoided; and indeed, from the commencement of the proceedings against Denmark, so reluctantly but so necessarily undertaken, to the conclusion of them, the spirit of conciliation was ever ready to supersede the continuance of hostility. The bombardment did not commence till after a summons, with the most advantageous offers that circumstances would admit; an abatement of the violence of the bombardment had been purposely permitted, to give time for relaxation from rigid and mistaken principles of duty. No shot was fired after a disposition to capitulate was manifested; no requisitions were made; no contributions were levied; no military excesses tarnished British discipline or British humanity: lord Cathcart most willingly yielded to the request that the English troops should not be quartered in the town for some days; all the gates but that connected with the citadel were in the hands of the Danish troops; the

post

post was immediately reestablished; and the police of the town was regulated in the usual form, and by the usual officers. The loss sustained by the British, before Copenhagen, was comparatively trifling; that of the Danes is supposed to have amounted to about two thousand persons, and the destruction of nearly 400 houses.

The wisdom of the Danish government, and even its humanity, cannot easily be cleared on this subject from all imputation.—Much will be allowed for those resentments which are connected with the noblest feelings and most important duties. But there is a moment at which the agitations of passion are no longer to be excused from shutting out reason. It ill became the father of his people to enjoin a resistance which was ascertained to be fruitless, and to sacrifice multitudes of his subjects as an evidence of that detestation of the British enterprise, which a solemn declaration and appeal would have sufficiently announced. It is not easy to discern much of genuine heroism in his exposing his capital to all the perils and calamities of bombardment, in the resistance of which he could presume on no success, and declined personally to participate; and how little can be said for the policy of a government, which prefers fatal hostility to unresisting security?—When spirit totally disconnects itself from discretion, it is only imbecility or phrensy. The boasted neutrality of Denmark was a phantom; she had acknowledged herself, in a former war, incapable of maintaining it; she was openly threatened with its rupture by France, now aggrandized so as to permit no hope of advantage from a resistance which, even during its comparative weakness, Denmark had not thought proper to oppose to it. Instead of waiting in tame inaction, the victim of puny doubts and morbid morality, Great Britain demanded of Denmark merely a security, that Bonaparte should not be able to increase, by her resources, his formidable means of hostility. Denmark might have obtained from England the certain restoration of this pledge, intimate alliance, naval, military, and pecuniary assistance, the guarantee of all her territories from permanent alienation, and the extension of her colonial possessions. Without accepting of intimate alliance, or extended colonization, she might have consented to deliver up, for a time, the pledge demanded, to a power so vast and formidable that Bonaparte himself must have acknowledged her to have acted under the influence of irresistible urgency; while her declining the splendid overtures made her, would have evinced that her inclination had no part in the transaction. How much is it to be deplored, for the sake of any people, that, where their sovereign has a path before him so direct and plain, he should have no eye to discern it; that he should go astray where it seemed almost impossible; that, instead of preserving, at once, the purity of his principles and the prosperity of his people, by submitting to the resistless destiny of circumstances, he should sacrifice a formidable navy, involve his capital in flames, and devote thousands of his subjects to destruction.

The conduct of ministers, in this instance, seems, in the estimation of many, entitled to more than vindication:—and the house of commons, to whom the appeal was often made, have at length given them

them a vote of thanks for this particular act. It required considerable firmness to oppose prevailing opinions, and encounter the harshest imputation of injustice and dishonour. Many public characters, of high and general estimation, would rather have involved the nation in calamity, by conforming to its errors, than have prevented it by recurring to those grand and comprehensive principles which are beyond the grasp of ordinary minds, and supposed by them to imply a dereliction of all honourable and moral sentiment. Many, who are by no means the partizans of ministers, must, in this case, acknowledge their merit; and those who regard their conduct of affairs as very far from faultless, will bestow on this event of their administration sincere and unqualified applause.

CHAPTER XI.

Renewed Hostility between Sweden and France—Invasion of Pomerania—Surrender of Stralsund—Convention between the French and Swedish Generals—Armistice between Russia and the Porte—Continued Hostility between England and the Porte—Doubtful Relation between England and Russia—Grounds of suspecting the Fidelity and Attachment of Russia—Her Declaration of War—Answer of the British Government—Influence of France in Europe—Necessity of Great Britain's preserving her Maritime Superiority—State of Europe from the Restrictions on Commerce—Dispute between Great Britain and America—Question about their Seamen—Capture of the Chesapeake—Prospect of Accommodation—Question of American Trade—Intercourse between France and her Colonies by means of America—Inconvenience to England in submitting to it—Danger of terminating it—Treaty with America not ratified—Order of Council in January—Partiality of the American President—Orders of Council in November—State of Expectation and Interest—Disgraceful proceedings of the American Government in the Case of Aaron Burr.

THE peace of Tilsit was not immediately followed by pacific arrangements between France and Sweden. The expected arrival of a British force, to cooperate with his Swedish subjects, and with the Prussians and Russians already in Stralsund, appears to have excited in the king the most animated hopes. The expulsion of Bonaparte from Poland, where the grand contest was not yet decided, was, probably, every moment expected by him; and, with an army of forty thousand men, his disposition for military adventure would, in such an event, have been highly gratified. In such circumstances, it could not be surprising that he should wish for the termination of the armistice already mentioned to have been agreed upon between the Swedish and French commanders; and if, in producing this termination, he committed no infraction (which, however, he was charged with committing) of those scrupulous principles of honour which he had

had somewhat ostentatiously alleged to be the guides of his conduct, there could, at this period, have been no room for blame. The event, however, of the grand contest in the east was very different from what his majesty had sanguinely anticipated; and soon after his inauspicious renewal of hostilities with France, the army of that power was prepared to enter Pomerania, to bring the contest in that quarter to an issue by the most vigorous operations. The different detachments of his majesty's force retreated from the various points which they had occupied in this province as the invading army advanced, without daring to sustain any regular action. Stralsund was the direction of their retreat, and this fortress was speedily invested on the land side, and preparations were made for a bombardment. In this situation, the senate and livery of Stralsund humbly addressed the king, that he would be pleased to avert the impending evils. The fortress was, in consequence, delivered into the hands of the magistrates and senate, for their adoption of such measures as expediency might suggest. Arrangements were now made, with the utmost secrecy, to withdraw the troops to Rugen; and with such expedition and dexterity was this effected, that, before the enemy were aware that a single battalion had quitted the fortress, the whole force had actually embarked. This measure being completed, a deputation from the senate was sent to the French general, with offers of submission, and Stralsund was immediately occupied by the French army. The Swedish monarch, being harassed by vigilance, fatigue, and disappointment, soon quitted Rugen for his capital, leaving the island under the command of general Toll. The island Danholm, between Rugen and Stralsund, was speedily occupied by the French, partly by stratagem and partly by force.—It was now evident that Rugen was unable to withstand the power of the enemy; and general Toll, having been, fortunately, invested with discretionary power, soon determined to prevent the effusion of valuable blood, in circumstances in which it could effect no useful purpose. A conference, therefore, took place between the French and Swedish commanders on the 7th of September, and a convention was signed by them, by which the Swedes were to evacuate Rugen, and retire to Stockholm; and that island and all those on the German coast were ceded to France.

Soon after the peace was signed between France and Russia, an armistice was agreed upon between Russia and the Porte, much more favourable to the latter than circumstances had rendered probable. The successes of Russia had been great, and the continuance of hostility would, in all probability, have reduced Turkey to a state of humiliation and distress, far greater than that which she has long exhibited. The tumults of her capital, the revolt of her provinces, and the insubordination of her military, were combined with defeat and discomfiture by a foreign foe, who was making rapid progress on her territory, had blocked up her harbours, and nearly destroyed her navy. In such circumstances Russia might be presumed entitled to have expected terms more favourable than she actually agreed to. Moldavia and Wallachia were to be evacuated by her troops, and the ships of war and merchantmen, which had been captured by her in the

the course of the war, were to be restored. The vessels, indeed, captured by the Turks were also to be restored, but these constituted a value so inferior that the stipulated restitution was most strikingly favourable to the Porte. The facility with which Russia appeared to make these concessions, seemed to imply her abandonment of a policy to which she had long closely adhered. In connection, particularly, with the cession of Cattaro and the Seven Islands to France, it appeared as if Russian ambition had suddenly relinquished those objects which it had so long cherished with extreme fondness, and given up all idea of increasing her own territory from the provinces of Turkey. But the secret views of cabinets can be only imperfectly inferred from those forms and conventions which they exhibit to the world, and by which they often conceal from it their intentions, till the period in which they may be developed to greater advantage. It was scarcely to be supposed that Russia did not look for indemnity for her concessions to France, and in consequence of her successes on Turkey, and it appeared not extremely improbable that she might yet retain conquests which she had agreed to renounce. Few would give Bonaparte credit for his actually feeling the affection for the Turkish government which he has so repeatedly expressed: he has long looked to the partition of that empire by violence; he has often contemplated its dissolution from internal weakness, which, indeed, has long appeared perpetually imminent, but been perpetually delayed.—While Turkey, therefore, might congratulate herself on the conclusion of this peace with Russia, there was still room for apprehension; and the renunciation of the claims of Russia, through the mediation of France, could not be considered as an absolute security that both these powers had not combined in a plan for her destruction. Of this, however, nothing was ascertained before the end of the year: but the arrangements of Turkey were stated in a paper under the influence of the French government to be, in certain respects, highly offensive to it. Sebastiani threatened to quit Constantinople; an intimation was given that the reigning sultan would, perhaps, be the last on the throne of the Ottomans; and the Russians, instead of evacuating the Turkish provinces, were adopting all possible means of strengthening their positions in them.

The relations of amity between England and Turkey were not renewed during the course of this year. Sir Arthur Paget had been dispatched with overtures for accommodation to Constantinople, and lord Collingwood appeared at the same time with a squadron off the Dardanelles. The ascendency of France, however, in the Divan, prevented the success of every effort of the British government to reestablish with the Porte the relations of peace.

The conduct of the emperor of Russia, in acceding to the treaty of Tilsit had tended considerably to abate the confidence of the British government. The avidity with which he had accepted a share in the spoils of Prussia, which he had bound himself to protect, and which, in reliance on this protection, had refused, repeatedly, from Bonaparte, terms far superior to what were ultimately granted her, could not but excite suspicion;—this circumstance, together with the

the long interviews at Tilsit, the exchanges of imperial insignia, the connection of the stipulated mediation for England with the insulting limitation as to time, and the strong ascendency of Bonaparte's understanding, rendered it far from unlikely that Russia might soon join in hostility against England, with which she had so long cooperated. The natural and intimate connection subsisting between the two countries, rendered this contingency a subject of alarm, and this alarm, notwithstanding the occasional intervention of favourable circumstances, upon the whole rapidly increased. Several decrees of restriction, with respect to foreigners settled in Russia, were issued by the government of that country, which could be supposed to originate only in aversion towards England. Overtures were made for a renewal of the commercial treaty between the two nations, which were rejected; and, though the right of refusal was incontrovertible, its exercise, in the present instance, tended to corroborate the idea of enmity. A circumstance somewhat less equivocal, was the conveyance of French troops in a Russian squadron, from Italy, to occupy the important post of the Seven Islands, which would have been an adequate ground, indeed, of a declaration of war by England, and nearly dissipated all doubts of the nature of her relation with France. At length, however, every doubt was actually dissipated. The season of the year having arrived, in which annoyance from Great Britain could not be apprehended, the British ambassador was ordered to leave Petersburgh, and a declaration of war was issued against England.

In this paper the emperor regrets the existing alienation of his Britannic majesty, in proportion to the great value which he had placed upon his friendship. Twice had the emperor taken up arms in a cause in which England was peculiarly concerned, but, in the accomplishment of her own projects, he had in vain solicited her cooperation. She had employed her troops in distant territories, and beheld the conflict of European war with complete indifference; and, while the armies of Russia were pouring out their blood in a contest with the whole military power of France, England had occupied herself even in annoying the trade of her own ally, in violation of the express stipulations of treaty. When peace was reestablished with France, by Russia, the latter had offered her mediation to England. This had been rejected, unquestionably on a determination to break off all the existing ties between the two nations. At the moment when it was thus in the power of England to complete that general peace which was so much desired, her fleets and troops were summoned to execute an act of outrage unparalleled in history, and attack a power which, by its moderate conduct and wise neutrality, maintained a sort of moral dignity amidst surrounding and conflicting monarchies. A wound had thus been inflicted on the emperor himself, by this act of violence, committed in a close sea, and the tranquillity of which had been expressly guarantied both by Russia and England. In addition to all which, the proposition had been made that his imperial majesty should undertake the apology of this proceeding, and guaranty the submission of Denmark, and the security of Great Britain from any mischievous consequences

which might flow from her aggression. The prince royal of Denmark had communicated all the insidious propositions of England to the emperor, and reposed in him a just confidence; and his majesty, after reflecting on his own peculiar grounds of dissatisfaction with Great Britain, and on his engagements with the powers of the north, had resolved to recall his embassy from England; to terminate all communication with her; to abrogate every act hitherto concluded with her; to act on the principles of the armed neutrality, and never to recede from them; to procure the restoration of all unjustly detained vessels and merchandize; not to reestablish any communication before complete satisfaction was given to Denmark; and to require of his Britannic majesty that, instead of scattering fresh seeds of war, to gratify merely his own feelings, he should conclude a peace with the emperor of the French, and thus extend it to the civilized world.

To this declaration, an answer was speedily published by the British government. It would be difficult to find, in the immense volumes of diplomacy, a more admirable specimen of the characteristics which should distinguish papers of this transcendent importance. To all the accuracy of good writing, and, indeed, all those excellencies of literary composition which were applicable to the subject, are united firmness and temper, dignity and moderation, sagacity to explore the windings of insidious policy, forbearance from any unnecessary exposure of error and degradation, and a consciousness of possessing that combination of innocence and power which proves this forbearance to originate rather in compassion for the humiliation of a recent ally, than in fear from the exertions of a formidable enemy. Impossible as it is to give the whole, and difficult as it may be to present a sketch of this admirable paper, it would be inexcusable to dismiss it without further notice.

It states that his majesty was aware of the nature of those engagements imposed on the emperor by the treaty of Tilsit, but had hoped that, in a season of reflection, he would have extricated himself from the new counsels and connections which had been adopted in a moment of despondence and alarm, and returned to that policy which he had so long professed, and which had conduced so much to the prosperity of his dominions. The king had abstained from the language of reproach, notwithstanding all his grounds for complaint and suspicion. The declaration of Russia, unhappily, proved that the object of this forbearance had not been attained, and that the power which is essentially the enemy of England and of Russia, had excited a groundless enmity between those two nations whose mutual interests prescribed the most intimate union. It was alleged, that, though the interests of Great Britain, in the recent struggle on the continent, were more direct than those of Russia, she had neglected to support the emperor's military operations. Yet, when the war broke out between Prussia and France, the former power was in a state of hostility with England, but was allied with his imperial majesty, who was also protector of the north of Europe, and the guarantee of the Germanic constitution. And with respect to the neglected co-operation which was attempted to be proved by the attack of Great

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Britain on the Porte, the war with the latter power was expressly undertaken at the instigation of Russia, and solely for the purpose of maintaining Russian interests against those of France. If, however, the neglect alleged could be admitted to have existed, it was to be regretted that the emperor should have so precipitately resolved on its punishment, by the peace of Tilsit, at the very moment when Great Britain was making the most strenuous exertions to fulfil the wishes of her ally, the assurances of which his imperial majesty had received, with expressions of confidence and satisfaction. Though the emperor had condescended to complain of vexation on Russian commerce, by Great Britain, this complaint could not be seriously felt even by those on whose behalf it was urged, as, in the course of the present war only one Russian vessel (which was carrying naval stores to the common enemy) had been condemned, but few vessels of that nation had been detained, and no case had occurred of justice being refused to parties complaining of such detention. The offer of mediation by Russia was accompanied with circumstances of concealment, but, notwithstanding this, was not declined. The stipulation, prescribing a limited time for his majesty's answer to this proposition, was not communicated to him, and, being so offensive to the dignity of an independent sovereign, would, if known, have met with the most decided objection.—The mediation had, however, been accepted, on conditions in themselves perfectly natural, and which it would have been highly improper to omit. A more than ordinary anxiety to ascertain the effect of the emperor's relation with France, before the protection of British honour and interests was committed to his care, was abundantly justified by several considerations.—The complete abandonment by the emperor of the interests of the king of Prussia; the character of those provisions which he had consented to make for his own interest, in the negotiation of Tilsit; the arbitrary exactions enforced by France, on the remnant of the Prussian monarchy; her demands of its unconquered fortresses; her requiring for instant death, subjects of his Prussian majesty, and resident in his dominions, upon charges of disrespect to the French government, in violation of the articles of the Prussian treaty and without the slightest interference of the emperor of Russia; presented no encouraging prospect of a favourable result from his mediation, for Great Britain. And, even if this mediation had been followed by a peace, guarantied by the emperor, his violation of the guarantee so recently given of the independence of the Ionian Republic, now openly transferred to France, must have precluded all reliance on the stability of such an arrangement. With respect to the expedition to Copenhagen, it ill became those who were parties to the secret arrangements of Tilsit, to demand satisfaction for a measure to which these arrangements gave rise, and by which one of the objects of them was happily defeated. If any thing could be wanting to complete the justification of that measure, it was supplied by the imperial declaration. And notwithstanding the resentment now stated to be felt at this proceeding, and at the proposal of Russia's mediating and guarantying a peace between Great Britain and Denmark, it was

important to observe, that the first symptoms of reviving confidence between Russia and England, after the peace of Tilsit, occurred after the intelligence of the siege of Copenhagen had been received at Petersburgh. The king had never acquiesced in the principles on which the inviolability of the Baltic had been maintained, though he had forborne to act in contradiction to them. Such forbearance could be obligatory upon him only in a state of real peace and neutrality in the north, and most assuredly not after France had been permitted to establish herself along the whole line of coast, from Dantzic to Lubec. In proposing the mediation of Russia between England and Denmark, in which the most advantageous terms were offered for the latter power, no insult was intended, or could even be imagined, to the emperor, who, in proportion to the value he placed on his engagements respecting the tranquillity of the Baltic, might have been expected to be more pleased with any opportunity of effecting it.—As to the terms on which the restoration of peace between England and Russia was stated to depend, it was to be observed, that the king had never denied justice to the emperor's subjects; that the termination of the war with Denmark was most anxiously desired by the king, while the emperor declined contributing his good offices to effect it. The requisition of an immediate conclusion of peace with France, was as extraordinary in substance, as offensive in its manner. His majesty would never admit the pretensions of the emperor, to dictate the time or the mode of his negotiations with other powers, nor would ever endure that any government should indemnify itself for the humiliation of subserviency to France, by adopting an insolent and peremptory tone towards Great Britain. The principles against which the armed neutrality was directed, acted upon in the best periods of the history of Europe, and by no power more strictly than by Russia herself, it was the right and duty of the king to maintain. He now proclaimed them anew, and against every confederacy under the divine blessing he would maintain them. They were essential to the maritime power of Great Britain, and, at a period when that power constituted the only remaining bulwark against the usurpation of France, were incalculably more valuable and important than ever. His majesty, however, would embrace every opportunity for peace with Russia with eagerness, and the arrangements for such a negotiation would be neither difficult nor complicated, as he could have nothing either to concede or to require, satisfied if Russia should return to her antient feelings of friendship, and a sense of what became her own interests, dignity, and independence.

Thus was the last formidable nation, on the continent, which had withstood the usurpations of France, subdued to her purpose. Every principality and power was now within the grasp of French domination, or in some mode or other convertible to the gratification of French vengeance or rapacity.—Europe had, for ages, exhibited a collection of independent states, whose mutual jealousies had prevented any individual power from that ascendency which would prove fatal to the rest. These very jealousies, however, at length, combined with a series of circumstances unparalleled in the history of human

man events to promote the very end which they had so long happily precluded. In consequence of that selfish and malignant policy, that incurable rivality and envy, which prevented the cooperation of these powers, in a moment demanding the oblivion of animosities, and the most intimate union against a common foe, and which seem to have determined them to prefer separate ruin rather than united safety, France had been enabled to sweep away those barriers which had so long opposed her ambition, and acquire a predominance which the most formidable of her kings had not ventured to anticipate.—One immense power now occupied Europe, arranging and controling every thing in conformity to its views. The subjugation of Russia to French influence was, on this account, sincerely to be deplored; nor could it be concealed, that the substitution of her hostility for her alliance, with respect to England, was greatly to be lamented by this country, on its own account, as adding to the pressure of a situation already full of embarrassment. The idea, however, that this new evil had not been wantonly incurred, and would be an unprovoked injury, and not, agreeably to the allegation of the enemy, a deserved punishment, preserved the public mind from any considerable depression. Our energies were still conceived equal to our circumstances. The preservation of our maritime superiority was now more than ever perceived indispensable. It was the general sentiment that, whatever restrictions might be attempted, and whatever combinations might be excited, to wrest from Englishmen this palladium of their independence and glory, every effort should meet with all the activity and perseverance of resistance. Amidst the difficulties pressing upon this country, the vast territory of Europe being now subservient to the designs of an irreconcileable enemy, meditating its downfall, as the consummation of his policy and revenge; there was something in these very circumstances calculated to produce inspirations of the noblest heroism.—The antipathy of the enemy arose only from that effectual opposition afforded by England, to the universal dominion of his arms; and the magnitude of the confederation of nations, united willingly or by compulsion, against her, was a confession that her prowess and resources were incapable of being subdued but by the most extraordinary means, and implied, indeed, those doubts of success on the part of the enemy, which never fail to add confidence to the spirit with which aggression is opposed.—This impressive because reluctant compliment from an adversary, was felt at this moment by the British nation in its full force. The murmurs of faction were silenced, and all hearts and hands were united to sustain the urgency of the crisis with fortitude, and protect to the last efforts of existence, those principles and rights which constitute the only partition between formidable respectability and abject insignificance.

The efforts of Bonaparte to exclude the English commerce from the continent were, this year, continued with the fullest perseverance and pressure. To embarrass the trade and finances of Great Britain, Europe was obliged, in a great degree, to abandon those luxuries which long habit had almost rendered necessary supplies.—The restrictions enforced upon

England, were naturally followed, on her part, by a system of retaliation, which deprived multitudes in France of the means of honest industry, and even of relief under disease and pain. The cotton manufacturers were languishing for want of the raw material. Sugar and various other articles of colonial produce had reached a price which exceeded by three hundred per cent. what they had formerly been sold for. The usual palliatives of disease were scarcely procurable; rhubarb, bark, and nearly all other drugs, existing in that unhappy country only in that reduced quantity, and at that exorbitant price, which kept them barely within the reach of the middling classes of society. Similar distresses extended, flowing from the same causes, to almost all the countries of the continent, which presented one impressive picture, or rather reality of privation and misery.—Yet, while this accumulation of calamity was at all connected with the distress of England, it was expected to be sustained with patience, and even with cheerfulness. And it must be admitted, that this country did seriously feel the consequences of these restrictions. The regular channels of communication, through which British manufactures and colonial produce had poured in immense supplies, extending in opposite directions to the remotest points of the continent, were now closed. Those connivances and elusions which had formerly rendered positive restraints formidable only upon paper, were, in a great degree, precluded.—Considerable British property, in the north of Germany, had been actually sequestrated. Vast sums, acknowledged to be due, and intended to be paid, were inevitably detained, and produced corresponding, and in many instances fatal embarrassments. The warehouses of the merchants and manufacturers were crowded with goods, fabricated for the service of man, but exposed now to the depredations of rust and insects. Orders were no longer received; manufactures were in consequence suspended; thousands were deprived of their only regular subsistence; and the distress was such as to excite no ordinary regret in the philanthropic observer, who could derive no consolation from the idea that the author of this evil had extended it also through the greatest part of Europe. The distress of the West Indian planters, in consequence of the exclusion of their produce from the usual markets, excited particular attention and compassion. Two committees were appointed by the house of commons, to inquire into the means of their relief; but the full consideration of this important subject, by the house, was necessarily deferred to the ensuing session. The report of the last committee stated, that the situation of the planter had become gradually worse from the year 1799; that sugar had, at length, attained such a state of depreciation, that, instead of paying the planter ten per cent. for his capital, even the necessary disbursements were not repaid by it, without any allowance for profit, or for the interest of the principal employed. Every addition to the duty had been paid by the sugar planter; but, by a singular and fatal coincidence, the price to the consumer had diminished in proportion as the duty demanded by government had increased. To remedy these evils, the committee suggested a decrease of duty, an advance of

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bounty, and the interruption of the intercourse between American ships and Cuba, Porto Rico, Martinique, and Guadaloupe, through the medium of the United States. In the conclusion it was stated, that unless some speedy and effectual means of relief were adopted, the ruin of a great number of planters, and of other persons dependent on West Indian property for their incomes, must, invariably, very soon take place; which must be followed by the loss of a vast capital, advanced on securities in the islands, and by the most fatal injury to the commercial, maritime, and financial interests of Great Britain.

The suggestion of the committee, respecting this suspension of French and American intercourse, naturally leads to a view of the relative situation, this year, of the United States and Great Britain.—A spirit of disaffection between the two countries had now existed for a considerable period, originating in two distinct causes. The first of these related to the practice of searching American vessels for British seamen, and the second to restrictions on the American trade. With respect to the former of these, incidents were perpetually occurring, to keep alive the spirit of exasperation. A case of this nature will be particularly remembered to have happened during the former year, in which a shot was fired from the Leander, which killed the American seaman John Pierce.—In the course of the present, another took place, which threatened consequences of the most serious description.—A British squadron, under admiral Berkeley, was stationed in the Chesapeake. While the American frigate, the Chesapeake, was equipping for the Mediterranean, under commodore Barron, several deserters from the British squadron were ascertained to be on board her. These had been even conducted publicly through the streets of Norfolk, in sight of the English officers, and under the protection of the persons employed in recruiting for the American government. Representations of these circumstances were made to the agents of that government, without effect. An order was, in consequence, issued by the British commander to the captain of the Leopard frigate, to cruize off the Cape and intercept the Chesapeake, after she had passed the limits, and examine her for the deserters. In compliance with these orders, captain Humphries sent a boat on board the Chesapeake, as she was advancing on her voyage, to communicate the intelligence, that there were deserters on board, and that he was ordered to search for them. The demand of captain Humphries not being acceded to, he fired several shots without injuring the American vessel. No attention being paid by her to these, she received a broadside, which she returned with six or seven scattering shots, and, on receiving a second broadside, struck her colours. On examination, the deserters, to the number of five or six, were found. The Chesapeake had 6 men killed and 21 wounded, and (the object of the conflict being now accomplished) was dismissed, much shattered, to her port. As soon as intelligence of this event reached the American government, a proclamation was published by the president, in which, after mentioning the constant recurrence of British officers on the coast, to a state of insubordination to the laws, violence on the persons, and trespasses on the property, of the united

citizens, while they were experiencing all the means of refitting and refreshment, he notices this transaction as a deed transcending all which the Americans had suffered or seen, and which brought their sensibility to a crisis, and their forbearance to a pause. This enormity had been committed for the avowed purpose of taking from a ship of war of the United States, a part of her crew; and, that no circumstance might be wanting to mark its character, it had been previously ascertained that the men so taken were native citizens of America. Hospitality, in such circumstances, ceased to be a duty; and all armed vessels of Great Britain were immediately ordered to quit the American harbours, and were interdicted entrance into the same.

That a high tone of animation should have been assumed on this occasion, is by no means surprising, nor that interdiction should be thought necessary in return for an aggression of such violence.—The right of searching the ships of war of neutral states, though formerly claimed by the British government, had been tacitly abandoned, and its exercise had, latterly, made no part of the instructions to British officers. With respect to the abstract question of such a right, if it attached to Great Britain, it must be presumed equally to belong to America; and an American frigate would have as justifiable a claim to search a British 74, on suspicion that citizens of the United States formed part of her crew, as could be possessed by the English commander for a similar search of the American vessel. Unless right is to be regulated by power, instead of justice, this reciprocity is indispensable. With regard to the expediency of the mutual admission of such a practice, nothing can be more evident than that more advantage would be hazarded than could possibly be obtained by it. The examination thus permitted (in which one party would be solicitous to withhold, and the other to recover, and assertion would be controverted by denial, and every claim would be supposed to partake of the character of insult,) would exhibit a tumult of passion and a scene of conflict, which, instead of determining the dispute with the equity of a judicial verdict, would decide only which was the strongest in the contest. To the fair adjustment of claims, would be substituted hostility and bloodshed; and the evil of national war might naturally be expected, occasionally, to arise from the folly of governments, in appealing, on this question, to the decision of men in arms, inflamed by mutual irritation and possessed of the acutest sensibilities.

On the first intelligence of this unfortunate event in Great Britain, considerable surprise and regret were expressed throughout the nation; and ministers declared, in parliament, on certain questions put to them on the subject, their readiness to make every reparation for whatever might appear, on full and accurate information, an unauthorised act of hostility. Admiral Berkeley was, not long after, recalled from his station; and, in a proclamation issued for recalling British seamen from foreign service, a distinction was drawn between merchant vessels and ships of war. On the former of these, force might, if necessary, be exercised for the recovery of deserters, while with respect to the latter a requisition only, for their delivering up

deserters,

deserters, was to be made; and on their refusal, information was to be given to the British ministers at the neutral courts, or to the British government at home. In this proclamation, therefore, the conduct of admiral Berkeley was tacitly disavowed, and the search of neutral ships of war expressly provided against. Mr. Rose was, soon after this proclamation, dispatched on a special mission to America, with overtures of conciliation and redress for what was thus admitted to be an act of unjustifiable violence.

Had the dispute, therefore, between the two countries been confined to the question of their seamen, it seemed highly probable that an accommodation would speedily take place; but it involved also the rights of American commerce.—Before the present war with France, her colonies sent their produce to her exclusively, whether in war or peace; and in war this conveyance was attended with considerable hazard. The extreme peril at length attending it, suggested to the French government that America might be made the vehicle of exchange between the mother country and the colonies; and these colonies were, in consequence, opened to the intercourse with America.—This treaty was most eminently advantageous to both parties, as provisions and lumber, which were principally required in the West Indies, could be supplied inexhaustibly by America, and the articles with which she was repaid were such as did not interfere with her own productions, and such as she could export to Europe, or employ for her own domestic consumption, with equal profit. In a single year since the commencement of the present war, 45,000 hogsheads of sugar were introduced, in consequence of this intercourse, into the single port of Amsterdam. To terminate this connection, therefore, appeared an important object of policy to Great Britain, and Mr. Pitt was well known to have given the subject particular attention. The case was such as demanded deep consideration. A war with America was to be dreaded, as the consequence of cutting off this source of her commercial prosperity, and this evil was by no means to be lightly incurred. The export of British manufactures to that quarter of the world, amounted annually to the value of nearly ten millions. The growing population, and consequently increasing consumption, would, every year, enlarge its demands upon English industry and ingenuity. The enterprise of the Americans was, moreover, perpetually enlarging their connections with distant markets, already opened by them, or discovering others more remote still, to which they conveyed the manufactures of Great Britain, pouring, in return, into her lap, both the prices of the commodities, and the profits of the voyage. All these advantages would be hazarded by the measure proposed. The balance of property also, due from America to England, amounted to no less than several millions. The suspension only of the payment of this sum, which, in consequence of hostility, would be the least evil to be expected, would involve incalculable distress. The commercial interests of England herself, would, by this hostility, be deprived of an advantageous neutral medium. The calamity to which the West Indian islands might be exposed, from the very measure intended chiefly for their

their relief, was also an important topic of consideration, as it by no means necessarily followed from the exclusion of French colonial produce from Europe, that the growth of the English colonies would be substituted, and American hostility would certainly inflict on these colonies new and most formidable evil, by precluding those supplies of lumber and provisions which, for some time at least, seemed incapable of being procured from any other quarter. The possible advantage also, of America, as a source of supply for timber and warlike stores, and even as a granary to Great Britain herself, was not to be totally overlooked. Nor was it sufficient, to disperse at once all these objections to the measure under consideration, to state, that America herself would be injured by her hostility more than Great Britain, as, in national as well as individual concerns, calculation is often superseded by passion, and prosperity sacrificed to vengeance.

Considerations of this nature must, undoubtedly, have weighed with Mr. Pitt, to prevent his adoption of this doubtful remedy, for what, it must be admitted, was a serious evil. His successors were influenced by similar apprehensions and reasonings. In the treaty with America, framed by them and sent over in the beginning of this year, the exceptionable intercourse was still permitted, with the check only that the vessel and the cargo should be both American, and that a slight percentage should be laid on the cargo, on being landed in America. The produce which, if shipped on board the vessels of France, would, in all probability, have rewarded the vigilance and exertions of British sailors, was thus still precluded from capture and even detention; and the known facility of fraud, with respect to the provisionary regulations above mentioned, was insufficient to induce ministers to venture upon stronger measures, notwithstanding their ardent wishes to adopt them. Even the publication of the decree of Bonaparte, for blockading the British islands, could not prevail upon them to break off this circuitous connection between France and her colonies, and thus expose England to the perils of a rupture with America. Previously, however, to the signature of the treaty, a note was delivered by the British to the American commissioners, in reference to this decree, which stated, that should the menaces of France, so extravagant in themselves, and so repugnant to the rights of neutral powers, be actually executed, and should neutral powers acquiesce in such usurpations, his majesty might be compelled, in just retaliation, to order his cruizers to adopt towards these powers the same proceedings which they should have submitted to from the enemy. The hostilities of France being manifested by extraordinary means, his majesty would not preclude himself from extraordinary remedies.

The French decree was carried into effect with the fullest rigour; and in consequence, in consistency with his majesty's reserved right in the above note, an order of council was issued on the seventh of January, which prevented neutral vessels from trading from any port in the possession or under the control of the enemy. The neutral trade direct from neutral nations to the enemy's ports was still permitted, but the neutral trade from port to port was prohibited.

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The treaty carried over to America was considered by its government as, in several respects, highly disadvantageous to it; and the reservation made by the king's commissioners, with reference to the decree of Bonaparte, was particularly disagreeable to the president, who had manifested, by this time, that partiality in politics which is particularly unbecoming in the head of a powerful and independent nation. In these circumstances, the treaty was referred back for new modifications and arrangements; and in the mean while intelligence was received, in the United States, of the order of council of the 7th of January. Although this order could be no matter of astonishment, after the note of the British commissioners, it was received with the most animated indignation. It was alleged that, as the British government was at war with nearly every nation on the Atlantic and Mediterranean seas, American vessels were now required to sacrifice their cargoes at the first port they touched at, or to return home without going to any other market; and that, under this new law of the ocean, the American trade must be swept away by seizure and confiscation. The aggression of France which led to this evil, passed without reprehension or notice. War with Great Britain became the popular cry; and in the pleasing contemplation of her sufferings, vulgar minds neglected to calculate the far greater injury in which this war would involve America itself, whose fleets now covering the ocean with the produce of every clime and country, must inevitably fall victims to the naval ascendency of Great Britain. The season was now approaching in which the head of the American government himself was to manifest similar imbecility. The senate and house of representatives were assembled at an earlier period than usual, and in the message of the president to them, delivered on the 27th of October, the conduct of Great Britain to America was exhibited in every point of view calculated to inflame the public mind. The depredations on American commerce and navigation, committed by that nation, for a series of years; its successive innovations on the principles of public law, established by the reason and usage of nations, were sufficiently known to preclude the necessity of being repeated.—The attack on the Chesapeake was an outrage, of which the character had been pronounced by the indignant voice of American citizens, with an emphasis and unanimity never exceeded. The aggression begun had been continued by the English commanders continuing within the American waters, by the habitual violation of the jurisdiction of the country, and at length, by putting to death one of the persons whom they had forcibly taken from the Chesapeake.—In addition to former violations of maritime rights, the English government had issued an order interdicting all trade by neutrals, between ports not in amity with them, by which the trade of America had experienced, in several of its departments, most serious injury, and must incur universal ruin. With respect to the affair of the Chesapeake, it cannot appear surprising that it should constitute an important feature of the president's address. But, on the trial of Jenkin Ratford, it was proved that all the men taken from that vessel were Brisish subjects, and consequently amenable to British laws;

laws, and yet the execution of this convict is, most singularly, considered as an aggravation of the original aggression. The disposition of the English ministry, moreover, to conciliation and redress, could scarcely be unknown to the president, at the time of this communication, though not officially announced to him, and would certainly have justified the introduction of some qualifying hope of disavowal and reparation; which, however, is in vain looked for.—Even with respect to the order of council, assumed as so just a ground of exception by the American government, the statement of the king's advocate had considerably softened its rigour. His opinion had been explicitly given, that American vessels might still proceed from one enemy's port to another, provided they had not come to entry or broken bulk; and though this opinion must have been known to the president, no circumstance of palliation was in the slightest degree alluded to, and the destruction of American commerce was described as the unmitigated and inevitable result of the order. These points, however, would not have required or sustained these animadversions, had they not been followed by something more important and decisive, in evidence of his partiality and indiscretion. After displaying a long list of British offences, with no incident or remark of palliation, the conduct of Spain is slightly noticed, as far from blameless; after which, it is remarked that, with the other nations of Europe, the harmony of America had been uninterrupted, and friendly intercourse been maintained, on its usual footing. The encroachment of France on neutral rights calls down no thunders of invective. The decree of the 21st of November, by which, not only trade between ports not in amity with Bonaparte was interdicted by him, but all neutrals which had touched at an English port through necessity or choice, through stress of weather or scarcity, or hostile detention, were to be seized and confiscated, excited no resentment, and destroyed no harmony. The party compelled to measures repulsive to the feelings of civilized nations, and vindicable only in self-defence and retaliation, deserved all the severity of rebuke, and all the hostility of vengeance; while those, in whose wanton and malignant usurpations the fatal urgency originated, were hailed as the promoters of tranquillity, and embraced with the raptures of friendship.

The disposition thus manifested by the head of the American government, and which was fully imbibed by many members of congress, was unfavourable to the hope of a speedy accommodation; and by the measures at last thought necessary to be adopted by ministers, in the crisis of the commerce of this country, this hope was still considerably diminished. On the 9th of November three orders of council were issued, by the first of which, every port of every country from which Great Britain is excluded, is declared to be in a state of blockade. All trade in the produce or manufactures of these countries is pronounced illegal, and the vessels employed in such trade are liable to seizure. All neutral vessels, however, clearing from Great Britain, Ireland, Gibraltar, or Malta, or clearing from enemies' ports to either of these places, are exempt from seizure. The documents granted by French agents in neutral

neutral ports, known by the name of certificates of origin, (certificates that the cargoes are not of British produce or manufacture,) are no longer to be allowed, and all neutral vessels in possession of them are to be seized, wherever met with. By the second order, the goods of those countries from which the British flag is excluded, may be imported by neutrals into England. And by the third, the sale of ships from a belligerent power to a neutral, being considered by the enemy as illegal, is, in consequence, deemed so by the British government, and all vessels of this description are declared lawful prize. Thus was the coasting trade along the coast of France and her allies, in neutral vessels, which had been provided against, indeed, by the order of the 7th of January, (an order, however, which had received a mitigated interpretation and execution,) effectually prohibited. And though the Americans might still freely trade with the enemy's colonies, for their own consumption, the double restriction was imposed upon that intercourse by them between France and her colonies which had so long been unmolested, of calling at a British port and paying a British duty.—The object of these restrictions was to burden the enemy's produce with charges which would make it cost more than the same commodities imported into the continent from Great Britain. The relief of the West Indian merchants and planters was an important object in view; and if it can be presumed that the rigour of Bonaparte's edicts will be eluded, in proportion as this occurs, will the relief in contemplation, probably, take place.

What effect these orders would produce in America, became immediately an interesting object of consideration; and in the high-wrought resentment of that country against England, it was imagined, by numbers, that they would immediately decide the government on hostility. The irritability, however, of the American character is connected with a strong principle of calculation. It will be considered by many, that the British restraints on neutral commerce were the natural result of those imposed by the French government, under which America acquiesced without remonstrance; that, if the commerce of America is harassed by restriction, it would be completely terminated by war, and that its resentments could be gratified only at the expense of its interests.—The result of the conflict between prudence and irritation was looked forward to, on this side the Atlantic, with no common anxiety, but the year closed before any intelligence of it could be received.

Before we quit the subject of America, we may observe, that an incident occurred during this year, calculated somewhat to lower the estimate which many have formed of American liberty. Colonel Burr, a man of considerable talents and enterprise, being suspected of designs to effect a separation of the union, by the Allegany mountains, and to seize and plunder New Orleans, was arrested by order of the president. He was first brought to trial on a charge of high treason, and received a verdict of acquittal. The government then indicted him for a misdemeanor, and was equally unsuccessful. Yet, as if determined to inflict some punishment on the accused, either with or without the assistance of a jury of his country, his discharge was refused, and notice was given

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an intention to try him on a new charge, the nature of which was not, at the time, disclosed. Upon the principle adopted in these proceedings, there was no reason to conclude that, even if this experiment should fail, it would be the last; nor does any impediment appear to exist to the harassing a prisoner by a series of prosecutions, under which, confinement and anxiety may at length produce, very nearly, that desired effect which could not be obtained in a court of law, and the malignity of government may be gratified by his death in a dungeon, though not by his execution on a scaffold. This is a blot upon the imagined land of liberty and independence, from which Great Britain, amidst all the invectives of her mistaken children, must be acknowledged free. The proceedings in the memorable state trials of 1794, form a striking contrast to the administration of American justice. No unnecessary vexations, no reserved charges, no repeated trials of the same individual were then exhibited. No detention was attempted of those who had been pronounced not guilty by a verdict of their countrymen, till government could fabricate new indictments and institute new proceedings; nor did any official message or proclamation dare to presume those criminal whom the law had pronounced innocent. In the instance of colonel Burr, however, this presumption is expressly made by the American president, in his message to congress. The proceedings in this case, indeed, have fixed a stain on the government of that country, which it will not be easy to expunge, and which, while it must inevitably tend to disgust the admirers of American laws and freedom, will, probably, conciliate their attachment to that country, whose system of government, though admitting and demanding considerable improvement, displays the most perfect model of judicial administration that has ever been presented to the world.

CHAPTER XII.

Affairs of France—Anticipated Conscription—Return of Bonaparte—Grand Fete on his Birth-day—His Speech to the Legislative Body and Tribunate—Address of these Bodies—Exposé of the State of the Empire—Absorption of the Tribunate in the Legislative Body—Bonaparte's Pity for Great Britain—His declared Aversion to Political Parties—State of Holland—Aversion of the King to follow up the Edicts of Bonaparte—Explosion at Leyden—Surrender of the Fortresses on the Meuse to France, in Exchange · Situation of Spain—Conspiracy to dethrone the King—Arrest of the Prince of Asturias—His Pardon—Singularity of the Proceedings Invasion of Portugal by France threatened—Preparations of the Portuguese Court for Emigration to the Brazils—Wish of the Prince to compromise with France—Circumstance which determined his Embarkation—Situation of Naples—Mutiny at Malta—Causes of the Insurrection at Vellore, in the East Indies—Proclamation of the Government of Madras—Necessity for Prudence and Firmness in the Government of India—Ascendency of General Christophe in St. Domingo—Commercial Connection with that Island and Great Britain—Apprehensions in Jamaica, from the Abolition of the Slave-trade—Exceptionable Proceedings of the Colonial Legislature—Establishment of the African Institution—Report to Parliament on the Advantages of Vaccination.

WHILE Bonaparte was pursuing his conquests at an immense distance from his capital, the tranquillity of France experienced not the slightest interruption. No disposition appears to have been manifested to cabal and party in the superior classes, or to insurrection in the lowest. The intelligence communicated of new trophies and triumphs was received with satisfaction or rapture. The military glory of the great nation, covered from the view those embarrassments and distresses which were inevitably occasioned by protracted hostilities, even amidst all the splendour of conquest; and the conscript laws, the least popular but the most important part of Bonaparte's policy, had, in a great degree, lost that terror which they originally excited, and were acquiesced in, as necessary to the external security or at least to the unexampled renown of the empire.—In the month of March, a message was communicated to the senate, in which the necessity was stated of anticipating the conscription for 1808, "which was rendered necessary, amidst all the conquests of the emperor, in consequence of the unrelenting and mercenary policy of England, whose monopoly was purchased by the blood of the continent." This order for the anticipated conscription, however, did not require that the recruits should immediately repair to the armies, as in previous cases. They were permitted to be trained and disciplined for six months, within the frontiers of France, after which time alone, they would be liable to be called to the theatre of war.—Thus sedulously attentive was Bonaparte, to that instrument of his triumphs and elevation, a numerous and disciplined army; and, while he

he possessed a standing force, such as Europe never before witnessed, to secure for it a source of permanent supply. Those who enter the lists with such an adversary, would do well to be regulated by some of his maxims; they must adopt his mode of warfare; they must institute a law of conscription, against which they have so bitterly inveighed. It is thus that the wounds of armies are closed as soon as they are made. The supply is even greater than the waste; and if the object of war be success, harsh and unpopular as this mode may appear, it is, unquestionably in the end, the most œconomical application of a nation's strength, and as consistent with the most exquisite sensibilities of humanity, as it is, in the existing circumstances of Europe, urgently demanded by policy.

After the object of the imperial interviews at Tilsit was accomplished, Bonaparte proceeded with little delay to Paris, where his arrival was expected with all the ardour of curiosity and impatience. His birth-day was celebrated, after his arrival, with peculiar distinction. A grand *fête* took place, in which ingenuity is said to have exhausted itself in endless devices, expressive of gratitude and admiration. On the ensuing day, the legislative body and the tribunate were assembled in the usual forms. In his address to them, the emperor observed, that since their last meeting new wars, triumphs, and trophies, had changed the political relations of Europe; that the house of Brandenburg, which was the first to combine against French independence, was permitted to reign only through the friendship of the emperor of the north; that a French prince would speedily reign on the Elbe; that the house of Saxony again possessed the independence it had lost for fifty years; that the inhabitants of the duchy of Warsaw and Dantzic had recovered their country; and that all nations concurred in joy at the extinction of the pernicious influence of England on the continent. By the confederation of the Rhine, France was united with Germany; by her own peculiar system of federation she was united with Spain, Holland, Switzerland, and Italy.—Her new relations with Russia were founded on the mutual esteem of two great nations. He wished for peace by sea, and would never suffer any irritation to influence his decisions on this subject; indeed there could be no room for irritation against a people, the sport and victim of the parties which devoured it, and which was misled as much with respect to the affairs of other nations as its own. The tranquillity and order of the French nation, during his absence, had excited his ardent gratitude. He had contrived the means of simplifying their institutions; he had extended the principle on which had been founded the legion of honour; the finances were prosperous; the contributions on land were diminished; various public works had been completed; and it was his resolution that, in the remotest parts of his empire, and even in the smallest hamlet, the comfort of the citizen and the value of the land should be increased by the development of a general system of improvement.

In the addresses of thanks for this speech, it was observed, that the rapid succession of triumphs, by which a monarchy had been overthrown, was exceeded by that heroic firmness which could wait

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for and prepare the day of victory in the midst of so many impediments by fortresses, troops, and inclemency of seasons. The pacificator was more admired even than the conqueror of Europe. He was followed, with delight, to the Niemen, where, divested of the pomp of war, the two greatest sovereigns upon earth met each other upon a raft, and adjusted, personally, the affairs of their respective states, and the destiny of the world. The interests of futurity were connected with that memorable day and interview. The French people had been occupied in emulating the greatness of their chief, during every period of his government, by the extent of their sacrifices and devotion. The sentiments he had expressed had filled with joy the humblest cottage. The condition of the poor was relieved and elevated, by the same hand which dispensed the fate of so many sovereigns.—The grand plans of improvement which occupied the emperor's mind, would bestow a sublimity on the civil and political institutions of the French nation, corresponding with all the creations of his superior intellect; and genuine freedom, which could exist only under a pure monarchy, would become more and more secure under the government of an omnipotent prince.

The report on the state of the empire was delivered on the same day. The internal improvements which had taken place, were detailed in it, with the usual pomp and minuteness. The charitable establishments to preclude mendicity; the facility and zeal with which taxes were levied, and the conscription was executed; the repair of a vast extent of roads; the erection of bridges; the completion of canals; the extended navigation of rivers; the construction of works in various ports; the attention displayed to agriculture, and the improvement of the breeds of cattle; the institution of veterinary schools, and of 35 new colleges; the exertions made to complete the meridian circle, are specifically presented as claims to public notice and admiration. The cotton-spinning establishments were in renewed activity. A commercial code had been digested. The clergy had manifested pure morals, toleration, disinterestedness, and zeal; the Jews, who now bore the name of Frenchmen, were become worthy of the name. It was the emperor's wish that the capital of France, now become the metropolis of the world, should correspond with this destination. Bridges, columns, statues, and public buildings were preparing, in conformity to this desire. It was the wish of the emperor, that science and learning should partake of the general improvement; that the French language, now the language of Europe, should support this privilege, by the beauty, purity, and interest of its productions; that the public opinion, while it developed talents, should protect them against calumny and malignity; that criticism should maintain respect for decency, and that henceforth there should be no sects among the learned, and no political parties in the state. France was now surrounded by a chain of friendly nations. Her finances were in a most flourishing condition. She alone, amongst all the states of Europe, possessed no paper money. Her commerce, amidst inevitable stagnation, preserved all its hopes, and was preparing the germs of future prosperity. Her colonies were maintained in a state, by which

the mother-country must one day be enriched. Her arms had been carried to the extremity of Europe. Her influence reached to the centre of Asia. The most complete order prevailed in her interior. Her enemies had been universally confounded; and of these England alone remained, overwhelmed by the burdens of the war and the execrations of the world.

This detail, undoubtedly, presented circumstances well calculated to excite congratulation, and among these was that external security which France enjoyed after one of the most protracted and bloody conflicts recorded in history. Many of the internal regulations specified were calculated for public happiness, and displayed a creditable attention to domestic policy amidst the embarrassments of foreign war. The simplification of political institutions alluded to, consisted particularly in an absorption of the tribunate in the legislative body, which was accomplished speedily after this intimation. The importance attributed in these documents to the Russian connection appeared clearly to imply, that the published arrangements of the imperial conferences, or conventions, were by no means the whole, or perhaps the most important part, of those actually concluded, and that considerable projects of partition and combined hostility were yet to be unfolded. Amidst all the efforts to present a highly finished picture of the prosperity of the nation, a boast is made of the extent of its sacrifices, which may be regarded as implying no ordinary embarrassment and difficulty. Indeed the commerce of the country is admitted to be sustained only on hope and preparation. Yet a commercial code is promised, (and was extended also to the towns on the Baltic,) as if the substitution of splendid pages, and theories of law, could atone for those restrictions on human intercourse which rendered them at once useless and insulting. The tone of compassion with which Bonaparte mentions the unhappy nation of England must so far interest, that it is at least calculated to amuse. The British nation had certainly not calculated upon having excited his commiseration, and they must still believe that this pitying spectator of their stupid ignorance and party divisions has no object more at heart, amidst all his schemes of mischief and vengeance, than to aim a deadly blow at their independence. This people so profoundly ignorant, so worried by civil dissensions, devoured by its government and derided by the world, might surely have been expected to fall an easy prey to the ambition of the enemy; yet the British nation, notwithstanding all the grossness of its intellect, and though thus represented as exhibiting the awful spectacle of self-destruction, was the only nation in Europe which had not bent under the power or influence of France. By this imbecile and pitiable nation her menaces of invasion had been baffled; her commerce had been annihilated; her navy had been captured; and though her range through the different kingdoms of the continent could not be prevented by this power, she found in this conquest only a more extended prison. At every point where she attempted to escape, in the rage of desperation or by the stealth of stratagem, she found insuperable bars or inevitable detection. The alleged absence of all

all irritation against a jailor thus vigilant and energetic, exhibits a spirit of no ordinary forbearance; and the substitution of pity for all those exasperated feelings which vulgar minds, in similar circumstances, would be apt to entertain, must be regarded as attesting the most philosophic meekness, or rather the most evangelical benevolence.

But not the least important passage in these official papers is the expression of the imperial desire that there should be no parties in politics. Such has ever been the cant of despotism. If, however, even with respect to the palpable objects of sense, such is the constitution of the human mind, that on different persons they will make different and even opposite impressions, how much more may this variation be expected in the consideration of principles and systems! objects inexpressibly more complicated and less definable, on which association has infinite scope for exercise; and the advocates of opposite theories will arrange on each side such an assemblage of arguments as will leave profound understandings in a state of hesitation. Yet the nature of the human mind, at the suggestion of this dictator, is presumed capable of undergoing a complete revolution. The most interesting questions are henceforth to present but one view, and to admit but one comment. Those collisions of opinion which have marked all preceding ages, are now to be superseded by an influx of light which will penetrate all minds, and dissipate all prejudices. Unless this marvellous irradiation be really accomplished, who is ignorant that parties can be prevented only by the prevention of discussion; that the investigation of topics the most interesting to the human feelings, and involved in an infinity of difficult and delicate relations, must lead to different results, which will be supported each with animated firmness? It is against discussion, therefore, that the blow is levelled. Discussion would inevitably be productive of party. Party might be fatal to usurpation. Hence that dread of a free interchange of sentiments. Hence that denunciation of political communications under the invidious designations of party and faction. The animation of debate would interrupt the tranquillity of despotism, and the recommended exclusion of party is the torpid acquiescence of slaves.

There appeared no immediate necessity for these hints on the part of the French government, whose measures have met with perfect submission and even the most servile encomium. The French nation, which, in its impetuous attempts to procure a well-regulated system of liberty, swept away all existing institutions and involved itself in the horrors both of civil and external war, has terminated its career by acquiescing in greater restriction than it ever before experienced. Its energies have been wasted in the establishment of tyranny. Learning is valued chiefly as affording fresh means of adulation. Science is devoted to servility. Even genius itself does not hesitate to celebrate as the mantle of peace, that funeral pall which has been thrown over the liberties of its country. The voice of flattery has far transcended all ordinary limits, and appears often to be the ironical suggestion of truth: and the representatives of the people themselves have declared that genuine freedom can

exist only under a pure monarchy, and will become more and more secure under the government of an omnipotent prince.

In this situation of the public mind, there appeared no particular call for the insinuation against party. But the anticipation of possible events has ever been characteristic of the present government of France. What it seems to dread, amidst all the symptoms of universal satisfaction, it will not be able perhaps eventually to prevent. It may still be hoped, that, at no remote period, one of the most enlightened nations on the globe will recoil with indignation at its bondage, and, instead of prostrating themselves before the man who has completed, indeed, their external security, but who tramples upon their civil liberties, will consider military glory as giving no title to usurpation, and unite to break that sceptre under which their most valuable privileges and sensibilities are crushed.

Holland this year, in consequence of the continuance of hostilities, the loss of her colonies and the restraints on her trade, experienced extreme distress. The reigning monarch, however, could not witness the calamities of his country without sincere regret; and every relaxation of the edicts of his imperial brother, for the exclusion of British commodities, which could possibly be adopted without drawing down his vengeance, was willingly permitted. The columns of the Moniteur were perpetually charged with invectives against the frauds of the Dutch merchants, and the negligence and perjury of the government agents. A very serious decree, however, was at length published, which bound the consignee of every ship to give bond on her arrival, to the amount of twice her value, to prove that she had not touched at a British port. The impediments thrown in the way of British communication were, therefore, now more effective than ever. The press, being not subdued completely in Holland, became the vehicle of the groans and murmurs of a suffering people. The continuance of the war was deprecated as ruinous, and this sentiment was conveyed in the address of the legislative body to the throne, and, instead of exciting offence, was repeated by the monarch, with increased energy. The perversion of royal functions was ill suited to his feelings of honour and benevolence. He acknowledged and lamented that, instead of diffusing good among his people, he could do little more than mitigate their evils, that the situation of their affairs was extremely calamitous, and that by a general peace alone they could hope to reach the termination of their miseries.

At Leyden in this country, which seemed the destined theatre of complicated and dreadful calamity, an explosion took place in the beginning of the year from a vessel laden with gun-powder adjoining the Rapenburg canal. Great part of the city was laid in ruins; considerable property was destroyed; but the most deplorable part of the catastrophe was the death or mutilation of a great number of the inhabitants, many of whom were dug from the ruins in a state of fracture and contusion precluding all possibility of their restoration; and, though some were extricated with little injury, hundreds were hurried by this visitation to a premature grave.

In the territory of Holland a change

change took place soon after the arrangements of Tilsit. The strong fortresses of the Maese to its discharge into the sea were taken within the limits of France, and, in return for this diminution of its security, Holland was obliged to acquiesce in an accession of territory from the conquered dominions of Prussia.

The situation of Spain, this year, appeared in some respects considerably improved in consequence of the defeat of Miranda in her colonies, and the expulsion of the English. But, whatever might be the state of the colonies, Old Spain still exhibited the former picture of degradation and dependence. She was governed by a monarch distinguished only by vulgar tastes and slender intellect. The Prince of Peace still maintained his influence in the direction of affairs, amidst all the disaffection of the people and hatred of the nobility and heir apparent to the throne. His subserviency to the wishes of Bonaparte, however, was the prop of his security. Indeed, notwithstanding the pretensions of this monarchy to independence, it was completely under the control of France. Her decrees were transcribed; her hostilities were adopted; her requests for troops were answered by the march of ten thousand Spanish soldiers into Hanover; and her applications for money were followed by those liberal supplies which left her generous friend in destitution. Amidst this scene of dependence and humiliation, contemplated with bitterness by many who retained the dignity of the Spanish character, but who looked around in vain for that virtue and energy by which alone they could be extricated, a proclamation was published at Madrid which excited an extraordinary degree of attention. It stated that the kind Providence of God had brought to light the most flagitious of conspiracies, carried on in the royal palace and against the sovereign himself, by his own son, who had projected the dethronement of his father, and had been surprised in his room with the cypher of his correspondence and the instructions of the conspirators. The governor and council of Castile had in consequence been summoned. The apprehension and detention of various persons were the result of their investigations, and the prince himself had been imprisoned in his own residence. Within a few days afterwards a decree was addressed by his majesty to the council, informing them, that the voice of nature had unnerved the arm of vengeance, that the offender's want of consideration had pleaded for pity, and that the father was unable to refuse listening to her voice; that the prince had declared the authors of the horrible plan, had laid open every thing in a legal form, and that his confusion and repentance had dictated his confession. This confession of the prince, contained in letters to his royal parents, was also communicated to the council. The prince acknowledged himself guilty of failing in duty to his majesty, in obedience to his father and his king, without whose consent he ought to have done nothing; but he had been surprised in an unwary moment; he had denounced the guilty, and begged that a repentant son might be permitted to kiss his father's feet. To the queen he expressed his regret for the great fault he had committed, requesting her pardon for his denial of the truth, and her media-

tion for his father's forgiveness. There were evidently circumstances relating to this transaction, involving it in an air of mystery which time alone could fully develop. The prince royal of Spain, after being arrested on a charge of heading a conspiracy for the dethronement and murder of his father, and detected with the proofs of guilt upon his person, is, within a few days, liberated from arrest and receives the royal pardon, on a confession, which, instead of expressing remorse for a crime at which nature shudders, intimates regret for disobedience, admits the commission of a great fault, alleges that he certainly ought to have attempted nothing without the king's consent, but that he had been surprised in an unguarded moment! The expressions of penitence adopted certainly convey no idea of a heinous crime. On the other hand, a thanksgiving ordered for his majesty's deliverance still preserved the idea of a regicidal conspiracy; for joining in which the prince's inadequate language of contrition and confession appears unquestionably a singular ground for his forgiveness.

The situation of Portugal during this year excited particular and uncommon interest. While the pages of the Moniteur abounded in philippics against the English government for the Danish expedition, as an attack on neutral rights, which no circumstances could even palliate, and which merited the detestation of man and the vengeance of heaven, France was preparing to invade the territories of the house of Braganza, merely because it would not deviate from that neutrality which herself pronounced thus sacred and inviolable. Menaces to this effect had been long thrown out, and their execution had been repeatedly bought off by vast premiums. During the preceding year it had become a topic of serious deliberation, between the cabinets of Great Britain and Portugal, whether, in the case of actual invasion by France, the Portuguese court might not be advantageously transferred to its dependencies in South America; and the adoption of this plan is stated to have been then resolved on, in the event supposed. This event however did not then take place, but appeared, now, by Bonaparte to be finally decided on. An army of 40,000 men was ordered to be assembled at Bayonne. The French ambassador, having failed in every attempt to shake the firmness of the prince regent, quitted Lisbon, and the Spanish ambassador soon followed his example. These events were notified by the prince to the chamber of commerce for the information of the British factory; and the preparations which had been previously commenced by them, for arranging their affairs, disposing of their property, and settling their accounts, were now continued with redoubled urgency. The activity and confusion were extreme. The most extravagant terms were demanded for the conveyance of British settlers, with their families, to England, in vessels but ill adapted for accommodation and even for security. Within three weeks, however, from the proclamation or notice above mentioned, the arrangements for removing British property and residents were nearly completed, and on the 22d of October the ports of the kingdom were ordered to be closed against all the ships of war and merchant vessels of Great Britain.

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In the mean time the Portuguese navy was prepared with all possible expedition. The royal furniture and treasures were packed up. The conveniences and necessaries for a long voyage, and for various establishments on the arrival of the fleet at its destination, were assiduously collected, and arrangements were made for the new government abroad, and for a regency at home. The British ambassador was indefatigable in his attempts to confirm the resolution of the court, and perpetually contrasting the independence and glory of the new empire in South America, with the abject vassalage and contemptible insignificance which alone could be expected, were the prince to continue in his European dominions. A reluctance, however, to quit the shores of that country which he had so long governed, and which had given him birth, was not unfrequently manifested by the prince; and, in proportion as the time approached for his embarkation on an enterprise of such magnitude and crisis, he appeared less disinclined to make sacrifices from which he had previously shrunk with disdain. So far indeed did his wishes to conciliate France prevail, that on the 8th of November he signed an order for detaining the few British subjects, and the small portion of British property, which remained in his dominions. On the publication of this order lord Strangford demanded his passports, and, presenting a final remonstrance to the court, proceeded to join the squadron under sir Sydney Smith, which had been sent to the coast of Portugal to assist in saving the royal family, or, in the worst event, to prevent, by all possible means, the Portuguese fleet from falling into the possession of the enemy. A most rigorous blockade of the Tagus was immediately resolved on; but, after a few days, the intercourse of the British ambassador and the court was renewed, at the request of the former, who, on proceeding, under assurances of protection, to Lisbon, found all the apprehensions of the prince now directed to a French army, and all his hopes to a British fleet. To explain this singular change it must be observed that, between the departure and return of lord Strangford, the prince had received intelligence, that Bonaparte had fulminated against him one of those edicts which have almost invariably been followed by his subversion of thrones. It had been pronounced that the house of Braganza had ceased to reign. To this alarming denunciation, which cut off all hope of compromise even by the most humiliating submission, may be ascribed the complacency, or rather rapture, with which the proposition for renewed intercourse with England was accepted; a proposition, indeed, which there can be no doubt, would, within a short interval, if not received by the court, have been made by it. So great was the agitation now exhibited by this court, that it manifested as much avidity to accomplish the enterprise, as it had previously shown hesitation and reluctance. The interview took place on the 27th of November, and on the morning of the 29th the Portuguese fleet sailed out of the Tagus with the whole of the royal family of Braganza, and a considerable number of faithful counsellors, and respectable and opulent adherents. The fleet consisted of eight sail of the line and

four large frigates, and several other vessels of war, besides a number of Brazil ships, and amounted in all to 56 sail, containing about 18,000 Portuguese subjects. As they passed through the British squadron, a reciprocal salute was fired, and the spectacle was in several respects grand and interesting, from the circumstance of the two squadrons meeting in the most cordial friendship, which but two days before were in hostility, and from the singularity and magnitude of the enterprise, for the accomplishment of which they were now cooperating.

The connection between Brazil and Portugal, which last was extremely jealous of its monopoly, being now suspended, Brazil must receive directly from England (the only link by which it is now connected with Europe), not only all those commodities with which it used to be circuitously supplied by her, but likewise those articles, or substitutes for them, which it used to derive from Italy, Spain, Germany, and Portugal itself; so that, in fact, during the continuance of war, England must be to Brazil the sole mart for European supply. In return for her manufactured goods, such as are demanded in North America, and the West Indies and other parts of the world where agriculture is solely or principally attended to, she will receive those articles of raw produce which will constitute the trade most highly beneficial to her, affording the manufacturer a fresh supply in return for the labour already expended. Some pecuniary assistance may not improbably be expected under the embarrassments of a new imperial establishment; but, in a country superabundant in all the means of subsistence and even of luxury, that government must be extremely deficient in wisdom, which cannot, within a short period, furnish all requisite expenses for dignity and security from its own resources. The prospect therefore exhibited to Great Britain in consequence of this expatriation of the Portuguese government is in a high degree pleasing. A rising empire will thus be established, rapidly advancing in population, and in consequent demands upon the arts and industry of England, and furnishing a new security to that maritime dominion which is the bulwark of her independence. The critical situation of the Spanish dependencies, in consequence of this new settlement, may be considered, also, as likely to be eminently useful in checking the rapacity of French ambition, or in supplying compensation for its success.

In the dominions of the new sovereign of Naples, no event of any particular consequence and interest took place. Whether from despair of success, or from the conciliatory nature of the government, the Calabrian insurrection scarcely excited any further alarm or attention. A landing of the prince of Hesse with a number of Sicilian troops, occasioned, at first, some agitation, and was attended with some unimportant success. The prince, however, was soon obliged to reimbark his troops, and his military chest was necessarily abandoned in consequence of the impetuous pursuit of the enemy. In Naples the government maintained a tranquillity but rarely interrupted, and one criminal only during the year was executed on a charge of treason. The conquest which had been made only

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after considerable opposition and bloodshed, and with the loss, it is stated, of 30,000 of the troops of France, appeared likely to be maintained with facility. Indeed the neglectful and degrading administration of the preceding government, devoted only to shameless voluptuousness and oppressive rapacity, rendered it difficult for a new dynasty not to exhibit several advantageous points of contrast. The attention which was manifested by the existing sovereign to the order, employment, and happiness of the people, was a novelty calculated to relax the prejudices which will always exist, for a season, against a usurped government, and appeared gradually preparing the period when gratitude and loyalty might universally prevail.

On Sicily no attempt was made by France, and eight thousand of the English troops stationed there returned home towards the close of the year under sir John Moore, leaving about nine thousand, which were deemed adequate to every probable emergency.

The island of Malta was, this year, the scene of an alarming disturbance and mutiny. Count Froberg's regiment, formed of almost all nations, was stationed in fort Ricazoli, from which intelligence was received on the fourth of April, by the governor of Malta, that a most serious mutiny had broke out in this regiment, in attempting to quell which, the major was wounded, and the adjutant and several privates were killed. The mutineers, speedily afterwards, demanded the discharge of the regiment, a free pardon, and ships and money to convey them home, threatening, on refusal, to fire the city. The governor required their surrender at discretion, and commenced their blockade by a strong body of troops, preferring to reduce them by famine rather than an assault. A scarcity soon began to be felt, and, unless a supply were granted, they threatened to fire on Vallette and commit all the ravage and mischief in their power. A refusal, however, was given, and it was soon observable that unanimity no longer existed in the regiment. A white flag was hoisted, but in the same instant lowered, and the turbulent party unfortunately prevailed in this conflict. The regiment was now summoned again to surrender, and rely on the general's clemency, but answered only by former demands and menaces. In consequence of the want of provisions, however, the wives and children of the officers were permitted to quit the fort; and, soon after, all the officers of artillery were also suffered to leave it on the same account. The gate being thrown open, however, for this purpose, almost every man in the regiment suddenly took the individual resolution to avail himself of the chance of escape, and those only remained who considered that they had not the slightest chance of pardon. These to the number of twenty, unprepared for the desertion of their comrades, whom, however, they had no power to retain, remained in the fort, and the grand object of the commander was now to prevent their escape. In the mean time the regiment was marched into the city, under a strong guard, and courts martial were immediately established, by which 25 of the instigators of the insurrection were condemned to die. During their progress to the place of execution, they

they experienced all possible reproach and annoyance from the inhabitants, which the most inveterate rage could possibly inflict. Ten were executed on a gallows, and exhibited, in their last moments, a spectacle of phrensy and horror, mingling derision and execration, dancing and despair. The others were shot; but so ill contrived were the arrangements for this purpose, that two volleys were fired without the intended effect, and several of the convicts, unable to endure any longer so dreadful a crisis of suspense, rose on their feet and ran towards the fortifications. The soldiers pursued and fired in confusion; the mob intermingled with the soldiers, and two of them, in the extreme disorder which took place, were wounded. Two of the flying criminals threw themselves at length over the ramparts, and were dashed to pieces by their fall. Several of the remainder, unable to move, lay bleeding and neglected in the agony of their wounds, and were at length shot through at the muzzle of the musquet. These wretched, though unquestionably criminal, men were, in the first instance, not protected against the missile weapons of the populace; they were suffered to remain more than two hours upon the ground before their sentence was attempted to be executed; and, notwithstanding repeated importunities only for a little water, received not the least attention to their wishes. The proceedings of the day were, indeed, by no means calculated to display the manliness or humanity of the British character.

The miserable remnant of the mutineers who were now shut up in the fort, were, sometimes seen loitering about in sullen resignation, and sometimes dancing on the ramparts with a view to conceal from the spectators, and, if possible, from themselves, the desperation of their circumstances. They at length threw two shells into Vallette, and discharged a piece of artillery at St. Elmo. The fort was immediately, in consequence, ordered to be scaled. Two of them were taken prisoners. The rest, after discharging four mortars against the city, retired to the magazine, and, on the evening of the 19th, their provisions having utterly failed, blew up the building containing nearly 600 barrels of powder. Such was its designed construction, however, that the explosion burst towards the sea. Only the windows of the city were considerably damaged, and, in the fort itself, only three soldiers lost their lives. What is still more extraordinary, the perpetrators themselves of this desperate act survived, and, two days afterwards, four of them were apprehended and hanged.

It is generally understood, that, in the mode of raising the regiment of Froberg, several unjust measures had been adopted, and promises made which were neglected to be performed. The articles of war are, moreover, stated never to have been explained or even read to them. If necessity obliges the employment of foreigners in the British service, the terms of engagement ought undoubtedly to be specified to them with the most perfect accuracy and fullness. The fewer are the ties of natural sympathy existing in such connections, the more defined and close should be those of convention; and the more liable to turbulence and derangement any particular species of force may be, the stricter atten-

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tion should be paid to repress as much as possible the tendencies to disaffection, not only by firm discipline, but by an undeviating adherence to good faith and honour.

In the East Indies nothing occurred this year to require very particular attention. From the investigation instituted on the subject of the mutiny at Vellore, it appeared that some alterations had been introduced by the military power in the dress of the native troops, which were supposed by them to interfere with the designations of their respective casts, and excited, in consequence, a high degree of alienation and disgust. These regulations, however, were still persisted in. Two of the objectors were punished, and the rest were pardoned. Not only at Vellore but at Seringapatam, the spirit of dissatisfaction strongly prevailed, and it was a frequent observation, that the next attempt of the government of India would be to make the Sepoys Christians. The consequence at length was, that the native troops were wrought up to a pitch of zeal in behalf of their ancient institutions, and of vengeance against those who presumed thus frivolously to annihilate what were deemed the most solemn and sacred of all human concerns, which led to the massacre at Vellore; nor would it have been surprising if the contagion spread, and almost superhuman exertions of fanaticism had given a fatal shock to the British government in India. Commotions were observed in various corps of native soldiers, and apprehensions were entertained by English residents that plots might be arranging, and on the point of execution, which comprehended even their extermination. The insurrection took place in July, and the exceptionable badges which had led to the tragedy, had almost immediately been ordered to be no longer enforced. But, for many months after alarm and apprehension had by no means subsided, and, even in December, it was thought expedient at Fort St. George to issue a proclamation, assuring the native troops, in the most solemn manner, that the respect which had been hitherto invariably shown to their religion and customs would be always continued, and that no interruption would be given to any native, whether Hindoo or Mussulman, in the practice of his religious ceremonies. The firm wisdom and judicious lenity of the civil administration of this empire will, it is hoped, ever be an effectual check on the impetuosity too often connected with habits of military command. The transaction at Vellore attests the critical foundation of British power in India, and shows, that no measure should be adopted which has not been minutely investigated, as one act of frivolous authority or puerile caprice, the removal of a turban or the institution of a tonsure, may introduce the horrors of the most sanguinary revolution.——In these circumstances the restrictions upon the freedom of the press and public meetings, which were this year enforced by new orders, are measures of essential policy, and will be objected to only by those who make no allowance for seasons and situations, and are not aware that the most wise and benevolent government should always proportion the restraints upon liberty, to the danger of popular licentiousness.

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A connection was this year formed by Bonaparte with Persia, originally with the idea of annoying the emperor of Russia, but with the ultimate view probably of deriving assistance from her in his meditated schemes against the Indian empire of Great Britain. The cooperation of Russia also, in this project, might undoubtedly produce an experiment well calculated to alarm. The immense territories of Russia almost border upon India; and the marquis Wellesley has intimated, that from this quarter, or by the invasion of a new and unknown enemy from the north-east of Asia, the English power in India is not unlikely to meet with the most serious attack. A system of vigilance is, on every side, requisite to prevent the access of evil; and it must ever be remembered, that the mild and beneficent government which will necessarily excite all the ardour of gratitude, and devotion of patriotism, in the natives of this peninsula, will prove its most effectual protection against invasion.

In the West Indies the island of St. Domingo experienced a change of government, by which general Christophe, who, after the destruction of Dessalines, became lord of the ascendant, was established as president for life, and generalissimo of the forces of the island. An opposition however of a formidable character, and headed by general Petion, soon occurred. Hostilities were carried on with extreme activity and vigour, and though, by the last accounts, civil conflict was by no means actually terminated, there appeared a prospect of its being soon decided in favour of the president, whose valour, humanity, and good sense rendered this result highly desirable, and who possessed a strong attachment to the English connection. It was announced by Christophe to his army in August, that Great Britain had recognised him as chief of the government of Hayti, and had determined to contribute to the establishment of his supremacy. That some convention had been formed, at this period, with the existing dominant power may easily be credited. This was indeed become highly desirable and expedient. The English trade with St. Domingo has recently become so considerable, that probably at the present moment there are in it 2000 British subjects, owners or consignees of property to the amount of half a million sterling. A treaty of commerce therefore must have been considered as highly important; and should the island be able to preserve its independence, the connection may be hereafter extended to almost indefinite mutual advantage.

In Jamaica the distresses of the planters and merchants appear to have excited a state of the most agitated feeling. In the house of assembly, the prospective consequences of the abolition of the slave trade were represented as about to give the fatal blow to the remains of that prosperity by which this colony had been formerly distinguished. It was resolved, that by this measure the funds by means of which Jamaica was now defended would necessarily be destroyed; that this interference with the internal regulations of the island, combined with it as much usurpation as impolicy; that it was pregnant with impoverishment and insurrection, and all the evils of revolution and massacre; and that the continuance of allegiance could depend only on the

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continuance of protection. The indecorous latitude of representation, and licentious intimations thus employed by the colonial legislature, unquestionably merit the reprehension of the presiding government.

In England, the very measure which has led to this impetuous and menacing language in Jamaica, was received, as already mentioned, with the highest gratitude and joy. The idea and wish were almost immediately expressed, that a connection might be formed with Africa, which might tend somewhat to compensate for the ravages which that quarter of the world had sustained from its intercourse with the British empire. A very numerous and highly respectable meeting of noblemen and gentlemen was held at Freemason's hall, to consider of means for improving the opportunity presented by the conclusion of the slave trade, for promoting an useful commerce with Africa, and extending to it the blessings of civilization. The duke of Gloucester, who presided at the meeting, adverted in appropriate and animated terms to the merits of those individuals whose persevering efforts had most tended to wipe away the national disgrace incurred by the slave-trade, and stated, that the attempt to repair the wrongs endured by Africa from Europe, was to be regarded as a natural following up of the principles which had led to the termination of a most inhuman traffic. The introduction of the arts of social life was an object in every point of view worthy the exertions of a great and glorious people, and, while it would highly gratify the general philanthropist, would, by its promotion of the trade and manufactures of Great Britain, be deemed no less desirable and meritorious by the genuine patriot. A series of resolutions, explaining the object of the meeting, was then read to the company. It was determined, that they should immediately form themselves into a society, to be called The African Institution, with a view to carrying the above purpose into effect; and a committee was appointed to draw up laws and regulations for its government.

After tracing the progress of destruction, and perusing the pages of blood which are almost exclusively presented in the history of nations, the feeling mind derives no small relief from such notices as these, which preclude it, indeed, from that absolute despair of the cause of humanity into which the wrongs and ravages, the follies and passions exhibited in almost every point of this mismanaged world, are, at certain moments, ready to plunge it. In connection with important establishments, tending to substitute for the war of man on man, an innocent and beneficial communication, may be properly mentioned the history of any discoveries which counteract the depredations of disease. During the former year, the parliament of Great Britain referred to the college of physicians, for its deliberate and decided opinion, the subject of vaccination, which had been brought into very extensive practice, but objections to which were still entertained by many in the British empire, while, in countries the most ignorant and superstitious, it seemed to have borne down all prejudice. The exceptions to its efficacy, and the nature of its consequences, were presumed by

by numbers to preclude any general advantage from the discovery. It was an object, therefore, of national consequence to set this interesting question, if possible, at rest. The college of physicians, in order to do perfect justice to the subject thus referred to them, applied to all the medical and surgical societies, as well as colleges, in the united kingdom, and invited the contributions, likewise, of all experienced persons whether private or professional. Having thus procured an immense accumulation of the most authentic evidence, they were prepared to make their report; the most interesting points of which are contained in the following statement. Vaccination appears in almost all cases perfectly safe, exciting only a slight disease, which does not prevent those under it from following their usual occupations. It has been communicated to pregnant women, and to infants in the state of dentition, with the most complete security, and, in this respect, is extremely superior to the inoculated small pox, which sometimes occasions alarming symptoms, and is in a few cases fatal. The security derived from vaccination against the small pox is as nearly perfect as can be, perhaps, expected from any human discovery; and it appears that, in a given number of vaccinated persons, there are not by any means so many failures as there are deaths in an equal number of persons subjected to variolous infection,--a consideration most decisive of the superiority of vaccination. It is also a fact of extreme importance, confirmed by the investigations of the college, that, in almost every case in which the small pox, whether by casual infection or by inoculation, has succeeded vaccination, its symptoms have been deprived of their usual malignity. In opposition to the statement by which many have been deluded and prejudiced, that vaccination introduces alarming and dangerous diseases into the constitution, the testimonies adduced are most decided, in declaring that vaccination does less mischief to the constitution, and less frequently occasions other diseases, than the small pox, natural or inoculated. The advantages of vaccination, then, to the individual arise from its mildness, its safety, and its consequences. With regard to society its benefits are, that it spreads no infection, and can be communicated only by inoculation. The importance of vaccination must be determined by the consideration of the pernicious effects of the small pox. A sixth part of all those who are attacked by the natural small pox are supposed to be destroyed by it. Even by inoculation, where it has been general in parishes and towns, the deaths have usually been in the proportion of one to three hundred. Nearly one tenth of the whole mortality in London was occasioned by the small pox; and, beneficial as the practice of inoculation has been to individuals, it has preserved a constant source of contagion, which has, in reality, increased the number of deaths by the natural disease. The great and uncontroverted superiority of vaccination consists in its not communicating any casual infection, and in its affording protection to the individual without being at the same time prejudicial to the public. The grounds on which the opposers of vaccination rested their opinion, and the evidence they adduced, were examin-

ed by the college with peculiar attention. Their arguments were found to consist in hypothetical reasoning, or in hearsay testimonies; and the facts which they advanced were either misapprehended or misrepresented, or fell under the description of cases of imperfect small pox, or constituted in a few instances those identical exceptive cases with regard to the validity of vaccination, which the college readily admitted to have actually occurred; and such as may, also, be produced against the validity of variolous inoculation. The testimony of the successful practice of vaccination in every part of Europe, and through the vast continents of Asia and America, must be regarded as strongly confirming the evidence of those facts which have occurred in Great Britain; to which, however, the college have particularly confined themselves, as their evidence was more easily ascertainable. From the whole of the testimony submitted to their consideration, it was regarded by them as their duty strongly to recommend the practice of vaccination. The number, the respectability, the disinterestedness, and the extensive experience of its advocates, form a striking contrast with the feeble and imperfect testimony of a few opponents, and many who were at first ardent opposers of the practice may be classed now among its most valuable supporters. The advantage of the practice therefore appears to be as firmly established, as the nature of the question will admit; and the public may reasonably anticipate the period when all opposition to it will cease, and the ravages of the natural small pox will be terminated by the general concurrence of mankind.

LIST OF HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTERS AS IT STOOD IN JANUARY, 1807.

CABINET MINISTERS.

Viscount Sidmouth	President of the council.
Lord Erskine	Lord high chancellor.
Lord Holland	Lord privy seal.
Lord Grenville	First lord of the treasury (prime minister).
Right hon. Thomas Grenville	First lord of the admiralty.
Earl of Moira	Master-general of the ordnance.
Earl Spencer	Secretary of state for the home department.
Lord Howick	——————— foreign affairs.
Right hon. William Windham	——————— the department of war and colonies.
Lord Ellenborough	Lord chief justice of the court of king's bench.
Lord Henry Petty	Chancellor and under-treasurer of the exchequer.
Earl Fitzwilliam	(A seat without an office.)

NOT OF THE CABINET.

Rt. hon. George Tierney	Pres. board of control for the affairs of India.
Earl of Derby	Chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster.
Lord Auckland	President of the board of trade.
Right hon. Richard Fitzpatrick	Secretary at war.

Rt.

Rt. hon. Richard Brinsley Sheridan	Treasurer of the navy.
Earl Temple	Joint paymaster-general.
Lord John Townshend	
Earl of Buckinghamshire	Joint postmaster-general.
Earl of Carysfort	
Right hon. Nicholas Vansittart	Secretaries of the treasury.
William Henry Fremantle, esq.	
Sir William Grant	Master of the rolls.
Sir Arthur Pigott	Attorney-general.
Sir Samuel Romilly	Solicitor-general.

PERSONS IN THE MINISTRY OF IRELAND.

Duke of Bedford	Lord lieutenant.
Right hon. George Ponsonby	Lord high chancellor.
Right hon. William Elliot	Chief secretary.
Right hon. sir John Newport	Chancellor of the exchequer.

LIST OF HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTERS AS IT STOOD IN APRIL, 1807.

CABINET MINISTERS.

Earl Camden	President of the council.
Lord Eldon	Lord high chancellor.
Earl of Westmoreland	Lord privy seal.
Duke of Portland	First lord of the treasury (prime minister).
Lord Mulgrave	First lord of the admiralty.
Earl of Chatham	Master general of the ordnance.
Earl Bathurst	President of the board of trade.
Lord Hawkesbury	Secretary of state for the home department.
Right hon. George Canning	——————— for foreign affairs.
Lord Castlereagh	——————— for the department of war and colonies.
Right hon. Spencer Perceval	Chancellor and under-treasurer of the exchequer, and also chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster.

NOT OF THE CABINET.

Right hon. Robert Saunders Dundas	Pres. board of control for the affairs of India.
Right hon. George Rose	Vice president board of trade, and treasurer of the navy.
Sir James Pulteney, bart.	Secretary at war.
Lord Charles Somerset	Joint paymaster-general.
Right hon. Charles Long	
Earl of Chichester	Joint postmaster-general.
Earl of Sandwich	
William Huskisson, esq.	Secretaries of the treasury.
Hon. Henry Wellesley	
Sir William Grant	Master of the rolls.
Sir Vicary Gibbs	Attorney-general.
Sir Thomas Plomer	Solicitor-general.

PERSONS IN THE MINISTRY OF IRELAND.

Duke of Richmond	Lord lieutenant.
Lord Manners	Lord high chancellor.
Sir Arthur Wellesley	Chief secretary.
Right hon. John Foster	Chancellor of the exchequer.

PRINCIPAL

PRINCIPAL

OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1807.

PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1807.

JANUARY.

Admiralty-office, Jan. 3.

[A letter from commodore Owen to lord Keith inclosed the following:]

His majesty's sloop Spitfire, Downs, Dec. 29.

Sir,

I beg leave to acquaint you, for the information of the commander in chief, that I had scarce dispatched the Friendship (recaptured brig) for the Downs, of which I had informed you by letter, but that I discovered a sail in the E. N. E. being then on our lee beam, to which I immediately gave chase, and am happy to acquaint you, that by half-past five A. M. I got up with her; but in consequence of her temerity and perseverance, she would not bring-to till nearly under the muzzles of our guns, by which her captain and third officer were killed, and four men severely wounded, one of whom had his arm amputated by our surgeon. She proves to be the Deux Freres lugger privateer of 14 guns, four of which only were mounted, the rest in the hold, and with 55 men. She was at the taking of the Friendship yesterday, in company with L'Espoir, another lugger, and which I am sorry to say has escaped, as she had the master and crew of the Friendship on board. Having so many prisoners, I thought it necessary to bear up with the lugger for the Downs, of which I hope you will approve.

The officers and crew behaved with every alacrity during the chase. I have, &c.

R. PARRY,

Commod. E. W. C. R. Owen,
Clyde.

The following is an interesting letter on an American expedition of discovery under the command of captain Lewis: from this, which is written by capt. Clark, second in command, it is ascertained that the expedition succeeded in penetrating through the continent between the rivers Missouri and Columbia, and in navigating the Columbia down to the Pacific.

St. Louis, Sept. 23, 1806.

Dear brother,

We arrived at this place at twelve o'clock to-day, from the Pacific Ocean, where we remained during the last winter, near the entrance of the Columbia river. This station we left on the 27th of March last, and should have reached St. Louis early in August, had we not been detained by the snow, which barred our passage across the rocky mountains until

tains almost inaccessible, and compelled to subsist on berries during the greater part of my route. We now purchased seventeen horses of the Indians, and hired a guide, who assured us, that he could in fifteen days take us to a large river, in an open country west of these mountains, by a route some distance to the north of the river on which they lived, and that by which the natives west of the mountains visit the plain of the Missouri, for the purpose of hunting the buffalo. Every preparation being made, we set forward with our guide on the 31st of August, through these tremendous mountains, in which we continued until the 22d of September, before we reached the lower country beyond them. On the way we met with the Olelachshook, a band of the Tuchapacks, from whom we obtained an accession of seven horses, and exchanged eight or ten others; this proved an infinite service to us, as we were compelled to subsist on horse beef about eight days before we reached the Kooskooske. During our passage over these mountains, we suffered every thing which hunger, cold, and fatigue, could impose; nor did our difficulties terminate on our arrival at Kooskooske; for although the Pollotepallors, a numerous nation inhabiting that country, were extremely hospitable, and for a few trifling articles furnished us with an abundance of roots and dried salmon, the food to which they were accustomed, we found that we could not subsist on these articles, and almost all of us grew sick on eating them; we were obliged therefore to have recourse to the flesh of horses and dogs, as food to supply the deficiency of our guns, which produced but little meat, as game was scarce in the vicinity of our camp on the Kooskooske, where we were compelled to remain, in order to construct our perogues to descend the river. At this season the salmon are meagre, and form but indifferent food. While we remained here I was myself sick for several days, and my friend captain Lewis suffered a severe indisposition.

Having completed four perogues and a small canoe, we gave our horses in charge to the Pollotepallors until we returned, and on the 7th of October re-embarked for the Pacific Ocean. We descended by the route I have already mentioned. The water of the river being low at this season, we experienced much difficulty in descending: we found it obstructed by a great number of difficult and dangerous rapids, in passing which our perogues several times filled, and the men escaped narrowly with their lives. However, this difficulty does not exist in high water, which happens within the period which I have previously mentioned. We found the natives extremely numerous, and generally friendly, though we have on several occasions owed our lives and the fate of the expedition to our number, which consisted of thirty-one men. On the 17th of November we reached the ocean, where various considerations induced us to spend the winter; we therefore searched for an eligible situation for that purpose, and selected a spot on the south side of a little river, called by the natives *Netat*, which discharges itself at a small bar on the south side of the Columbia, and 14 miles within Point Adams. Here we constructed some log-houses, and defended them with a

common

common stockade work; this place we called Fort Catsop, after a nation of that name who were our nearest neighbours. In this country we found an abundance of elk, on which we subsisted principally during the last winter. We left Fort Catsop on the 27th of March. On our homeward-bound voyage, being much better acquainted with the country, we were enabled to take such precautions as in a great measure secured us from the want of provisions at any time, and greatly lessened our fatigues, when compared with those to which we were compelled to submit in our outward-bound journey. We have not lost a man since we left the Mandians, a circumstance which I assure you is a pleasing consideration to me. As I shall shortly be with you, and the post is now waiting, I deem it unnecessary here to attempt minutely to detail the occurrences of the last eighteen months. I am, &c.

Your affectionate brother,

WILLIAM CLARK.

LONGEVITY.

The following is a list of persons who died in Great Britain and its dependencies, at very extraordinary ages, during the last year:—

At the age of 100.—Ann Dixon, of Fenwick Hall; Margaret Barrow, of Holker; Mr. Hornidge, of Gloucester; J. Bell, of Moorhouse; Mrs. Battle, of Throstlenest; Mary Gregory, of Bristol; Mrs. Crisp, of Loddon, Norfolk; Mary Evans, of Oswestry; Samuel Griffiths, of Kennarth; and Andrew Fraser, of the Isle of Sky.

Aged 101.—Margaret Sherwin, of Kirkby; T. Willy, of Buckland St. Mary; Margaret Tate, of South Shields; J. Moore, of Newcastle; Mrs. Galey, of Norwich; and Mrs. Hammond, of Horndean.

At the age of 102.—Mrs. Chase, of Polman; and Ann John, of Llandolog.

Aged 103.—Sarah Fisher, of Nutsford; Mary Lazell, of Colchester; Mrs. Hunt, of Limerick; G. Thomas, of Capel Crieg; and J. Turner, of Eventhorpe.

Aged 104.—Maria Twist, of Birmingham; J. Potts, of Edlingham; and S. Anstey, of Coleshill.

Aged 105.—Eliz. Spencer, of Fareham; Mrs. Lawrence, of Lincoln; Janet Camack, of Whitehall, Scotland; Mary Biggs, of Thornbury; and R. Sheriffs, of Udny.

Aged 106.—Ann Griffiths, of Hereford; J. Hunter, of Esh; and J. Shortall, in Ireland.

Aged 107.—J. Benbow, of Northwood; Susan Payman, of Great Glenham; J. Freeman, of Reading, America; J. Stubbings, of Beccles; W. Marchant, of Liverpool; and Sarah Parris, of Jamaica.

Aged 111.—Ann Strounge, of Eltham.

Aged 112.—Mary Farmer, of Sunderland.

Aged 113.—Mrs. Roope, of Thurston.

Aged 114.—J. Blakeney, of Skibbereen.—120. Sarah O'Leary, of Ireland.—125. Mr. Creek, of Thurlow.—131. J. Tucker, of Itchen Ferry; and 134. Catharine Lopez, of Jamaica.

Of the above 48 persons, 19 were males, and 29 females. Only 16 are recorded as persons who had been married, though it is probable many more had been so; and 10 are mentioned as having enjoyed all their faculties to the last.

4. Jamerson Rogers, a prophetess, was indicted on the vagrant act, for retailing divination to the credulous.

It appeared by the testimony of miss H. Hall, a young lady under twenty, that she had gone to the house of the sibyl, in William-street, Westminster, to detect the prisoner, in consequence of her having previously contaminated the mind of one of her relatives. She was ushered into the apartments of the seducer by a chairwoman, and a pack of cards, a religious book, &c. were placed on the table, by which the prophetess made her researches. Miss Hall was informed that she had many enemies of her own sex, but all men were friendly towards her, and she would soon be married to the best of good men; for which information she paid one shilling.

Frances Hughes, an interesting girl of 16 years of age, had also sought information at the hands of the prophetess. She was more admired than miss Hall; for the only enemy she had was a dark woman, who would strive to injure her, but she would ere she was 20 years of age be united in wedlock to a man who would revenge her wrongs.

Mr. Alley undertook, on behalf of the defendant, to tell her fortune. He could inform her she was born under a better planet than her philosophy had informed her of. The learned counsel objected to the form of the conviction before the magistrates, the word *and* being substituted instead of *or*. This objection proved fatal to the cause of justice, and the prisoner was discharged.

POLICE.

FINAL EXAMINATION OF THE SWISS VALET.

6. *Marlborough-street.* —— John Lewis Baptista Barrillet on Tuesday underwent a final examination at this office.

Lord Caledon appeared for the first time since the prisoner had been in custody. His lordship stated the prisoner acted as valet, and not as butler; and to him he left the care of his house whilst he went to Ireland. Thirty-two packages were packed in a parcel, and sent to a waggon-inn for conveyance to Portsmouth, previous to his lordship's leaving town, he having at that time been given to understand that he should embark for the Cape of Good Hope in a few days. In consequence of the confused manner in which the packages had been packed, lord C. could not speak with any degree of certainty to what extent he had been robbed, nor could he particularize, at that moment, any deficiency, excepting, as he supposed, about twenty dozen of madeira, champaigne, claret, and other wines, which he had left in his wine-cellar, and which, on examination, contained not more than two or three bottles. The prisoner had no command over the wine-cellar, the keys of which were deposited in an unlocked drawer.—Nine packages, it appeared, had been brought away from the waggon-inn.

Colonel Alexander identified part of his property, which had been offered for sale by the prisoner. And it was proved by other persons who were left in the house, that the prisoner had frequently taken wine from the cellar, and carried it out of the house. He had,

had, it appeared, distributed the whole stock of wines amongst about a dozen dashing belles at different times, two of whom proved having received part of it; and in particularizing the marks on the corks, &c. it appeared to be part of what the servants saw the prisoner take from the cellar. The several ladies with whom the prisoner had, by his assumption of title, birth, &c. become acquainted, gave a sportive description of the conduct of the self-created noble whilst acting the man of fashion. He insisted on miss C. who had expressed her intention of leaving her house, accepting of his (meaning lord Caledon's) whilst he was at the Cape, as he should have no occasion for it. This offer was made when the lady breakfasted with the prisoner, who excited her suspicions, as he had no servants at command. The prisoner was fully committed for trial on three indictments; two for robbing lord Caledon and colonel Alexander, and one for a fraud on Messrs. Rundle and Bridge, jewellers, Ludgate-hill, where he had a snuff-box mounted in gold in the name of his master.

THE LATE DREADFUL OCCURRENCE IN INDIA.

Further particulars of the dreadful catastrophe at Vellore, from an officer in the Company's service.

Madras, July 28, 1806.

Perhaps, ere you receive this letter, the account of the melancholy catastrophe which has occurred at Vellore will have reached you. I will, however, give you a short sketch of it. The troops which, at this time, garrisoned Vellore, were six companies of the 1st battalion 1st regiment, No. 1, and 2d battalion of the 23d regiment, and four complete companies of his majesty's 69th regiment.

On the morning of the 10th instant, about two o'clock, when the moon had just risen, the European barracks at Vellore were surrounded; and, at every window and door, a heavy fire from musketry and a six-pounder was poured in on the poor defenceless soldiers. At that instant, the European sentries, and the soldiers at the main guard, and the sick in the hospital, were put to death; and the sepoys then proceeded to the officers' houses, and put to death all whom they could find. Colonel M'Kerras, who commanded one of the battalions, was shot while haranguing his men on the parade-ground. Colonel Fancourt, the commandant of the fort, was shot upon proceeding towards the main guard; and all were butchered wherever they could be found. Lieutenant Ely, of the 69th, with his little son in his arms, were both barbarously bayoneted in the presence of his wife! This scene of carnage continued till about seven o'clock in the morning, when two officers and a surgeon, whose quarters were near to the European barracks, contrived to get in, and then took the command of the remains of the four companies.

They made a sally from the barracks, and got possession of the six-pounder, and fought their way to the gateway, which a serjeant Brody, with his European guard, had most gallantly defended against all the insurgents. At the instant, about half after seven o'clock in the morning, they reached the gate, colonel Gillespie, with about a troop of the 19th dragoons, had reached the gate from Arcot, having left that place about

six

six o'clock. He was hauled up by a rope by serjeant Brody's party, and had taken the command, when he intended to have charged the insurgents with the bayonet, but at this moment the galloper guns of the 19th arrived. The gate was then blown open, and the 19th admitted.

The sepoys were encouraged by their native officers to make a stand, but all were very soon cut to pieces by the 19th; about 600 were cut down, and about 200, subsequently taken from hiding-places, were shot. About 500 made their escape, it is supposed, through the sally-port, but many of them have been since taken.

The cause of this dreadful affair is now investigating by seven commissioners, who are sitting at Vellore. The 2d battalion of the 23d had been raised in the southward, and was composed chiefly of Collories; their officers were induced, by offers of great reward from one of the princes, to be bribed from their duty, and had sufficient influence over their men to make them join in the plan, which was to get possession of the fort, and which they calculated on keeping for a few days, when they were to be joined by 50,000 men from Mysore. The standard of Tippoo was hoisted on the palace, soon after the firing commenced; and if it had not been for the entreaties of lieutenant-colonel Marriot, who declared the princes were innocent, colonel Gillespie would have delivered up the whole of the palace to the enraged soldiery. The cause is also to be attributed to a code of new regulations, which has occasioned general dissatisfaction through the army.—These regulations introduced a new turban for the sepoys, similar to a drummer's cap, and ordered the distinguishing marks of the cast in the forehead to be taken off, and to shave their upper lip, &c. The Mysore princes doubtless availed themselves of this dissatisfaction; young ———'s corps had been removed from thence to Madras, a few weeks before, for refusing to wear the turban. Lord William Bentinck, wisely, immediately issued a general order, doing away those regulations. I inclose a list of the killed and wounded. Major Armstrong was killed in his palanquin, by a volley from the ramparts when passing along, about break of day, being on his way to Madras.

Killed.—Colonels Fancourt, M'Kerras, 23d battalion; lieutenants Winchope, Jolly, captain Milne, 1st battalion, 1st regiment; lieutenants O'Reilly, Fitchbenner, Ely, 69th regiment; Popham; paymaster Smith; Mann, commissary of stores; major Armstrong.

Wounded.—Captain Barrow, 69th regiment; M'Lachlan. Insurgents, 500 or 600 killed; his majesty's 19th dragoons, one rank and file killed, three wounded; rank and file 88 wounded.

Sunday the 4th, about 12 o'clock, one of the arches of Haydon bridge, Northumberland, 95 feet in span, fell in with a most tremendous crash, at the time that a number of people were going over it to church. A man sunk with the ruins to a depth of 40 feet, by which his thigh was fractured, and he was otherwise much bruised. The bridge had long been in a state of decay.

Otters.—On Wednesday the 7th Mr. Edward Humphreys, jun. of Walcot, near Chirbury, Shropshire, shot a dog otter on the river Cemblet, which weighed 22lb. and measured from the head to the tail four

four feet. There are also now at Gunley, near Chirbury, two tame otters, taken when young from the said river; they are so tame that they will follow the servants to the spout when washing, and one was so voracious as to seize a living toad and devour it immediately.

On the 10th inst. about two o'clock, a gentleman came from Hungerford, in a post-chaise, to the Globe inn, Newbury, where he ordered another chaise to take him to Andover. When he arrived at the Star inn, Andover, he took a bottle of wine: in the evening he walked to the Catharine Wheel, at that place, to wait, as he said, for the mail coach, and, in company with some other gentlemen, drank a glass of brandy and water. About eleven o'clock at night they were talking about children;—the gentleman said, "he had nine children, and no one knew what trouble they were but those who experienced it," and immediately left the room. Within a minute the company were alarmed by the report of a pistol; they immediately went to the door, and discovered that the gentleman had shot himself in the right temple, and was quite dead.

Admiralty-office, Jan. 13.

A letter from vice-admiral lord Collingwood, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels in the Mediterranean, to William Marsden, esq. dated on board the Ocean, off Cadiz, the 20th of December 1806, incloses the following copy of a letter from captain Pearce, commander of his majesty's sloop the Halcyon.

His majesty's ship Halcyon, Gibraltar Bay, Dec. 18, 1806.

My lord, I beg leave to inform your lordship, that on the 13th instant, at eight in the morning, Cape St. Martin's S.S.W. six leagues, I perceived three sail standing out from the land towards me. Being on contrary tacks, we closed fast; when within four or five miles, I discovered they were vessels of war, (a ship, a brig, and a xebec,) and shortly after steered directly for me: seeing they were superior, and five settees, seen from the tops, coming from the same quarter, I judged it prudent (as they seemed determined to bring me to action) to close with them as soon as possible, and decide the contest before any assistance could be given from the other five. At half past ten (being nearly within musket-shot) they hoisted Spanish colours, and commenced action: as soon as I got a-breast of the second vessel, I got on the other tack, and brought them to closer action, which lasted till twelve o'clock, when their fire slackened. At half-past, being nearly a calm, the brick and xebec hauled away to the southward, assisted by their boats and sweeps, the ship then nearest us endeavouring to do the same to the northward: we swept after her, and in an hour got close alongside, when she struck her colours: she proved to be a Spanish polacre ship (privateer), the Neptuno Dios de los Mares, of fourteen guns and seventy-two men, from Denia, going on a cruize between Minorca and the coast of Africa, with the other two in company; who, I am sorry to say, made their escape, but not before their fire had been silenced. The five settees, when within three miles, seeing the ship deserted, returned to the shore, and went into the port of Denia. Though extraordinary, I am happy to say we had none killed, and only three wounded,—lieutenant Briggs, my first,

first, by a splinter in the arm, whom I beg leave to recommend to your lordship's notice; lieutenant Pearce, who has been acting three years and a half in this vessel; and one seaman. The loss of the enemy must be great. The wounded from the ship are doing well, nine in all. I give your lordship the full particulars of this event, and trust my attacking so very superior a force (seeing they were resolutely determined to bring me to an action) will meet your lordship's approbation, knowing I could depend upon my officers and ship's company, whose cool, brave, and steady conduct on this, as on former occasions, almost ensured me success before the action commenced.—They merit my warmest acknowledgments.

I cannot omit mentioning my having four passengers, captain Sullivan, of the 81st regiment, who commanded the small arms; Messrs. Purvis, Crokat, and a Neapolitan messenger, were all of great service, as we were sixteen short of complement. The object of the enemy's fire was mostly directed at our masts and rigging, in which, I am sorry to say, we have suffered very materially.

The force opposed to the Halcyon was, Neptuno Dios de los Mares, fourteen twelve-pounders, and seventy-two men; La Vergin di Solidad, fourteen twelve- and eight-pounders, and seventy-eight men; El Vives, twelve eight- and six-pounders, and sixty-five men.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) H. W. PEARCE.

The right hon. C. lord Collingwood.

OLD BAILEY.

January 14. This morning, at nine, the sessions of oyer and terminer, and gaol delivery, commenced before the lord mayor, baron sir Archibald M'Donald, sir Soulden Lawrence, and sir Alan Chambré, the recorder, &c. when eleven prisoners were tried, seven of whom were capitally convicted.

Frederick Smith, *alias* Henry St. John, was tried on a charge of a capital felony. It appeared that the solicitor of the prosecutor had introduced the prisoner to the prosecutor as a captain in the army. The prosecutor was a man of weak understanding; and under the pretence of bringing about a reconciliation between him and his wife, who were separate, the prisoner got him to go to Ramsgate, from thence to London, then to Fulham, where the son was said to be at school, in order to work upon the feelings of the mother. The lad was not there; the prosecutor and the prisoner drank together until the prosecutor was overcome with drink, when he missed notes to the amount of about 600*l.* A 300*l.* note was afterwards changed by the prisoner at Manchester; he came to Town, and, on going to demand the balance from Messrs. Boldero and Co. the agents of Messrs. H. and Co. at Manchester, he was stopped, though he then passed by the name of Henry St. John. It was proved that the prisoner had deposited the 300*l.* bank note in the Manchester bank, and that he demanded the balance in London. Whilst he was in prison, he got the wife of the attorney to bring the prosecutor to him in Newgate. He then offered him 280*l.* all that was left of the plunder, if he would not appear against him. This was refused, and the trial came on. Notwithstanding this, in his defence the prisoner said, that all the witnesses swore

swore falsely against him. The 300*l.* note, however, was brought home to him, and he was capitally convicted.

Richard Hartford, William Bridges, John Fordham, and John Harvey, were indicted for burglary and robbery in the dwelling-house of John Spencer, at Ponders-end, on the 18th of December last. It appeared that the prisoners belonged to a gang, six in number, of desperate ruffians, who have of late committed a great number of robberies in the neighbourhood of London; the other two were William Bardin, who is not in custody, and Enoch Roberts, who is admitted a witness for the prosecution. They entered the house of Mr. Spencer about eight o'clock at night, with black masks on their faces, and armed with pistols and other weapons. Their conduct was marked by great atrocity. They succeeded in obtaining some property, but were alarmed before they completed their purpose, and therefore disappointed of the spoil they expected. They were taken into custody some time after, and a great number of indictments preferred against them. Harvey attempted to prove an *alibi*, but did not succeed, and the jury found all the prisoners Guilty.

A remarkable circumstance occurred during this trial. The prisoner Hartford actually picked the pocket of the turnkey who had charge of him, at the bar; but was detected by Mr. Newman, the keeper.

John Fordham and John Harvey were on Wednesday tried, on another indictment, for burglary and robbery in the house of Thomas Whitbread, of Stamford-Hill. It appeared that the prisoners and another man entered the house of Mr. Whitbread, on the 15th ult., disguised with masks on their faces, where they behaved with the same sort of barbarity and atrocity which they exhibited at the house of Mr. Spencer.—The only persons at home, in the present instance, were Mrs. Whitbread, and a boy about fifteen years of age, named Trueman. The robbers took away some valuable property, besides two 10*l.* bank notes, and above 20 guineas in gold. Harvey endeavoured a second time to prove an *alibi*, but failed. The jury found them both Guilty.

16. Jean Louis Baptiste Barrillet was indicted for privately stealing in the house of Dupré Alexander, earl of Caledon, a quantity of wine in bottles, table linen, and various articles, his property, on the 12th of December last. The evidence fully confirmed the description which has been given of the prisoner, who not only dressed himself, like the hero of Le Sage, in his master's clothes, *pour chercher des aventures galantes*, but endeavoured to convert all the property he could lay his hands on to his own use.—Several ladies, to whom he had been very liberal in his presents, attended at the court; but only one, a miss Kennet, who seems to have been the favourite Laura of this new Santilane, was examined. She had breakfasted with him in his master's house, where he informed her that he was aid-de-camp to lord Caledon. She produced some handkerchiefs he had given her.

Mr. Gurney started objections to the indictment, which the lord chief baron, who tried the cause, sustained, in consequence of which the capital part of the indictment was done

done away; and the jury found the prisoner guilty of stealing, but not in the dwelling-house.

Patrick Pendigrest, James Hayes, and Catharine Pendigrest, were indicted for burglary and robbery in the house of Mr. George Bell, at Brent Bridge, near Hendon. The circumstances of this robbery were marked by much atrocity. Patrick Pendigrest was the father of the female prisoner. When he broke into Mr. Bell's house, he was accompanied by several other men, with masks on their faces; but there was not sufficient evidence to prove that Hayes was one of those men, and there was no proof of Catharine Pendigrest being concerned in the robbery. The jury found Patrick Pendigrest Guilty, and acquitted the other two prisoners.

17. Alice Gray, a decent looking woman, and in the last stage of pregnancy, was tried for privately stealing certain articles of hosiery, in the shop of Mr. Lodge, No. 75, Oxford-road. The prisoner had pretended that she wanted to purchase sundry goods, which were to be sent to her lodgings: the prosecutor suspected her, and observed her put three pair of black silk stockings into her muff. He charged her with the theft, upon which she fell on her knees, acknowledged her crime, and entreated for mercy. He would not listen to her, but sent for an officer, and delivered her into his custody. The jury found the prisoner Guilty of simple felony, and acquitted her of the capital charge.

COURT OF CHANCERY.

Mr. LUDLAM.—The lord chancellor, to whom, by special authority from the king, the care of idiots and lunatics is intrusted, (3 P. Wms. 108,) upon petition or information, grants a commission in nature of the writ *de idiotâ inquirendo*, to inquire into the state of mind of the party; and if he be found *non compos*, he usually commits the care of his person, with a suitable allowance for his maintenance, to some friend, who is then called his committee. This was an application on behalf of the committee, Mr. James Ludlam, brother of the lunatic, for an order under the authority of his lordship, to be directed to Mr. Vandercombe, the agent of the lunatic, that this unhappy gentleman should be delivered up to the safe custody of the petitioner. The petition was supported by Mr. Perceval and Mr. Cook. The solicitor-general, who appeared in behalf of Mr. Vandercombe, stated that his lordship's original order was issued at a time when Mr. Ludlam had absconded, after the transactions at the London tavern, when nobody belonging to him could tell what had become of him. When Mr. Ludlam next appeared, he was perfectly restored to his senses, and had ever since continued a rational man. He had since been attended by Drs. Willis, Young, Warburton, and Munro.—Four men were appointed to take care of him, who were provided with strait waistcoats, to be used if necessary; but the fact was, that Mr. Ludlam had remained perfectly in his senses, until Saturday last, when the Bow-street officers forced their way into the house. Dreading the idea of being confined in a mad-house, Mr. Ludlam, attended by one of the men, in whose care he then was, made

made his escape through the roof, along the tops of the houses, and leaped down a considerable depth, at the hazard of his life, where the man was not able to follow him. From the several affidavits, it appeared that Mr. Ludlam had not been heard of since, and to this fact Mr. Vandercombe had positively sworn. The lord-chancellor, at the same time that he made an order for Mr. Ludlam to be delivered over to the legal custody of his committee, desired it should be understood, that he was to be kept in his own house, and by no means to be sent to a receptacle for lunatics.

Schiedam, Jan. 20.—We learn, with horror and astonishment, that the most magnificent part of Leyden has been the scene of a most terrific explosion. It seems that a vessel laden with gunpowder from Amsterdam, destined for Delft, and then lying in the Rapenburg canal there, by some means took fire, and instantaneously blew up; destroying all the houses in the vicinity of the canal, and occasioning the premature death of some hundreds of the inhabitants.

We are credibly informed, by eye-witnesses, that scarcely a single house or building has escaped without damage; and that on the Rapenburg, where the deplorable event occurred, the houses to a large extent are levelled with the ground. At the awful moment, many families were sitting at dinner with their friends, and thus precipitated into eternity; fathers, mothers, children, servants, all were rapidly hurried to one promiscuous grave. Husbands have lost their consorts and their offspring, and wives their husbands and their sires. Of the number of the dead, various conjectures have been formed; many persons have been dug out, and others are known to lie still in the ruins. Among the dead are several of the most respectable families in the city, and many strangers then on visits. Property to a large amount has been lost, great part of which irrecoverably; and many of the necessaries of life are spoilt by the showers of broken glass which filled the shops and apartments. The king instantly repaired thither in person, and remained the whole night in the streets, assisting and encouraging others, by rewards, to exert themselves. Close to the vessel which blew up, lay a yacht, on board of which were from fifteen to twenty persons, not a vestige of whom was to be found. The cause of this catastrophe no one can conjecture. The powder on board is estimated at about 40,000lbs. which was fatally confided to the care of two young men (brothers), and a servant man. Two professors of the university are stated to have been killed, and several other persons in that celebrated seminary. His majesty has empowered the magistrates of this unfortunate city to make a general collection throughout the whole kingdom; and ordered 100,000 guilders out of the treasury, to be left to the disposition of the home department, for relieving the most pressing necessities of the poor, and those who have lost their all. Several have been taken out alive from under the ruins; but some expired afterwards. After the explosion, several fires broke out by the scattering of the lighted turf and coal in the hearths. A Jewish school suffered considerably: sixteen children in it are said to have lost their lives. A charity school near it met the same fate. Fifty children at a boarding-school narrowly

rowly escaped; two were crushed to death, and a third died shortly afterwards. Of the vessel, not an atom is visible.

George Allen, of Upper Mayfield, Staffordshire, for some time past had been subject to epileptic fits, but on Sunday the fourth he was considerably better, and on Monday appeared quite well. At eight o'clock in the evening of that day he retired to rest, and when his wife followed him in the course of an hour, she found him sitting upright in bed, smoking a pipe, which was his usual custom. In another bed, in the same room, lay three of his infant children asleep, the eldest a boy about ten years old, the second a girl about six, and another boy about three. The wife having got into bed, with an infant at her breast, Allen asked her what other man she had in the house with her? to which she replied, "that no man had been there but himself." He insisted to the contrary, and his wife continued to assert her innocence. He then jumped out of bed and went down stairs, and she, from an impulse of fear, followed him; she met him on the stairs, and asked him what he had been doing in such a hurry? in answer to which he ordered her up stairs again. He then went to the bed where his children were, and turned down the clothes. On her endeavouring to hold him, he told her "to let him alone, or he would serve her the same sauce," and immediately attempted to cut her throat, in which he partly succeeded, and also wounded her right breast, but a handkerchief she wore about her head and neck prevented the wound from being fatal. She then extricated herself (having the babe in her arms all the time, which she preserved unhurt) and jumped, or rather fell down stairs. Before she could well get up, one of the children (the girl) fell at her feet, with its head nearly cut off, and which he had murdered and thrown after her. The poor woman opened the door and screamed out, "that her husband was cutting off the children's heads." A neighbour shortly came to her assistance; and a light having been procured, the monster was found standing in the middle of the house-place, with a razor in his hand. He was asked what he had been doing? when he replied coolly, "Nothing yet; I have only killed three of them." On their going up stairs, a most dreadful spectacle presented itself; the head of one of the boys was very nearly severed from his body, and the bellies of both were partly cut and partly ripped open, and the bowels torn completely out, and thrown on the floor. Allen made no attempt to escape, and was taken without resistance. He says, that it was his intention to murder his wife and all her children, and then to have put an end to himself. An old woman, who lay bedridden in the same house, he professed his intention also to have murdered. On the Wednesday an inquest was held on the bodies of the three children, before Mr. Hand, coroner, of Uttoxeter, when he confessed his guilt, but without expressing any contrition.

It appears from the testimony of his neighbours, that this unhappy man has lived in the utmost harmony with his wife for 17 years, and that he had the character of an honest, industrious man. When questioned by the coroner, he promised to confess something that had lain heavily on his mind; and Mr. Hand, supposing it might relate

late to a crime he had heretofore committed, caused him to be examined, in the presence of other gentlemen, when he told an incoherent story of a ghost, in the shape of a horse, having about four years ago enticed him into a stable, where it drew blood from him, and then flew into the sky. With respect to the murder of his children, he observed to the coroner, with apparent unconcern, that he supposed "it was as bad a case as ever the coroner heard of."

The wife of William Ward, shopkeeper, at St. Peter's in Thanet, was murdered, on her return from her daughter's at Broadstairs. Last Monday, Andreas Schostack, belonging to the 7th battalion of the German legion, quartered at Ramsgate, was committed to Dover gaol, charged on the coroner's inquest with the murder. It appeared that she was met by the prisoner about half a mile from Broadstairs. He dragged her from the main road to a corn-field, where, after having robbed her by cutting off her pockets, he strangled her, and carried away part of her clothes, which were found upon him. Another man of the name of Webb is also in custody, on suspicion of being an accomplice.

MAD DOGS.

21.—Many fatal accidents having, in the course of the year, occurred from mad dogs, it may be rendering the public some service to put them upon their guard against some common opinions on the subject, which, by their being almost universally received, increase the danger in an alarming degree. The statement about to be submitted to the public is founded upon experience derived from accurate observation on the appearances and symptoms of this disorder in a very numerous pack of hounds. It is almost needless to say, that more than one dog had gone mad in the kennel before the case was suspected. What numbers had been bit, it was impossible to ascertain or even to guess; no partial precaution could therefore be taken. The only reasonable hope of preserving those which had not been bit, was by separating them one from the other. This plan was adopted, and every dog was secured in a hutch by himself, by a chain of a length that prevented his coming in contact with another; each had troughs for food and water, so that there was no possible communication between any two. This separation was continued from October to the following April.

In the early part of this period many went mad. From very obvious causes, the numbers diminished from month to month; but there were instances of their going mad nearly at the end of six months.

So far with respect to the length of time the disorder will lie dormant, and afterwards break out. Now, with respect to the symptoms and appearances when the disorder took effect:—It was invariably intermittent in its commencement, and the first access so trifling, that it would have passed unnoticed had not the attention of the huntsman been constantly upon the watch, and his jealousy of every little symptom always alive. During the first intermissions, the dogs were always apparently in perfect health: they ate their food, and lapped their water as usual: they were cheerful, and continued to be perfectly sensible, knowing every body they were accustomed to see.

—There was no alteration in their appearance or manner. The first intermissions were generally of twenty-four hours duration, and in many cases considerably longer. The accesses successively increased in violence, and the intermission diminished. The malady became continued at last, and the dog usually died at the end of about seven or eight days. It has been a vulgar notion, very generally received, that the moon has influence upon this malady, and that dogs go mad only at the full of the moon. This was attended to, and the opinion proved quite groundless: they went as frequently mad at one epoch of the moon as at another.

21. The inhabitants of Henley and its environs have presented Thomas Chapman, only thirteen years of age, son of Mr. C., stationer, of Henley, with a pair of silver cups, value fifteen guineas, and a watch with gold seals, &c. value 9*l.* 5*s.* as a reward for his intrepidity in saving William Russel, a child of eight or nine years of age, from being drowned, on the 10th of May, 1806. He had all his clothes on, and leaped from a height of seven feet from the water, which was from twelve to sixteen feet deep, and close to the side of the stream called the mill tail. The child, who had also his clothes on, had sunk twice; but was saved by the intrepid youth's taking hold of him as he was sinking a third time, and swimming out with him.

ADMIRALTY SESSIONS.

OLD BAILEY.

22. The admiralty sessions commenced, before sir William Scott, baron Thomson, and Mr. justice Chambre.

John Robinson was charged with the wilful murder of one James Williams, on the high seas.

Mr. Garrow, counsel for the prisoner, presented an affidavit, stating the absence of two material witnesses in the prisoner's behalf, and adding, that upon the arrival of captain Robinson at Liverpool, he constantly appeared in public for above a month, before any charges were made against him, by which time the sailors who would have been able to give evidence in his favour were gone to sea, &c. &c. From this consideration the court put off the trial, and admitted the prisoner again to bail—himself in 500*l.* and two sureties in 250*l.* each.

Three boatmen belonging to Ramsgate, namely, Richard Curling, Thomas Moss, and John Forwood, who had been convicted at the last admiralty sessions of stealing a cable and part of an anchor, from the brig Traveller, while on her way from the Downs to Ramsgate, whose case had been reserved for the opinion of the twelve judges, in consequence of a doubt entertained, whether the offence was capital or not, and a majority of whom deciding that it was so, they severally received sentence of death; but previous to his passing sentence upon the prisoners, sir William Scott informed them that, notwithstanding it was his duty to pass the sentence of the law upon them, he would recommend them to the royal mercy; still they must be prepared to meet the decision of their sovereign, whichever way he should incline.

BARRACK DEPARTMENT.

The third report of the commissioners of military inquiry, which is printed, is of considerable

derable length. It comprehends an investigation of the stores and supplies provided for the use of the barracks in Great Britain, &c. under the directions of the late and present barrack masters general. It appears from this report, that an unaccountable degree of negligence, to say no worse, has prevailed in this department; and it will scarcely be believed, that the undertaking, by virtue of which Mr. Alexander Davison supplied the great articles of barrack consumption, with the exception of coals, during a period of between nine and ten years, was not derived from agreement settled and approved by the treasury, or secretary at war, but on a simple proposition made to Mr. Davison, in a letter from general De Lancy, and the answer of the former to accept it. "That," says the report, "it appears the management of this important concern was, at one time, left very much to Mr. Davison's discretion, while the barrack office neglected to employ any check to ascertain the reasonableness of the prices of those articles which were provided by him."

A number of women have attended within these few days at earl Spencer's office to request permission to accompany their husbands to Botany Bay, who are convicts. The noble earl has granted permission to a number of them to go.

24. Mr. Chivers, of Clapham Common, was most barbarously murdered by his own servant. In the morning, the nieces of Mr. Chivers, who reside with him, went in his carriage to take an airing; Mr. Chivers, who was between 70 and 80, went into the garden, to inspect the gardener at his work. The latter, who is a Scotchman, 22 years of age, and full six feet high, about half past eleven ran into the house in great agitation, exclaiming to the servants, "Lord, what have I done! I have struck my master, and he has fell;" and immediately left the house, and made for the village of Clapham. The footman went to discover what had happened, when he found his master on the ground apparently lifeless. It appeared that the gardener had struck him with a spade, the end of which entered the lower part of his nose, broke both his jaw bones, and penetrated nearly to a line with his ears, so that his head was nearly separated. The footman immediately gave an alarm, and messengers were dispatched for a surgeon, to Bow-street office, and in pursuit of the gardener.

When the surgeon arrived, he declared that though life still remained, it could not last long. This proved too true, as Mr. Chivers died in about an hour in great agony. A neighbour's footman arrived at Bow-street office at half past one o'clock, and gave information to Mr. Graham, who dispatched Miller and Rivett in a post-chaise in pursuit of the murderer. On the arrival of the officers at Mr. Chivers's house, their interference was rendered unnecessary, by the gardener having been apprehended previously by one of his fellow-servants in the village of Clapham, and was taken to Wandsworth, before colonel Fleming, sir Robert Wilson, and Mr. Newcomb, who were sitting at the Horns public-house. The fellow did not deny the charge, and the magistrates committed him to Horsemonger-lane prison.

A storm, or rather a hurricane, was experienced in Exeter and its

neighbourhood on the 22d inst. the fury of which was beyond any thing of the kind ever before remembered: the piazza and corner of the theatre were swept away; houses unroofed; and the showers of bricks and slates that were flying in all directions: made it extremely dangerous for the inhabitants to approach the streets; a stack of chimneys was blown down at the Royal Oak inn, in Guinea-street, which broke through the roof into the upper story, where a woman was at work, and with the accumulated weight of the roof and bricks, falling with such velocity, the flooring gave way, and the woman was precipitated with the rubbish through the second floor, but was dug from the ruins without any material injury. A man named Humphreys, a musician in the band belonging to the Montgomery militia, who was seated in an apartment on the ground floor, was crushed to death.

A singular instance of accumulated misfortune occurred in the family of a respectable farmer near Devizes, a few days since. A fever swept off three children at the same time: scarcely had the unfortunate victims of disease been carried "to their silent home," when the remaining offspring, two fine boys (at the drear hour of midnight), had not returned from a neighbouring school: in vain did the anxious parent search each snow-clad path: returning home for aid, some hours elapsed before the little wanderers were discovered under a hedge; one of them in a torpid state, the other just sufficiently able to articulate. The joy of the mother on their being restored to her, acted so strongly on her feelings, that she had well nigh terminated her existence.

Admiralty office, Jan. 27.

Dispatches, of which the following are copies, have been received at this office from commodore sir Home Popham, addressed to William Marsden, esq.

His Majesty's ship Diadem, Rio de la Plata, Aug. 25, 1806.

Sir,—When the events of war cease to be favourable to any armament, I consider it the duty of commanding officers to state all the circumstances under their knowledge or information with clearness and perspicuity, which, either progressively or suddenly, led to a reverse of fortune.

In pursuing this course, I feel confident I shall be able to satisfy the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that the liberal and beneficial principles upon which the government of general Beresford was conducted, do more honour to his majesty's arms, and the character of Great Britain, than if he had resorted to expedients completely within his power, which would have effectually annihilated all the efforts of the enemy, and wrested, probably for ever, these countries from the crown of Spain.

Pueridon, one of the municipality, appears to have been the greatest organ of the revolution: He applied himself with great art and address in preparing the people for a general insurrection.

The arms in th e town were secreted, ready for the moment of action, the discontented assembled every night, and attended to his instructions, and he raised all the rabble of the country by the ample supplies of money with which he was furnished on the north side of the river. Colonel Liniers, a French officer in the Spanish service, and on his parole, successfully

ly employed himself in collecting people at Colonia.

Terror was established, and every person who refused to contribute his assistance to this conspiracy, was threatened with immediate death.

I have traced this from very unquestionable authority; and so rapid was the progress of the revolution, when it first showed itself, that it was not till the 31st of July that I learnt by a dispatch from the general, which reached me at Ensenada, on my return from Monte Video, that he was apprehensive, from the information he received, an insurrection would shortly be made.

I heard at the same time from captain Thomson, that seventeen of the enemy's vessels had just arrived at Colonia; and as it was reported that force was still to be increased from Monte Video, I sent orders for the Diomede to be brought to Ensenada, and for captain King of the Diadem to come up with the remaining few marines, the two companies of blues, and as many other men as could in any degree be spared from the ships, for the purpose of arming some vessels to attack the enemy at Colonia, as it was impossible to prevent his crossing from the north shore whenever the wind was fair.

On the 1st of August, in the afternoon, the Leda anchored off Buenos Ayres, about twelve miles distant, and on my landing on the 2d, which I did as soon as the weather would admit of a boat getting on shore, I found the general had just made a very successful attack on about 1500 Spaniards under Pueridon, five leagues from the town, with 500 men, in which he took all the enemy's cannon (I think nine pieces) and several prisoners.

On the 3d I attempted to return to the Leda, in the Encounter, which captain Honeyman brought within a few miles of the shore for this purpose, as it blew very strong: but the wind freshened so very considerably from the eastward that we could not get to windward.

On the 4th, in the morning, it was very thick weather, and the gale increased so much that it was impossible to weigh.

About noon captain King arrived in a galiva, with one hundred and fifty men from the Diadem, for the purpose of arming and commanding the few small vessels we had collected in the harbour; but he was not able to get there till the following day.

On the 5th, in the morning, it moderated, and I reached the Leda, when I received a report from captain Thomson, that in the gale of the preceding day the enemy had crossed from Colonia totally unobserved by any of our ships except the schooner under the command of lieutenant Herrick, who was lying in the narrow gut leading to Couchas and St. Isidro, but the easterly wind had thrown so much water in the river that the enemy were enabled to cross over any part of the Patmas bank without the necessity of making a greater detour by going higher up the river.

On the 6th and 7th it blew a hurricane; the Leda was lying in four fathoms, with two anchors down, and her yards and topmasts struck.

On the 8th, I heard from captain King that five of our gun-boats had foundered at their anchors; that the Walker had lost her rudder, and that the launches and large cutters of the Diadem and Leda were lost.

The torrents of rain that fell

during the 6th, 7th, and 8th, had rendered the roads totally impracticable for any thing but cavalry, and consequently general Beresford was most seriously disappointed in his determination to attack the enemy at a distance from the town: in which, had it taken place, I entertain no doubt that this army would have added another trait of its invincible spirit under his dispositions.

The enemy, however, by his inexhaustible supply of horses, suffered little inconvenience from the state of the roads, and he was therefore enabled to approach the town by several directions, without giving the British army an opportunity to attack him.

On the 10th, in the evening, the castle was summoned, and on the following day I landed, while our remaining vesels were firing on the Spanish posts; and I learn that, exclusive of the Spanish army, which was divided into many columns, occupying the various avenues of the town, the inhabitants were all armed, and sheltered on the tops of the houses and churches, with a design of carrying on a war of ambush.

Under these circumstances, and the manifest disposition of the enemy to prevent an engagement, it was determined to embark the wounded that night, and cross the Rio Chello, for the purpose of moving towards Ensenada; but this measure was in a great degree frustrated by the weather, which became very violent during the night, and consequently retarded the progress of embarkation, though the enemy added a considerable number of men to the houses and churches near the castle, and advanced by all the streets not under the influence of its fire: in short, sir, his object was to avoid by every means a general action, and to place his men in such a situation that they could fire at our troops while they remained in perfect security themselves.

On the 12th, at day-light, I understand a smart fire began from the enemy's advanced posts, but was soon returned with great effect from our artillery, which was planted towards the principal streets leading to the great square; and for a short time the enemy by his immense numbers showed a greater degree of firmness than on any other occasion, and pushed forward with three pieces of artillery, which colonel Pack of the 71st soon charged and took from him. During this time, however, reinforcements crowded the tops of all the houses commanding the great square from the back streets, and our troops were soon considerably annoyed by people they could not get at. The enemy commanded the castle in the same way, with the additional advantage of a gun on the top of one of the churches; which I consider as an indelible stigma against the character of the bishop, not only from his situation but the professions he made.

I can easily conceive how the feelings of general Beresford must at this moment, have been on the rack: disappointed in his last efforts to induce the enemy to a general engagement in the great square, his gallant little army falling fast by shots from invisible persons, the only alternative which could present itself to save the useless effusion of so much valuable blood was a flag of truce which was hoisted at the castle about one o'clock.

In an instant there were near ten thousand men in the great square pressing

pressing forward in the most outrageous manner to get into the fort, and even firing at our men on the ramparts, so much so, that it was with extreme difficulty the British troops were prevented revenging this insult: indeed the general was obliged to tell the Spanish officers, if their men did not retire in the course of one minute, he must, as the only measure of safety, haul down the flag of truce, and recommence hostilities: this firmness had the desired effect, and he then sent his conditions to the Spanish general, and they were instantly acceded to.

I inclose a copy of the capitulation, and I trust the high and independent language in which it is couched, and the terms dictated by general Beresford to an officer at the head of myriads of people, will do him infinite honour in England, and obtain for him his majesty's most gracious approbation of his conduct.

I have received, and annex, a return of the killed, wounded, and missing, by which it appears that there are two officers, two serjeants, one drummer, forty-three rank and file killed; eight officers, seven serjeants, ninety-two rank and file wounded; and nine missing; making a total of 165; and scarce any of those misfortunes were occasioned, except from the inhabitants on the tops of the houses and the churches.

The enemy confesses to have lost about 700 killed and wounded, in the short conflict in the streets; and if it had not been for the inhabitants, I have little doubt that the Spanish troops would have been completely defeated, although seven times the number of the British forces.

Nothing is more difficult than to give their lordships an idea of the number of men in arms; but from the best accounts we can obtain, it is thought Pueridon, and the other principal people engaged in this plot, had collected from eight to ten thousand men in the country; that Liniers may have brought over from eight hundred to a thousand; and the town furnished, though armed in various ways, about ten thousand, under the secret arrangement of the magistrates.

When every vessel that could escape from Buenos Ayres had joined, I proceeded towards Ensenada, to retire the detachments of marines; lieutenant Groves, of the Diadem, was obliged to quit the Belem schooner, as she would not work out; one gun boat and a settee, a prize, were also left in the harbour, with the Justina, a small English merchant ship that followed the expedition from St. Helena. Captain Thomson, of the Neptune, who was in the castle, was made a prisoner, and lieutenant Burgh, of the Raisonable, with Mr. Ramsay, a midshipman, and seven men, who were in the settee, as her boats could not hold them. Lieutenant Herrick, in the Dolores, the other armed schooner, worked out in a manner which, coupled with his conduct on the whole of this business, does him great credit.

On the 13th, in the morning, the detachment of marines under the command of lieutenant Swaile was embarked from Ensenada, and his two Spanish field pieces spiked and thrown into the river.

On the 14th, I sailed for this anchorage, where I arrived the following day, and immediately addressed the governor of Monte Video on the subject of our troops.

On the 16th, in consequence of receiving by colonel Liniers's aid-de-camp a letter from general Beresford, I dispatched two of the transports to Buenos Ayres, where one arrived on the 17th; but from the prevarication of the governor of Monte Video in the first instance, and his subsequent dishonourable conduct, no troops have yet been embarked.

Whilst I had the honour of being on board the Leda, I had every reason to be satisfied with the zealous attention of capt. Honeyman, his officers and ship's company; and I cannot but express my extreme approbation of the conduct of all the officers and seamen, who were constantly employed in the small vessels and boats, under almost every privation, in the very severe and trying weather which we experienced the last ten days.

I most sincerely regret, however, that my situation has imposed on me the painful duty of making this report to their lordships, especially as it is done principally by materials collected from different people, which they probably in many instances deduced from vague and uncertain conclusions: if, however, it should hereafter appear that I have failed in any instance to do ample justice to the conduct, energy, and prowess of general Beresford, and the officers and soldiers under his command, it has been owing to the limited scale of my communications since the 12th, from the extreme jealousy of the enemy, and not from any indisposition to appreciate their merits in the most liberal manner; a sentiment which I have held on every occasion, and publicly marked it in all my former dispatches.

I have the honour to be, &c.

HOME POPHAM.

COPY OF THE CAPITULATION.

Fort Buenos Ayres,
Aug. 12, 1806.

The British general having no further object for remaining in Buenos Ayres, and to avoid an unnecessary effusion of blood, as also the destruction of the property of the inhabitants of this city, consents to deliver up the fort of Buenos Ayres to the commander of his Catholic majesty's forces, on the following conditions:—

1st. The British troops to march out with all the honours of war, to be considered as prisoners of war, but to be embarked as soon as possible on board the British transports now in the river, to be conveyed to England, or the station whence they came from.

2d. The British on their entrance into this place made many Spanish prisoners of war, which remained on their parole; and as the number of officers is much greater on one side and of men on the other, it is agreed that the whole shall be exchanged for the whole, the English transports returning to the place of their destinations as cartels, and to be guarantied as such by the Spanish government from capture on the voyage.

3d. Provisions, &c. will be furnished for the passage of the English troops, according to the usual course in like cases.

4th. Such wounded of the British troops as cannot be removed on board of ships shall remain in the hospitals at Buenos Ayres, either under charge of Spanish or British surgeons, at the option of the British general, and shall be furnished with every thing necessary, and on their recovery sent to Great Britain.

5th. The

5th. The property of all British subjects in Buenos Ayres to be respected. (Signed)

W. C. Beresford.

Santiago Considido Liniers.

Return of the killed, wounded, and missing of the troops under the command of major-general Beresford, from the 10th to the 12th of August, 1806, at Buenos Ayres:—

Royal engineers—1 captain killed.

Royal artillery—1 captain, 1 lieutenant wounded; 3 rank and file killed, 2 wounded.

St. Helena artillery—1 serjeant wounded, 9 rank and file killed, 13 wounded.

Driver—1 rank and file wounded.

Seventy-first regiment—1 lieutenant killed; 1 colonel, 1 lieutenant, 2 ensigns wounded; 1 serjeant killed, 5 wounded, 1 missing; 1 drummer killed; 24 rank and file killed, 67 wounded.

Royal marines—1 captain and 1 serjeant wounded; 6 rank and file killed, 5 wounded, 8 missing.

St. Helena regiment—1 lieutenant wounded, 1 serjeant killed, 1 rank and file killed, 4 wounded, 1 missing—General total—144.

N. B.—Five men of 71st, 3 artillerymen, 1 royal marine, 1 St. Helena regiment—10 dead since going to the hospital.

Officers killed—Capt. Kennett, royal engineers. Lieutenant W. Mitchell, 71st regiment.

Officers wounded—Capt. Mackenzie, R. M. Lieutenant Sampson, St. Helena regiment. Capt. Ogilvie, royal artillery. Lieutenant M'Donald, ditto. Lieutenant Colonel Pack, 71st regiment. Lieut. Murray, ditto. Ensign Caurel, ditto. Ensign Lucas, ditto (since dead).

(Signed) Alex. Forbes, b. major.

Statement of property captured at Buenos Ayres, but not removed; and was recaptured on the 12th August:—

	Dollars.
Goods of the Phillippine company -	100,000
Debts due to ditto	1,011,547
4000 Arob. B. tobacco (at 6 dol. sold at 14)	24,000
200 ditto Parly ditto -	12,000
50,000 reams of paper (2 dollars) - -	100,000
Playing cards - -	50,000
5000 quintals of quicksilver (40 dollars)	200,000
40,000 lbs. Spanish snuff (2 dollars) - -	60,000
20,000 lbs. Havannah ditto (2 dollars) -	40,000
37,500 lbs. bark ($1\frac{1}{2}$ dol.)	56,250
	1,673,797
Vessels and floating property	1,500,000
	3,173,797

Note—No valuation is made in this statement of the timber, treasure in the treasury, powder in the magazine, and of armoury and ordnance stores.

30. The comet expected to appear in the end of January, was seen in the neighbourhood of Berwick at 3 this day. This phænomenon, viewed only by the naked eye, and when the sun was shining bright, appeared to be about the size of the moon, of a bright red colour, with brilliant rays that dazzled the eyes of the spectator; had a train resembling a large sheet of fire, but of a colour much darker than the body of the comet. It made its appearance in the west,

and proceeded with great velocity, about due east, towards the German Ocean, where it quickly disappeared, amidst a kind of fog with which the sea was covered. This phænomenon was visible for about a minute, during which it travelled along the firmament apparently about the space of a mile. It appeared at an immense distance from the earth, nearly vertical to the spectator, and rather N. from the zenith of Berwick.

30. An inquest was taken before the mayor of Windsor, on the body of Thomas Cubbage, a labourer employed at the castle, who, on the Friday preceding, returning from his work, between five and six o'clock, fell down some stone steps leading from the cloisters to the hundred steps, and thereby fractured his skull; of which he languished for a week, in a state of insensibility, and then died. A young man was descending the steps at the time the accident happened, and had nearly been thrown down by the deceased striking against him as he fell. It is supposed that the deceased tripped at the top of the steps, occasioned by the badness of his shoes, the soles being unripped all round, and fastened in so loose a manner, that they came off as he fell headlong down.

A more distressing accident from the imprudent use of fire-arms has not of late occurred than the following:—On Thursday se'nnight a gun, without a lock, was sent to a gunsmith's shop, in Chester, to get one put on; the gun, in that state, was put into a vice, and an apprentice was affixing a lock to it, when a girl about thirteen years of age, with the infant child of her master in her arms, came to ask a question of the apprentice, and stood near the muzzle, when the boy unfortunately trying the lock, it went off, and lodged the whole of the contents in her body, carrying with it part of the infant's clothes, which it set fire to! Immediate surgical assistance was procured, but in vain, as the girl only survived the accident three quarters of an hour. The infant was not hurt.

The body of a man was on Wednesday last seen floating near Rochester bridge, by a person who was passing over it, and who gave immediate intimation of the circumstance to some watermen. The watermen proceeded directly to the place where the body was seen, and soon returned with it.—The unfortunate person was dressed in a very respectable manner, and had every appearance of a gentleman. Upwards of 20 guineas and some silver were found in his pockets, but not any thing that could lead to a discovery of his name or connections; and every inquiry to ascertain to whom he might belong, proved ineffectual.

31. The value of British produce and manufactures exported from the port of London alone to all countries, except the East Indies and China, in the three quarters ending the 10th of October, 1805, was 7,797,667*l.* Ditto in the three quarters ending 25th October, 1806, 8,691,811*l.* Balance in favour of the present year, 894,144*l.*—Value of articles, of foreign and colonial growth and manufacture, exported from the port of London alone, in the three quarters ending the 10th of October, 1805, 4,156,692*l.* Do. ending 10th October, 1806, 4,176,620*l.* Balance in favour of the present year, 19,928*l.*—Owing to the encouragement given to the Newfoundland fisheries, it appears, that

in

in the year 1805, 467 ships, 57,997 tons, and 3,514 men, were employed in the export of its produce. There have been, in 1806, 577 ships, of 64,667 tons, and 4,336 men, employed; making an increase to the shipping interest of this country of 110 ships, 11,670 tons, and 822 men, in this trade alone.

FEBRUARY.

KING'S BENCH, Feb. 1.

In the case of Clavering v. Dean.

Mr. justice Lawrence made the following remark, which is necessary to be remembered by all watchmen and officers of the night: "Where is the law that the constable is bound to take a charge given by a man who himself is accused of a violent breach of the peace? The watch can only interfere when a breach of the peace is actually committed. They have no power to delay a man to make good his charge, because they must interfere while the affray is passing or recent. The evidence of a man accused must be taken under great suspicion, and I do not know who is to bring a charge against any one, if he is to do it at the hazard of being himself imprisoned."

The London Medical Society proposes to confer the Fothergillian golden medal upon the authors of the best essays on the following subjects:—

Question for the year 1807.—The best account of the epidemic fevers which have prevailed at several times in North America, Spain, and Gibraltar, since the year 1793, and whether they are the same or different diseases.

For the year 1808.—What are the best methods of preventing and of curing epidemic dysentery?

For the year 1809.—What are the criteria by which epidemic disorders that are not infectious may be distinguished from those that are?

For the year 1810.—What are the qualities in the atmosphere most to be desired under the various circumstances of pulmonary consumption?

It has lately been recommended, that, excepting the lancet employed in vaccination, all the instruments of surgery ought to be dipped into oil at the moment when they are going to be used; by which method the pain of the subject operated upon will always be diminished. It is recommended to make all instruments of a blood-heat a little before the operation.

3. As lord Erskine the chancellor was passing through Holborn on foot, he observed a number of men and boys hunting and beating on the head with sticks a little dog, under the idea of his being mad. The lord chancellor, with great humanity, perceiving not the least symptom of madness, rushed into the crowd, and seizing the poor animal from the hands of its destroyers, carried it some distance till he met a boy, whom he hired to take it home with him to his lordship's house in Lincoln's-inn-fields; when he gave it into the care of a servant to be taken to his lordship's stables.

4. According to sentence, Thompson, the man found guilty of a detestable offence, stood in the pillory at Charing-cross, and in all probability will recollect the treatment he received as long as he lives. The moment after he was fixed on the pillory, several women from the neighbourhood of Compton-street,

and Angel-court, placed themselves within the ring, and began to pelt him with rotten eggs, mud, &c. till his head and face were so enveloped in filth, that it was impossible to discover the least appearance of the human form. The men were not permitted to throw at him, and remained quiet spectators of that well-merited annoyance the disgraced culprit received from the enraged females who surrounded him. The wretched man was at times nearly suffocated, and could scarcely support himself on the platform. When taken from the pillory, he was so sick and exhausted, that he was obliged to be lifted into the coach, which drove off amidst the hisses and hootings of the mob. He was taken back to Tothill-fields Bridewell, to undergo the remainder of his sentence.

The following most shocking catastrophe lately happened.—Mrs. Simison, the wife of an attorney, in Poland-street, Oxford-street, was sitting alone in the kitchen of her house, waiting the arrival of her husband, after the rest of the family had gone to bed. About twelve o'clock, a gentleman who lodges in the house was alarmed by a smell of burning, which induced him to go down stairs: on opening the kitchen door, he discovered Mrs. S. lying by the fire-place, with her clothes completely burned. She remained alive until eight o'clock on Wednesday morning in extreme agony; during which time she was sensible, and took leave of her family.—She was above forty years of age, and has left a son and four daughters.

Another accident, of the same kind, occasioned by a lady's clothes taking fire, occurred in Oxford-street.—Mrs. Wigby, a lady about 50 years of age, had returned from the theatre, and on going into her apartments she approached too near the fire, which drew her apparel in part up the chimney. There were two persons in the room; notwithstanding which Mrs. W. was dreadfully burnt, from the lightness of her dress, the lower parts of which were reduced to cinders.

An inquisition was taken on the Watford road, on the body of Mr. Samuel Augler, who was found dead near Selby farm. The deceased was a veterinary surgeon, who resided in the Edgeware road, and on the morning of the day on which he died had gone on horseback to St. Alban's, and parts adjacent, on business. He was found lying in the road at twelve o'clock at night, by the driver of a hay-cart; and although he was not then dead, he was unable to give any account of the accident that had befallen him. His head was very much bruised, and to all appearances he had been inebriated, and in that state his horse fell down, and rolled over him. He had a quantity of gold and silver in his pockets, and a valuable watch. The horse was found in the road.—Verdict, *Accidental Death.*

COURT OF KING'S BENCH.

ILLEGITIMATE CHILD.

The King v. Henry Luff.

The defendant was the reputed father of a bastard child, of the body of one Mary Taylor, the wife of one Henry Taylor, who was absent from his wife, and had not access to her at the supposed period of the procreation, but who returned

ed just previous to the birth of the child. Two justices made an order of bastardy against him, and upon appeal to the sessions the same was confirmed. It was now moved to quash the order of justices, and the order of sessions, upon the following grounds—1st, That it appeared by the order, that Mary Taylor had been examined to prove the *non-access* of her husband, which by law she could not be admitted to do.—2dly, That the statutes 6 Geo. II. c. 31. and 18 Elizabeth, which give the justices power to make an order of affiliation, do not apply except as to cases where the bastard is born of a single woman; and lastly, that it appeared by the order in terms that the husband had access to his wife during a part of the period of her pregnancy, and therefore by the law of England the child was not a bastard, but the legitimate issue of the husband.

The material words of the order, upon which these questions occurred, were—"Whereas it appears to us, as well upon the oath of Mary Taylor as otherwise, that the said H. Taylor had not access to her from the 9th of April 1804 till the 9th day of June 1806," the child being born upon the 13th day of July 1806, being about a fortnight after the return of H. Taylor to cohabit with his wife.

The case was argued by Mr. Stokes, for the respondents, and Mr. Wilson, Mr. Alderson, and Mr. King, for the appellants, and the following cases were cited—Rex *v.* Alberton, 1 lord Raym. 395;—2 Salk. 483;—Rex *v.* St. Bride's, 1 Str. 51;—Pendrel *v.* Pendrel, 2 Str. 923; 2 Britt. 447;—Rex *v.* Bedall, 2 Str. 1073;—Thomson *v.* Saul, 4 Term Rep. 356;—Rex. *v.* Reading, Ca. Temp. Hard. 79.

Lord Ellenborough, C. J.—Three objections have been taken to this order—First, that the wife is supposed to have been examined generally upon oath as to the fact of the non-access of her husband, and that the conviction is founded upon the evidence of the wife alone. Whereas it is laid down, that an order of this kind cannot be made on the evidence of the wife alone, but there must be other evidence of the non-access.—The next objection is, as to the statute of the 6 Geo. II. cap. 31. and the 18 of Eliz. The order is founded upon one of those statutes, and it is now made a question, whether this case comes within them:—And next, that this is a legitimate child born within lawful wedlock, inasmuch as it appears that the father returned within a fortnight before the birth of the child, and it must, by law, be taken to be his child. As to the first objection, does it appear to be founded on the evidence of the wife only? The evidence of other persons than the wife is required upon principles of general policy. For it would be highly inconvenient that a wife should be examined at all in any matter likely to produce disputes between man and wife. However, there is an exception as to this rule, that she may be examined of necessity as to those facts which she only can speak to. But as she can only be examined in matters of necessity, now it is necessary to show by the evidence of the wife, whether any person had that sort of illicit intercourse which laid a foundation for the birth of this child. To that extent she might be admitted as a competent evidence

dence to prove the illicit intercourse with the adulterer. Perhaps, also, she was competent to prove that no other person than the adulterer, on whom the charge of maintenance of the child is to fall, had any intercourse with her. For these facts are peculiarly and solely within her knowledge. To the extent of the adulterous intercourse it is clear she must be examined. Does it, then, appear, that she was examined beyond that? The order is, it appears, "as well upon the oath of the said Mary Taylor as otherwise." The words are not "as well upon the examination of Mary Taylor upon oath as otherwise;" for then it would be open to the objection which has been made, and there would rise an inference that the other evidence was not upon oath, whereas here the inference is, that both kinds of evidence were upon oath. The order does not distinguish to what parts of the case Mary Taylor spoke: but it appears that other evidence was given; for the words "or otherwise" must mean other proof, as in the case of the King *v.* Bedall. And if we find the wife to have been examined with others, we will intend that she was not examined as to the proof of access, which cannot legally be proved by her; but that she spoke to such facts as she might well prove, and that the want of access was proved by other competent testimony. Here it is to be observed, that the words "or otherwise" do not occur accidentally, and in one place only in the order, but are repeated. —There is, therefore, no foundation for the first objection.—As to the second objection, it in effect resolves itself into the third. For when it is made a question, whether the statutes apply to any cases but where the children are not born in lawful matrimony, it resolves itself for the purpose into the question, whether the child is born in lawful matrimony for the purpose of these acts, and whether a child born in adultery is a child which these acts had in contemplation as much as bastards under other circumstances? And this we think is the true construction of these acts.

Then the question is, whether the return of the husband within any limited time before the period of gestation is expired, does or does not cast upon him the character of father of that child incontrovertibly, according to the law of this country? This is an important question; and as there has been something said about the novelty of some of the doctrines to be advanced, one would be extremely sorry not to find oneself warranted by antient authorities. Now in Roll's Abridgement, 358, where the most antient authorities from the year books are cited, it is stated in the text that, "by the law of the land, no man born after espousals can be a bastard, unless for *special* matter." This exception is engrafted upon the rule, and the first special matter is exactly what in fact occurs here, where there is a natural impossibility that the husband should be the father of the issue. As where there is a natural impossibility from his being under the age which renders procreation possible, as where he is eight or nine years old. And there is a case in the year books, where the husband was only under fourteen years of age. But that is not the only instance. There is the case of Foxcroft, 10 Edw. I. where

where the first husband was ill a month before his death, and had no access to his wife, and afterwards the child being born within forty weeks and eleven days, it was held to be a bastard. When, therefore, there arises a natural impossibility, from the circumstances of his bad health, a bodily impossibility, during the period of matrimony, which rendered access impossible, it has been held that the issue was illegitimate. Now there is no doubt thrown upon this case either in the original text of Coke upon Littleton, 123, or in the notes where that subject is very ably treated by the gentleman to whom the public is indebted for the last edition of that work. In addition to the improbability arising from bodily infirmity, it is further stated, "and because it is found that the said H. was born 11 days after 40 weeks, which is the time usual for women, and from this that the said R. had not access to the said Beatrice for one month before his death, it is presumed that the said H. is a bastard."—The record then goes on to find for the plaintiff. It therefore appears to be considered as material to go into evidence, to show the natural impossibility of his being the son of the husband; and in confirmation of this there is a *nota bene*, that the husband languished of a fever a long time before his death; so that not only the length of time, but a further bodily impediment was considered to be material. A child being born in marriage is not sufficient to render him legitimate, where any material impossibility occurs from which the presumption of legitimacy may be repelled. Britton says, taking no notice of the presumption that marriage proves legitimacy; "and this presumption shall always hold until the contrary is proved, as, for instance, where the husband is proved not to have consorted (*concubuisse*) for a given time with his wife, to have been incapacitated by infirmity or other cause, or that he was in such ill health that he could not be the father (*ut generare non possit*)."

In another passage, he seems to consider certain cases of improbability. I think, therefore, upon these authorities, that if a foundation is laid that there is a *natural* impossibility arising from age, free from infirmity of health, or arising likewise from non-access, that the husband should be parent of the child, then the illegitimacy of a child born after espousals may be proved. If, then, any circumstances can be resorted to for proof of impossibility, we may certainly refer to such a natural cause as will not embark into it any question of nice probability, but which involves an absolute impossibility of the husband being the father. It is so in the present case. It may be said, that we may be driven to nice proof of physical improbability. But that never need be so; because the presumption that the husband is the father will be infinitely strong, unless there is an evident and clear impossibility that he is not. I therefore contend, that in addition to the cases put of impuberty and infirmity, which last is rather an improbability than otherwise, we may repel the presumption of legitimacy by evidence of *non-access* during the greater part of the actual period of gestation.—As to the case of the Queen *v.* Murray, lord Hardwicke repudiates the doctrine that the *non-access* must continue during the whole period, and

and gives no countenance to it. Without, therefore, disturbing any of the rules of evidence upon this most important subject, and without weakening any of the bonds of marriage, we think that the presumption that all children born in marriage are legitimate, may be shown to be contrary to fact. I do not mean in cases of marriage arising after a gestation commenced, but as to children born after *non-access*.—The order affirmed.

MURDER OF MR. STEELE.

Feb. 9.

On Monday, John Holloway and Owen Haggerty were publicly examined at the public office, Worship-street, for the first time, though this was the third examination, on the charge of murdering Mr. Steele on the 6th of November 1802.

There was a great body of evidence adduced, none of which tended materially to criminate the prisoners, except that of Benjamin Hanfield, who was *particeps criminis*, and who, under the promise of pardon, had turned king's evidence. He stated, that the prisoner Holloway, about the month of October 1802, came to him, and asked him if he had any inclination to earn a little money in a manner that would cost him very little trouble. He told him, he knew of a man who constantly passed Hounslow Heath every evening, with a considerable quantity of money about him; and if he (Hanfield) would come with him and his companion Haggerty, he had no doubt of making it worth his while. Hanfield having no objection, he appointed a meeting at the Black Horse public-house, a favourite rendezvous for this sort of gentry, in Dyott-street, St. Giles's, where they settled matters together for the accomplishment of their object. They accordingly ageed to carry their plan into effect on the Saturday evening following, when Mr. Steele should be returning home from his house at Feltham to London. They set out on Saturday morning early, and proceeded to Hounslow, where they waited in ambush until the time Mr. S. usually departed for town. It was about eight o'clock, the moon shone very brightly, when Holloway cried out, "Here is the man," and desired Hanfield to demand Mr. S.'s money: witness accordingly went up to Mr. Steele, and demanded his money, which he gave, and begged the prisoners would not treat him ill, but suffer him to depart. The money he gave not satisfying the prisoners, Haggerty swore with a tremendous oath, that if he did not immediately deliver up his pocket-book, he should suffer the consequences of refusal, and at the same moment witness saw Mr. Steele knocked down by a blow from behind, which he believes came from Holloway. The sound of carriage wheels at that time so much alarmed witness, that he ran away towards London, and left the prisoners to complete their bloody intentions. He heard repeated cries of "Murder!" and several dismal groans, as he fled from his companions. About an hour after, the prisoners overtook him on his way to London, and upbraided him with being "a *white-livered* coward," and that he must not expect to participate in the spoils, as he did not share in the danger. The prisoner Holloway said "he had *done his business*." They then parted for the night, and on the morrow

morrow they met again in Dyott-street, when witness observed that Holloway had a strange hat and boots on. Upon examining the hat he perceived the name of Steele in the lining; upon which he advised Holloway to make away with it, as it might lead to a discovery, and they would be all taken up. Holloway accordingly filled the hat with stones, and threw it into the Thames from Westminster-bridge. These were the material points of Hanfield's evidence.

Christopher Jones, foreman to the late Mr. Steele, said, that on the 6th of November, Mr. Steele left his house at Feltham, a little before eight o'olock, dressed in a drab great coat and boots, both which were now produced, and which he proved to be those worn by Mr. Steele on the above night.

Hughes, the officer, identified the coat, which he took from Mr. Steele's body; he found it concealed under a mound of earth, amongst a clump of trees, near the Pack-horse public-house, on the Heath. Part of the coat was exposed above ground, and near the body was an old soldier's hat, which Hanfield said had been worn that day by Holloway.

John Smith, who on the night in question drove the Gosport coach past the Heath, stated, that about eight o'clock he distinctly heard two deep groans, seemingly those of some person dying, at a short distance behind him; but he drove on, as he had frequently heard similar noises upon the Heath at night.

Alice Foot, who resides at Feltham, and was returning home, an inside passenger in the coach, proved that she also heard the groans.

Timothy Lane, a watchman of St. Giles's parish, said he had known the prisoner Holloway for several years, and frequently saw him and Haggerty in company together at different public houses in St. Giles's, where they lived with two prostitutes.

George Holmes, serjeant of the 5th battalion of marines, said he had known Haggerty eight or nine years, and had enlisted him as a soldier, about a year and a half since.

A number of other witnesses, plasterers, bricklayers, cow-keepers, gardeners, &c. proved their having employed Haggerty at different times as a labouring man, but could say nothing of his character. It appeared that he was employed in the vicinity of Hounslow for some days previously to the murder.

Mr. Britten, a shoe-maker, of Brydges street, Covent-Garden, who used to make Mr. Steele's shoes and boots, being shown a pair of worn-out dirty shoes which were found upon the feet of Mr. Steele when his body was discovered, said they were not of his make, and that they seemed much too large for Mr. Steele; and Hanfield swore they were the shoes of Holloway.

A number of other witnesses were examined, who proved no circumstances directly bearing on the fact.

It appeared that Hanfield, a considerable time subsequent to the murder, was convicted at the Old Bailey of grand larceny, and sentenced to seven years transportation. He was conveyed on-board a hulk at Woolwich, to await his conveyance to New South Wales; and having been suddenly taken with a severe illness, and tortured in his mind by the recollection of the murder, about which he continually raved, he said he wished to make a discovery before he died. A message was sent to the police magistrates to communicate the

circumstance, and an officer was sent to bring him before them.—They sent him, in the custody of the officer, to Hounslow Heath, when he pointed out the fatal spot where the murder was perpetrated, and related all the circumstances which he alleged to have attended it.

The prisoners, in their defence, still positively persisted in denying all knowledge of the transaction, and fervently wished that punishment might fall on the guilty. They adduced no evidence.

Mr. Moser, whose diligence in the investigation merits high commendation, after deliberating with his brother magistrates upon the whole evidence, fully committed the prisoners to Newgate, to take their trial at the next Old Bailey sessions.

COURT OF CHANCERY, Feb. 11.

The lord chancellor this day made a decree respecting the disposal of Mr. Ludlam, the lunatic, who some time since fired a pistol at the proprietor of the London Tavern, Bishopsgate-street, and finally eluded the pursuit of the officers sent to apprehend him under the lord mayor's warrant.

Lord Erskine observed—"In the case of Ludlam, the lunatic, whose state of mind led him to commit several excesses, I am called upon, as the guardian of lunatic persons, to order proper care to be taken of him. Without imputing any blame to his family, or those who had the administration of justice, I consider that he has not been treated with the humanity due to his situation; I therefore order that Mr. Ludlam shall remain under the care of Dr. Monro, with whom he now is, and that no attempt shall be made to execute the warrant of the lord mayor, or the order of any magistrate whatever. I trust when the magistrates find how the court is disposed, they will be satisfied that it is unnecessary to disturb the lunatic, who is placed with the most proper person to take care of him."

12. A most tremendous peal of thunder, preceded by an unusually vivid flash of lightning, was heard at Liverpool this night. The thunder and lightning were nearly simultaneous. A cow was killed, and a horse was so terrified, that in leaping a fence he was staked and killed.

13. On Friday, a travelling man who said his name was Bond, called upon several inhabitants of the town of Eye, endeavouring to obtain subscriptions for a new History of Botany Bay, price 10s. 6d. of which he pretended to be the author, and which, he said, was then issuing from the press, and would be delivered at the post-office there within three weeks at longest from that time.—He might however, have said within three hours; for those persons with whom he had succeeded in obtaining the half-guineas received each a little trumpery pamphlet, not worth a shilling, almost immediately, sent by the first hand he met when he had left the town scarcely a mile.—The above impostor has but one eye, is about 5 feet 8 inches high, of dark complexion, and travels in a basket gig. He had before visited Framlingham, Stradbrooke, and Hoxne, and was proceeding, it is imagined, through Brome and Oakley, for Harleston. The same itinerant is believed to have recently visited Mildenhall, Newmarket, and other adjacent towns; and by the list of names he had procured there is every reason to believe he

has practised in this fraudulent way a long time.

On Christmas day, owing to a heavy swell in the river Conway, the boat conveying the Irish mail, with eight passengers, the coachman, guard, a youth about fifteen years of age, in all fifteen in number, including the boatman, was upset, and only two persons saved.

A most melancholy and distressing accident occurred at Liverpool. Between twelve and one o'clock at noon, as captain Alexander Grierson was walking arm in arm with a friend in Paradise-street, two carts going at a quicker rate than usual, in opposite directions, came in contact with each other at the corner of the street. Mr. Grierson, who was close to one of them, attempting to spring from it, failed in his effort, and fell, when the cart passed over his head, and he expired in about ten minutes. The owner of one of the carts, riding in it at the time, was thrown out by the violence of the concussions, and the cart passed over his body. He survived the accident, but his life was despaired of.

The following accident happened lately to John Bullock, coachman of the Bristol and Birmingham mail, within a few miles of Thornbury, Gloucestershire:—The coach was going at a brisk rate, when the guard observed the driver to fall off his seat between the horses; he immediately got down and endeavoured to stop them, but in vain, but luckily succeeded in regaining his seat behind the coach, till the animals slackened their pace, when he drove the coach in safety to Thornbury, where he procured a horse and immediately proceeded to the place where the unfortunate man fell, whom he took up and conveyed back; surgical assistance was instantly procured, but it was fruitless, as one of the wheels had passed over his neck, and it is supposed killed him on the spot.

For some time a number of letters that had passed through the Ilford post-office miscarried. Various endeavours were used to discover the cause, but in vain, till at length a letter containing a 10*l.* bank note, sent from Kilverton, near Colchester, to Tilbury, was not received as directed; Mr. Parkin, the solicitor to the post-office, sent Atkins, the officer, into that part of the country to make inquiries, when he found great cause to suspect the boy who drives the mail cart on the cross-road from Ilford to Grays; in consequence he took the boy into custody. On searching him he found a number of letters opened, which there was no doubt he had stolen; and on searching his lodgings, the letter with the 10*l.* bank note, directed to Tilbury, was found. He was brought to town, and committed.

A few evenings since, about ten o'clock, a murder was committed on the East Pier Wall, Ramsgate, the perpetrators of which have not been discovered. The person killed was William Rowland, a sailor belonging to the Fortitude, of London, now lying in Ramsgate harbour. This man, it seems, came on shore quite sober, a little before ten o'clock, and had but just got on the Pier, when he was stabbed by some person or persons in three different parts of his body, and fell dead almost immediately. It seems that a young lad was near him, and saw a man run away; and, although it was moon light, it was feared the boy could not swear to the man if he saw him again. The coroner and jury sat on

the body, and after a long investigation, brought in a verdict of *Wilful murder against some person or persons unknown.*—Suspicion had fallen on four Portuguese sailors, and they were taken up and examined by the coroner; but as nothing could be proved against them, they were liberated.

Robert Johnson, condemned to be executed at Edinburgh, for shop-breaking, but who received his Majesty's pardon, was strongly suspected of being guilty of the murder of William Begbie, porter to the British linen company.—He was suspected to have passed through Newcastle on Thursday the 18th, or Friday the 19th ult. dressed in woman's clothes, and was travelling to the south in a gig, with a man who drives. He was dressed as follows: a woman's dark great coat, a hat tied below the chin, petticoats, mixed coloured worsted stockings, and had on a man's shirt, is tall, and makes a very awkward appearance.

15. Last Sunday forenoon a spot appeared near the eastern limb of the sun's disc, nearly large enough to be seen with a smoked glass without any magnifying power. It is spindle-formed: its longer axis nearly perpendicular to the sun's equator; its shortest axis not to be reduced by the lowest estimate to less than three times the diameter of the earth, or about 1-30th part of the sun's diameter. —Still more eastward of it, and nearly opposite to its centre, at the distance of about 18,000 miles measured on the sun's disc, was a very small and round spot.

KING'S BENCH, Feb. 17.

The King v. Edward Barnett.

This was an indictment for perjury, assigned out of certain answers made by the defendant to interrogatories exhibited in the Crown office, touching certain sums received by him from the margravine of Anspach, on account of her sister the dowager countess of Granard, for whom the defendant was concerned as attorney. It appeared that lady Granard, becoming extremely embarrassed in her circumstances, was assisted from time to time by the margravine, and as the several sums of money were advanced to satisfy the claims of urgent creditors, they of necessity passed through the hands of Mr. Barnett. The sum in dispute was 300*l*, which the margravine insisted she had advanced in the spring of 1800, in bank-notes, and placed them herself in the hands of Mr. Barnett: this Mr. Barnett falsified upon oath, and the inquiry of the day was whether the sum had or had not been advanced. The case involving a very long series of accounts, the trial lasted till between six and seven o'clock in the evening, when the defendant was found *Guilty*, the payment having been sworn to by the margravine herself, and by the countess of Granard and colonel Stuart, who were present when Mr. Barnett pressed for the money on account of the countess, and saw the margravine fetch the notes from her escrutoire, and give them to the defendant. The defence set up was, that the 300*l*. so paid, was advanced to redeem certain other money securities placed by the margravine in the defendant's hands on account of the countess, and to save his responsibility. Previous to the verdict of Guilty being given, the defendant removed from the court, lest the judge should order his committal.

The

The margravine and the countess remained upon the bench the whole of the day, and the trial excited considerable interest.

CONSTANTINOPLE, Feb. 18.—The Porte continues its measures to prevent the forcing of the Dardanelles. The fortifications are strengthening, and floating batteries erecting, while the squadron of the capt. pacha there increases daily. Batteries are also raising from the extremity of the Seraglio to the Seven Towers. The same is doing at Leander's Tower to the end of Scutari. Twenty thousand men are already assembled at Gallipoli, to oppose any landing that may be undertaken by the English.—On the 7th, several members of the diplomatic body received letters from Mr. Arbuthnot, dated on board the admiral's ship Canopus, off Tenedos. He declared in them the reasons lately mentioned for his abrupt departure, and asserted, at the same time, that he had no other intention than to place himself in a situation to continue his negotiation with safety. They are, in fact, really continued by means of the captain pacha. In the mean time, a circular note, just published, gives little hopes that the Turkish ministry will accept his proposals; and to day we hear that an ultimatum has been sent to the English minister, the contents of which are in substance as follows: That the Porte did not find it proper to engage in official negotiations with a minister who had left his post, and that it was therefore resolved to send the explanations required by his British majesty direct to London.—We hear that 6000 Russians have attacked the Turks at Giurgewod, but have been driven back with the loss of 500 men.—Six Russian men of war anchored at Chila, in Asia, but two are aground near Warna, and were taken by the Turks. In the beginning of April, when the vizier takes the command of the grand Turkish army on the south side of the Danube, the Persians will invade Georgia. An alliance is concluded between Persia and the Porte, to which France will shortly accede.

PARIS.—On the 9th inst. at eleven in the morning, assembled at the grand synagogue, in the street of St. Avoie, the Jewish grand sanhedrim, under the presidency of the Nass rabbi, David Sintzem, of Strasburg. Service was performed on this occasion in Hebrew, French, and Italian; in the former of which languages an excellent discourse was delivered by the president. Having finished this discourse, he took from the tabernacle the book of the law, and blessed the assembly; at the same time reciting a prayer for our immortal emperor, the glory of his arms, and the re-return of peace. From the synagogue, the assembly adjourned to the Hotel de Ville, where, after some appropriate speeches from the most distinguished members, the committee appointed by the late consulate laid before the sanhedrim a general plan of organization for the Mosaic worship, consisting of 27 articles. According to this plan, a consistory and synagogue are to be established in each of the departments, containing 2000 Jews: those of that persuasion, who intend to reside in France, must declare such intention to the consistory within three months from their arrival on the French territory: there is to be a central consistory at Paris, consisting of five persons, of whom three are to be rabbis; none can be appointed rabbis but such as are naturalized

in France or the kingdom of Italy; the functions of rabbis are, 1. To communicate instruction in religious matters. 2. To inculcate the precepts contained in the decisions of the grand sanhedrim. 3. To preach complete obedience to the laws, and particularly those which respect the defence of the country. Above all, they are to exert themselves every year during the time of the conscription, from the first summons to the complete execution of the law, in exhorting their followers to conform to that measure. 4 To impress the military service upon the Jews, as a sacred duty, and to explain to them, that as long as they devote themselves to this service, the law will give them a dispensation from such usages and customs as are incompatible with it. 5. To preach in the synagogues, and to recite the prayers which shall be there put up for the emperor and the imperial family. 6. To solemnize marriages, and pronounce divorces.

The sanhedrim met again yesterday, and commenced their deliberations in form, on the plan of organization.

February 18.

The King v. Robert Crammand.

This was an indictment, charging cruelty on the defendant, in his treatment of a boy at the school of Mr. Barnes, at Hackney, (late Mr. Pickbourne's,) where this person was in the situation of usher.

This usher represented to the defendant some disrespect he had received, on which master Lynam was fined sixpence, and ordered to go down upon his knees, and ask pardon. Probably some hesitation was shown, and the defendant seized a bamboo stick, and applied it most unmercifully on the back and shoulders of the youth. All masters concerned in education, where no restrictions were imposed by the parents or guardians, were justified in applying moderate chastisement for the maintenance of order, and for the purpose of improvement; but in no case could they exercise excessive severity, without rendering themselves liable to the punishment of the law.

Sir Vicary Gibbs, for the defendant, said, that no such restriction with respect to corporal punishment was ever imposed; and that if such a suggestion had ever been made by the parent to Mr. Barnes, the youth would not have been admitted into that seminary. It was impossible that any such indulgence could be given to a particular individual, without rendering the establishment liable to general insubordination.

The learned judge, in summing up the case, reduced the general subject to the single question, whether the punishment inflicted on the boy were of that moderate kind, so necessary to the purposes of education, or whether it were excessive, and inconsistent with the humane maxims of British law. The jury found the defendant *Guilty*.

Mayew v. Hare.

The plaintiff keeps a school for young ladies at Hendon, the defendant is a hatter in the Strand. This was an action of trespass and battery, for injury done to the plaintiff, and to the wife and daughter of the plaintiff.

Mr. Garrow said, that on a cold morning, on the 30th of October last, the defendant set out in a *buggy*, with Mr. Wilson, the sheriff's officer, and arrived at the house of Mr. Mayew between nine and ten o'clock. The sheriff's officer

officer was provided with a writ, at the suit of madame Bernier, for a claim of 30*l.* on the plaintiff. Mr. Hare did not satisfy himself with the safe but humble office of assisting the bailiff in the discharge of his duty, but, before the authority was shown, or the officer had appeared, entered the house and school of the plaintiff, and there, in the presence of the young ladies, conducted himself in the most violent manner, assaulting Mr. Mayew, his wife, and daughter, as well as the gardener, and, in short, every one who came in his way. For the insult he received, and for the injury he sustained, the plaintiff now sought redress at the hands of an English jury.

Among the witnesses on behalf of his client, he produced Mr. Wilson, the sheriff's officer, who did not materially vary the facts of the case.

Lord Ellenborough stated the nature of the action, and said that the only ground on which any action of damages would apply to the daughter was, in the case of the father having lost her services from the violence committed. No such injury had been sustained with respect to her, and therefore that part of the charge must be laid entirely out of the case. There, however, was one charge, to which no answer had been given, and that was, the injuries sustained by the wife, in consequence of which she was unable to fulfil her ordinary duties as a teacher of music, and thus the plaintiff was deprived of the benefit of her services. This would be a sufficient foundation for a portion of the damages sought in the present action. In this case the process against the plaintiff was legal, and it was the duty of the bailiff to arrest him; but here was no attempt at a rescue, and consequently no justification of the violence offered. To the extent then of the loss of service in the wife, coupled with the circumstances of the disturbance given to domestic peace, damages might be assigned; and his lordship had no doubt the gentlemen of the jury would, with a due regard to the peace of families, and with that moderate spirit to which the plaintiff was entitled, exercise their judgment on the case before them.—Verdict 200*l.*

Mr. Gurney applied to the Court for the liberation of Hanfield, the accomplice in the murder of Mr. Steel. The judge observed, that if the grand jury was broken up, the accomplice might be discharged, but that event should first take place, in order to find if any other charge was preferred against him. He was discharged.

18. The tremendous hurricane of this evening produced the most distressing events on the coast. No less than thirteen vessels were driven ashore between the south end of Deal and Kingsdown, a distance of only two miles and a half. Two large outward-bound Indiamen were wrecked near Deal castle: four other vessels came on shore to the southward of Walmer castle. A heavy fall of snow accompanied the hurricane. Upwards of 40 ships are missing from their anchorages; and a vessel of war must have foundered, as several bodies of marines have been washed a-shore. Three vessels were on shore near Margate; and a number arrived in Ramsgate harbour dismasted.—Two vessels were wrecked on the Scratby Sand, near Yarmouth, and one sunk off Lowestoffe; all the crews of which were drowned. The Snipe gun-brig came a shore on the south Ham, with 30 French prisoners on

board, most of whom, with part of the crew and some women, in all upwards of 60, perished.—In the vicinity of Norwich the snow drifted to a great depth. The Ipswich mail got in two hours later than usual; and the Bury coach was overturned once, and dug out three times. The next day the road was entirely free.—Though the fall of snow near Canterbury was not very great, yet in Romney Marsh, and below the range of Chalk-hills, many roads were impassable; and in some places it had drifted even ten feet deep.

IRELAND.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH, DUBLIN,

February 19.

Crim. Con.—First day.

Right Hon. Valentine Lord Cloncurry v. Sir John Bennet Piers, Bart.

The solicitor-general stated the case, in a clear, energetic, and impressive speech, which lasted one hour and forty minutes. He described the plaintiff, Lord Cloncurry, as a young nobleman of considerable wealth, great sensibility of nature, and a cultivated mind; the defendant as an ancient baronet, a widower, not very young, and not very old. Very early in life, he said the plaintiff and defendant became acquainted—they were school-fellows. At a more advanced period they met on the continent, when their intimacy and friendship were renewed. Sir John Piers was then labouring under some pecuniary embarrassments; from this situation he was rescued by the liberality of the plaintiff, who took his security, it is true, but who afterwards, when he was obliged to accompany a beloved sister to the south of France, on account of her declining health, deposited that security in the hands of his law agent, with a strict prohibition not to call for payment until it was perfectly convenient to sir John Piers. In autumn, 1803, lord Cloncurry, accompanied by two of his sisters, left Ireland; some time in the ensuing December they arrived at Nice, where general Morgan, his wife and daughter, were already settled, having arrived only a few days before them. Gen. Morgan was a man of distinguished connection, and had served with honour in India; his daughter was lovely in her person, fascinating in her manners, and pure in her principles and conduct. Lord Cloncurry became attached to her, his proposals were approved of both by the lady and her father, but their union was deferred until the settlements could be drawn, and the papers necessary for that purpose procured from England. Towards the end of January, 1803, his lordship proceeded to Rome, where the general and his family also arrived early in March. The long expected settlements not having come to hand, the young couple became impatient, and the general having consented no longer to postpone their happiness, very readily accepted his lordship's assurances that he would make an adequate settlement as soon as he arrived in England; whilst he pledged his own honour as to the amount of his daughter's fortune.—Lord Cloncurry and miss Morgan were shortly after united by Mr. Burns, the chaplain of the duchess of Cumberland, in the presence of their mutual relations, and of all the English of distinction then at Rome. In Rome they continued to reside until autumn, 1805, and during that period lady Cloncurry became the mother of two children. In the month

month of October his lordship returned to Ireland, and immediately after honourably and liberally fulfilled his engagement with general Morgan, by settling on her ladyship a fortune of 1000*l.* a-year, in consideration of 5000*l.* which the general paid him as her fortune. Lord Cloncurry then retired to Lyons, his family seat, near the city of Dublin, where, happy in the society of his beloved wife and infant family, his leisure moments were devoted to the improvement of his magnificent mansion and demesne. Sir John Piers was then in the neighbourhood. Scarcely had he crossed the threshold of his old friend, when the seduction of his wife seemed to become his favourite object, and many circumstances were remarked by his lordship's domestics indicative of that intention. On the 15th of April lord and lady Cloncurry came to Dublin, that her ladyship might be presented at the Castle. They had left one of their children in an ill state of health in the country—to visit this child, and to inspect his improvements, lord Cloncurry from time to time visited Lyons, where he sometimes slept for a night or two; and it seems to have been during his occasional absence that sir John Piers perpetrated his guilty purpose, as detailed in the evidence. On the 14th of May lord and lady Cloncurry returned to Lyons: sir John Piers again became their guest, as did colonel Burton and Mrs. Burton, his lordship's sister. Still lord Cloncurry was confident in the virtue of his wife, and unsuspicious of his friend;—until the evening of the 24th nothing occurred to alarm him.

On that evening he proposed a walk; lady Cloncurry pretended indisposition. His lordship, with colonel and Mrs. Burton, went into the front lawn, but accidentally changing the direction of their walk, they came round to the rear of the house; and here, to his astonishment, his lordship found lady Cloncurry and sir John Piers walking together, she familiarly hanging on his arm. Lord Cloncurry had no opportunity for remonstrance that evening. Lady Cloncurry retired before him, and was asleep when he went to bed; but upon her waking the next morning, he reproached her with the impropriety of what he had been a witness too. Lady Cloncurry burst into a flood of tears and sobbed out, in words hardly articulate—"Sir John Piers is an infamous wretch, he is determined on my ruin; for God's sake let me never see him again." Lord Cloncurry, not conceiving the whole extent of his misfortune—not supposing it exceeded some improper familiarity offered to his wife, rushed out of her apartment in search of sir John; he found him shooting in a distant part of the demesne. His first care was to get possession of his gun, under pretence of shooting a rabbit: he then said to him, "Piers, don't be angry with me; for God's sake don't drive lady Cloncurry to infamy; quit this place; go, God bless you." Sir John, after some confused attempt at explanation, departed. Lord C. returned to the house, and to his wife's apartment; he endeavoured to sooth her; he assured her that the man whom she detested was gone, and that she should never see him more; he assured her of his own undiminished affection. Struck with his generosity, she threw herself at his feet, and made a full confession of her guilt. The solicitor-general concluded by informing

ing the jury, that in addition to the loss of the affections of his wife, lord Cloncurry had to lament another circumstance, of a most afflicting nature.—This adulterous intercourse had proved fruitful, and a spurious offspring was imposed on lord Cloncurry, to bear his name, and to participate largely in that fortune which had been settled on his younger children. Three letters were read from sir J. Piers to lord C. In the two first he asserts his own innocence, and calls on his lordship for explanation. The third is written with the manifest intention to provoke a breach of the peace, and is already the subject of a criminal prosecution. A letter was also read from sir John to lady C. written after the discovery, and which had been intercepted by lord Cloncurry. It is written in the most impassionate and romantic style; he calls her his own beloved Eliza; calls his lordship a poor tame wretch, alluding to his conduct in the demesne, on the morning of the 25th, and proposes marriage to her finally; he begs to know if it is only suspicion with lord Cloncurry, or if he has discovered all.

Several witnesses were called to prove the statement in the opening.

The trial was resumed the next day.

Mr. Burrows was then heard on the part of the defendant; he spoke for upwards of two hours, but did not call any witness. Serjeant Ball spoke to evidence, and the jury, on hearing the charge, retired, and in about 25 minutes returned a verdict for the plaintiff:—damages 20,000*l.*

The following is an instance of barbarity scarcely to be paralleled in the annals of cruelty: William Williams, of Fentwyn, in the parish of Crickhowell, a small farmer and shepherd, who had been accustomed to attend daily to his flock, left his cottage on the morning of Saturday se'nnight, accompanied by his dog. In the afternoon the dog returned home without his master, and howled so much as to have created great alarm in the family. Night coming on, and the deceased not appearing, his friends became much distressed; and, on the following morning his wife and children, with some neighbours, went in search of him; the faithful and sagacious dog accompanied them, repeating his howling, and expressing, signs of great agitation; he led the parties to a small coppice, where his master was found murdered, his head having been split with an axe. The unfortunate man has left a wife and seven children to bewail his fate. Two brothers, named Timothy and John Powell, who resided in the same parish with the deceased, were suspected, in consequence of the unfortunate man (who was a constable) having discovered the retreat of their father, who had effected his escape from justice, on a charge of sheep stealing. They were both lodged in Brecon jail, under the charge of wilful murder.

20. Elizabeth Godfrey, an unfortunate prostitute, was indicted at the Old Bailey, on Friday, for the wilful murder of Richard Prince, by giving him a mortal stab in the cheek, under the left eye, with a clasp knife, of which wound he languished from the 25th of December last, till the 18th of January, when he died.

The jury pronounced the prisoner *Guilty*, and the recorder passed the dreadful sentence of the law, namely, that she should be hanged on the next Monday, and her body dissected.

The

The poor wretch was led from the bar in a state almost of insensibility, expressing the most wild and affecting calls upon the court for mercy.

MURDER OF MR. STEEL.

20. John Holloway, alias Oliver, alias Long Will, and Owen Haggerty alias Eggerty, were indicted for the wilful murder of Mr. Steel, in the month of November, 1802, upon Hounslow Heath.

Thomas Meyer, brother-in-law of the deceased, Henry Manby, and Wm. Hughes, described the manner in which the body of the deceased was found buried near a clump of trees upon the Heath; and Henry Frogley, a surgeon, described the wounds he found upon the body when he examined it, one of which, an extensive fracture in the fore part of the head, he had no doubt, was the immediate cause of death.

Benjamin Hanfield, the accomplice, was next examined, the record of his pardon having been first read, without which his deposition could not have been taken. The pardon, however, only applied to the offence for which he was suffering at the time he made the confession on board the hulks at Portsmouth. He deposed nearly as follows:—"I have known Haggerty eight or nine years, and Holloway six or seven. We were accustomed to meet at the Black Horse and Turk's Head public houses in Dyott-street. I was in their company in the month of November 1802. Holloway, just before the murder, called me out from the Turk's Head, and asked me if I had any objection to be in a good thing? I replied I had not. He said it was a *No Toby*, meaning a footpad robbery. I asked when, and where. He said he would let me know. We parted, and two days after we met again, and Saturday the 6th of November was appointed. I asked who was to go with us. He replied that Haggerty had agreed to make one. They all three met on the Saturday at the Black Horse, when Holloway said our business is to *serve* a gentleman on Hounslow Heath, who I understand travels that way with property. We then drank for three or four hours, and about the middle of the day set off for Hounslow. We stopped at a public house, the Bell, and took some porter. We proceeded from thence upon the road towards Belfont, and expressed our hope that we should get a good booty. We stopped near the eleventh mile-stone, and secreted ourselves in a clump of trees. While there, the moon got up, and Holloway said we had come too soon.

After loitering about a considerable time, Holloway said he heard a foot-step, and we proceeded towards Belfont. We presently saw a man coming towards us, and on approaching him we ordered him to stop, which he immediately did. Holloway went round him, and told him to deliver. He said we should have his money, and hoped we would not ill use him. The deceased put his hand in his pocket, and gave Haggerty his money. I demanded his pocket-book. He replied that he had none. Holloway insisted that he had a book, and if he did not deliver it he would knock him down. The deceased again replied that he had no book, and Holloway knocked him down. I then laid hold of his legs. Holloway stood at his head, and swore if he cried out he would knock out his brains. The deceased again

again said, he hoped he would not ill use him. Haggerty proceeded to search him, when the deceased made some resistance, and struggled so much that he got across the road. He cried out severely, and, as a carriage was coming up, Holloway said, "Take care, I will silence the b—r," and immediately struck him several violent blows on the head and body. The deceased heaved a heavy groan, and stretched himself out lifeless. I felt alarmed, and said, "John, you have killed the man." Holloway replied that it was a lie, for he was only stunned. I said I would stay no longer, and immediately set off towards London, leaving Holloway and Haggerty with the body. I came to Hounslow, and stopped at the end of the town for near an hour.

Holloway and Haggerty then came up, and said, they had done the *trick*, and, as a token, put the deceased's hat into my hand. The hat Holloway went down in was like a soldier's hat. I told Holloway it was a cruel piece of business, and that I was sorry I had any hand in it. We all turned down a lane, and returned to London. As we came along, I asked Holloway if he had got the pocket-book. He replied, it was no matter, for as I had refused to share the danger, I should not share the booty. We came to the Black Horse in Dyot-street, had half a pint of gin, and parted. Haggerty went down in shoes, but I don't know if he came back in them. The next day I observed Holloway had a hat upon his head which was too small for him. I asked him if it was the same he got the preceding night. He said it was. We met again on the Monday, when I told Holloway that he acted imprudently in wearing the hat, as it might lead to a discovery. He put the hat into my hand, and I observed the name of Steel in it. I repeated my fears. At night Holloway brought the hat in a handkerchief, and we went to Westminster bridge, filled the hat with stones, and tying the lining over it, threw it into the Thames.

The witness was then cross-examined. He said he had made no other minutes of the transactions he had been detailing, than what his conscience took cognizance of. It was accident that led to his disclosure. He was talking with other prisoners in Newgate, of particular robberies that had taken place; and the Hounslow robbery and murder being stated among others, he inadvertently said that there were only three persons who knew of that transaction. The remark was circulated and observed upon, and a rumour ran through the prison that he was about to turn *nose*, and he was obliged to hold his tongue, lest he should be ill used. When at Portsmouth, on board the hulks, the compunctions of conscience came upon him, and he was obliged to dissipate his thoughts by drinking, to prevent him from divulging all he knew. At last he was questioned by sir John Carter, and at length an officer arrived from London, and he made a full confession. He admitted that he had led a vicious life, that he had been concerned in several robberies, and had entered and deserted from several regiments. He had served in the East and West London militia, had enlisted into the 9th and 14th light dragoons, and had been in the army of reserve. He added, that he was ashamed and sorry at what he had been, and would endeavour to mend his life in future.

After

After some witnesses had been examined, in order to bring the two prisoners and the accomplice together about the time of the robbery and murder, and several police officers had been called to shew that they were all three considered to be of reputed bad character and connected.

Justice Nares was examined, who gave an account of the several examinations the prisoners underwent before him. In those examinations Haggerty denied any knowledge of Holloway, and said he had never seen Hanfield, the accomplice, in all his life. They both denied ever being at Hounslow in their lives, or that they had ever entered the Black Horse, or the Turk's Head public houses in Dyott-street.

Another head of evidence was to prove that they had been seen at both the public houses mentioned, and that they had also been seen in Hounslow and its neighbourhood.

The next and principal head of evidence was that collected from the prisoners' own mouths. It appeared they were confined in separate apartments after their separate examinations; but as there was only a slight partition betwixt them, they were enabled to converse together. An officer had taken the precaution of placing himself in a situation where he could over-hear their conversation, and by that means became possessed of every thing they said to each other. They deprecated the villany of Hanfield, and flattered themselves that the crime could not be brought home to them, and that it was possible that Hanfield might suffer for his perfidy. They confided to each other that they had denied having any acquaintance with the accomplice, and, in fact, recapitulated to each other the whole of their examinations. In one of these conversations the following colloquy passed: Haggerty—"Where did he say we parted after the murder?" Holloway—"At Hounslow." Haggerty—"Where did he say we had the gin?" Holloway—"At the Black Horse in Dyott-street. Haggerty—"We must have had it there.

A deal more of this conversation was given in evidence, which only went to confirm the knowledge the prisoners had of the transaction: and the hat, shoes, and bludgeon found upon the Heath, were produced in court

Holloway, when called upon for his defence, said that Hanfield was a stranger to him, and he was innocent of the crime alleged against him. He said Hanfield had accused him to get his own liberty. He then pointed out what he called the contradictions in his evidence, and called Mr. Nares to witness for those contradictions. Mr. Nares could see nothing like contradiction in the story told by the accomplice.

Mr. Justice Le Blanc summed up the evidence in a very clear and perspicuous manner, making some very humane observations upon the nature of the testimony given by accomplices. He was nearly two hours in his address, and left no point either for or against the prisoners unobserved upon, leaning at all times to the side of mercy.

The jury retired for a few minutes, and they returned a verdict of *Guilty* against both the prisoners.

The recorder passed sentence in the most solemn and impressive way, and the unhappy men were ordered for execution on Monday morning.

They went from the bar protesting their innocence, and apparently careless of the miserable and ignominious fate that awaited them.

They

They were both ill-looking men, particularly Holloway, whose appearance was the most brutal and ferocious that can be imagined.

EXECUTION OF THE MURDERERS OF MR. SEEEL.

23. At ten minutes after eight on Monday morning, Owen Haggerty, one of the murderers of Mr. Steel, was brought on the scaffold for execution: he appeared to be extremely penitent; with a pale and steadfast countenance he joined most fervently in prayer, along with the rev. Dr. Devereux, a clergyman of the Roman catholic church, who attended him; he was so resigned to his fate, and so intent upon the last endeavour that he was capable of making towards effecting a reconciliation with the offended Deity, that he did not seem to be at all conscious that several thousands had crowded round on every side, to gaze at him in his last moments; but, though he was a Roman catholic, and was remarkably fervent in his last act of devotion, we are informed that he did not confess his being guilty of the crime for which he suffered. John Holloway, on the other hand, showed such indifference as to the terror of death which then stared him in the face, and the ignominious manner in which he was to suffer, as, for the sake of human nature, we must hope could not possibly have any real existence in any human breast, however depraved he possibly might be: with even an affected cheerfulness of countenance, he jumped upon the scaffold when he had ascended the ladder; his arms being pinioned with a rope behind, as usual in such cases, he got his hat between his two hands, and as well as he was able bowed to the crowd repeatedly, turning round on every side of it, even with a sort of agility that must unquestionably have been forced, with a view to show that *he died game*, as it is expressed; or, in other words, that he had neither a religious sense nor a personal feeling as to the awful situation in which he was placed. He did not speak a word to the clergyman, and paying his whole attention to the crowd, repeated three times with a loud voice, "Gentlemen, I am innocent." This was heard by many. He then spoke to Haggerty, and said to him, according to the account given by those who were nearest to the scaffold, "Take no notice of the clergyman."—Haggerty seemed to pay no attention to him. Whilst the rope was fixing round their necks, Holloway preserved his usual effrontery; Haggerty trembled. Twice or thrice Holloway was invited to pray, he invariably refused, and with a look of impatience.

About ten minutes after they had been on the scaffold, the clergymen descended—the signal was given, and they were launched into eternity. Haggerty struggled much for some minutes—Holloway scarcely moved.

Haggerty wore a sort of an olive-coloured great coat, which covered him completely from the neck downwards. Holloway wore a jacket and smock frock, as it had been stated by the approver that he did at the time of the murder.

When Holloway and Haggerty came into the press-yard for execution, there were many gentlemen of distinction. — Holloway went on his knees on the pavement to protest his innocence, expressing confidence that he would be forgiven his sins in heaven. Haggerty also protested his innocence,

nocence, but did not go on his knees.

Elizabeth Godfrey was brought up last on the scaffold; her feelings appeared to be so much overpowered, that, notwithstanding she bore the appearance of resignation in her countenance, her whole frame was so shaken by the terror of her situation, that she was incapable of any actual devotion.—The protestant clergyman prayed by her side; she was dressed entirely in white. They were all launched off together, at about a quarter after eight. It was a long time before the body of the poor female seemed to have gone through its last suffering.

DREADFUL CATASTROPHE.

It has never fallen to our lot, (we hope it never will again,) to communicate the particulars of so dreadful a catastrophe as that which happened at the execution of the murderers Haggerty and Holloway. Different accounts were given as the cause of it: one account says:—

On the north side of the Old Bailey, the multitude was so immensely great, that, in their movements, they were not inaptly compared to the flow and reflow of the waves of the sea, when in troubled motion. In the centre of this vast concourse of people was placed a cart, in which persons were accommodated with standing places to see the culprits, but it is supposed, from the circumstance of too many being admitted into it, that the axle-tree gave way; by the confusion many persons were killed. Unhappily the mischief did not stop here. A temporary chasm in the crowd being thus made by the fall of the cart, many persons rushed forward to get upon the body of it, which formed a kind of platform, from which they thought they could get a commanding view over the heads of the persons in front. All those who from choice or necessity were nearest to the cart, strove to get upon it, and in their eagerness they drove those in front head-foremost among the crowd beneath, by whom they were trampled under foot, without having the power of relieving them. The latter in turn were in like manner assailed, and shared the same fate. This dreadful scene continued for some time. The shrieks of the dying men, women, and children, were terrific beyond description, and could only be equalled by the horror of the event.

Another and more particular account says: Just before the culprits mounted the scaffold, the feelings of the spectators were agitated to a most alarming degree, by the deplorable and pitiable situation of a very great number of persons in the crowd (which had now amounted, according to the best calculations, to nearly 40,000), who, from the extraordinary pressure and other causes, were every moment in danger of being suffocated or trampled to death. In all parts there were continued cries of *Murder! Murder!* particularly from the female part of the spectators, and young boys, some of whom were seen expiring, without the possibility of the least assistance being afforded them, every one being employed in endeavours to preserve his own life. The most effecting scene of distress was seen at Green Arbour lane, nearly opposite the debtors' door. The terrible occurrence which took place near this spot is attributed to the circumstance of two piemen attending there to dispose of their pies, and one of them having

having his basket overthrown, which stood upon a sort of stool with four legs, some of the mob not being aware of what had happened, and at the same time severely pressed, fell over the basket and the man, at the moment he was picking it up together with its contents. Those who once fell were never more suffered to rise, such was the violence of the mob. At this fatal place, a man of the name of Herrington was thrown down, who had in his hand his youngest son, a fine boy about twelve years of age. The youth was soon trampled to death; the father recovered, though much bruised, and was taken to St. Bartholomew's hospital. A woman who was so imprudent as to bring with her a child at her breast, was one of the number killed: whilst in the act of falling, she forced the child into the arms of the man nearest to her, requesting him for God's sake to save its life: the man, finding it required all his exertion to preserve himself, threw the infant from him; but it was fortunately caught at a distance by another man, who finding it difficult to ensure its safety or his own, got rid of it in a similar way. The child was again caught by a person who contrived to struggle with it to a cart, under which he deposited it until the danger was over, and the mob had dispersed. In other parts the pressure was so great, that a horrible scene of confusion ensued, and many persons lost their lives by suffocation alone. It was shocking to behold a large body of the crowd, as one convulsive struggle for life, fight with the most savage fury with each other: the consequence was, that the weakest, particularly the women, fell a sacrifice. As fast as the mob cleared away after the execution, and those on the ground could be picked up, they were conveyed in carts and on boards to Bartholomew's hospital, where every attention was shown, and every assistance afforded, to those who exhibited signs of life.

As soon as the bodies of the deceased were washed, and in a fit state to be exposed, they were laid out in the Elizabeth ward, in order to be claimed by their friends. No language can describe the anguish of the scene when the people first recognised these mutilated remains; some found a brother, some a son, and others a father. A young woman, who found amongst the dead an only brother, was so strongly affected that she went into violent fits, and continued in that state throughout the whole day, and doubts were some time entertained of her recovery. It was truly affecting to see the persons who had missed their relatives so strongly agitated between hope and fear, as they entered the room to view the dead. Some had not resolution sufficient to convince themselves of that which they wanted to know. Many who had missed their friends or relatives came too late to view the dead, and were almost raving when they were told they could not see the bodies till the next day.—Every person about the hospital were employed in this melancholy duty from nine o'clock in the morning until nearly five in the afternoon, at which time the ward which contained the dead bodies was locked up. As fast as the bodies were owned, they were put into shells, with the names of the parties upon them.

CORONER'S INQUEST.

On Tuesday a coroner's inquest sat

sat in St. Bartholomew's Hospital, where the dead bodies of the sufferers lay. After the usual forms, including the view of the dead bodies, &c. the jury proceeded to the discharge of their duties, taking for their guidance, under the direction of their very able coroner, Mr. Shelton, the following correct list of the dead.

1. Bradford, Thomas, Great Pulteney-street, Golden-square.
2. Boother, Wm. at Mr. Wiber's, 36, Colonnade, Russell-square.
3. Carter, John, Type-street, Moorfields.
4. Carpenter, Benjamin, Hammersmith.
5. Carpenter, Benjamin, junior, Hammersmith.
6. Cuttle, James, Gwinning's-court, Grub-street.
7. Cooper, Thomas, 3, Rose-alley, Golden-lane.
8. Cross, ———, Norwich-court, Fetter-lane.
9. Dilling, John, King-street, Old-street.
10. Fieldhurst, Joseph, 2, Plough-street, Whitechapel.
11. Fry, Sarah, 3, Market-street, St. James's.
12. Guest, William, Gutter-lane, Cheapside.
13. Grover, Daniel, 51, Cow-cross-street, Smithfield.
14. Herrington, Wm. 31, Skinner-street, Somer's Town.
15. Howard, Samuel, Charles-street Middlesex Hospital.
16. Platt, Wm. 19, Russel-court, Drury-lane.
17. Panton, Charlotte, 19, King-street, Drury-lane.
18. Pringle, Robert, 3, French-yard, Bowling-green-lane, Clerkenwell.
19. Russell, Richard, 4, Alcock-lane, Shoreditch.
20. Saul, R. Whitechapel.
21. Tozer, Elizabeth, Fox-court, Ray-street, Clerkenwell.
22. Taylor, Joseph, 8, Peter-street, Cow-cross.
23. Thorne, Joseph, Flower-de-luce-court, Spitalfields.
24. Tyler, William, 39, Church-street, Soho.
25. Wilson, George, 6, Beauchamp-street, Brook's Market.
26. Williams, Wm. 9, Dyot-street, St. Giles's.
27. Wimble, John, 18, Great Barlow-street, Manchester-square.
28. White, Henry, Portsmouth.

The several bodies were sworn to by their respective relations; and the jury then inquired into the circumstances of the accident.

CAUSE OF THE CATASTROPHE.

Thomas Salmon, upon being sworn, stated that he lives with his brother, who keeps the King of Denmark public-house in the Old Bailey: that about seven o'clock on Monday morning, the crowd assembled in the Old Bailey was very great: that it kept increasing until eight; and by that hour every avenue leading to the Old Bailey was full of people; that there was a great noise and clamour until a few minutes past eight, when Haggerty ascended the scaffold, and then the witness heard a loud cry of "Hats off." The faces of the crowd seemed, at the time, turned to the scaffold; and the crowd fell back, putting down their hats as well as they could. That the witness was stationed in the first floor window; and he heard a general scream, and looking upwards from the window towards St. Sepulchre's church, he saw one or two people fall, opposite Green-Arbour-court, and about one yard from the pavement. He then said to a person

who stood next him, that he was afraid there was some mischief, and he saw several people climbing over those who were down. The crowd kept falling back over the persons who fell. He then observed that it was sad work; and, coming down into the tap-room, he communicated his fears to those around him. The crowd was so great at the door, that it was impossible he could go out, and he saw nothing more of the accident than the above. He was of opinion, that the uncommon pressure was, in a great degree, occasioned by the people squeezing down their hats, which naturally operated so as to produce such an effect.

Richard Hazel, tallow-chandler, at No. 16, Old Bailey, was next called. About a quarter past eight o'clock on the morning of Monday, while he was looking out of his one pair of stairs window, he saw two distinct heaps of persons who had fallen. These heaps were about eight or ten yards from his door, and the greatest part of the persons that composed them seemed to be dead. The mob was continually treading backwards and forwards over them; and there was a very great and incessant motion. There appeared to be about ten or twelve in each heap; and the pressure was so great, that it was impossible for the crowd to avoid treading on those that were down, although they made every exertion in their power to avoid doing so. Those lying on the ground were often completely covered by persons on their legs, who were forced to tread over them. There was about a yard of breadth between the two heaps; and through this interstice a great crowd was continually pressing. He described the heaps as being composed of persons lying on each other, or entangled together. The witness saw several fall down on these heaps, who never rose again. It was nearly half an hour before any assistance could be given to those who were thus thrown down. The witness saw several men and boys taken up senseless, and recovered by fanning their faces with hats, and by washing them with cold water. The dead bodies were then taken away to the hospital on men's shoulders and in carts, but he could not say what was the exact number. After the dead were removed, he saw lying on the ground a pie-basket, a large tin pan, like a dripping-pan, a quart tin can, and several pies, all squeezed entirely flat, and the dead body of the unfortunate person who lay upon them, taken up, appeared to be that of a very stout man. Upon being questioned as to the original cause of the tumult, he could not say any thing from his own knowledge. There was a broken rail opposite to the Star Wine Vaults, and there were a number of cart waggons, and other carriages drawn up outside of this railing; but he saw no cart broken down, nor does he believe any such accident happened; and he rather thinks, that the carts broke the pressure of the crowd in some degree, instead of adding to it. During the whole time there was a general clamour, but he could not distinguish any particular voice or any word that was uttered; although he believes that *Murder! Murder!* and *Mercy! Mercy!* were the prevailing cries.

On Thursday, the adjourned inquest on the bodies of the sufferers in the Old Bailey assembled again.

During the day the whole of the bodies were recognised by the friend-

friends; and the most interesting depositions were the following:—

John Wimble, deceased, a carpenter, residing at No. 18, Great Barlow-street, Manchester-square. A young man, who went with the deceased, stated, that he fell down with the deceased, but kept his head uncovered, and forced his way over the dead bodies, which lay in a pile as high as the people, until he was enabled to creep over the heads of the crowd to a lamp-iron, from whence he got into the first floor window of Mr. Hazel, tallow-chandler, in the Old Bailey; he was much bruised, and must have suffered the fate of his companion, if he had not been possessed of great strength.

Elizabeth Howard, wife of Henry Howard, coach-maker, lived in the same house with one of the deceased, of the name of Sarah Fry, whom she accompanied, about ten minutes after seven o'clock, to see the execution; about five minutes before eight o'clock they arrived at the bottom of Newgate-street, when a great mass of people carried them down to the front of the Old Bailey, where they remained about ten minutes, and were very much squeezed and hurt; about a quarter after eight, witness fell over another person that was lying on the ground, near the foot-pavement; deceased called out and said, "Lord have mercy upon me! Are you gone? Are you gone?" Witness was senseless, and did not recover herself until she found herself upon the steps of St. Sepulchre's church; she believed it was half past ten before she recovered herself. Questioned by the coroner concerning what she heard before she fell; she felt herself squeezed to a great excess; she heard also the cry of *Murder!* screams, and groans; she lost her bonnet, cap, shoes, and pattens; before she fell, she recollected a cry of "Hats off," and a cry of "They come." When she came to herself, she was told a man had brought her on his back, and laid her on the steps of the church; before she fell, she recollects stumbling over several things in the crowd, but what they were she could not tell; at last she fell on a woman who lay on her back; could not tell whether the woman was dead or alive. The witness was very much bruised. The coroner, with great humanity, offered her a note to go to the hospital as an out door patient, which witness accepted.

Thomas Ramsden, esq. surgeon, belonging to the college, Warwick-lane, stated, that he attended the hospital when the bodies were brought in, and gave directions for assisting the sufferers: sixteen were recovered, and twenty-seven so much injured by compression that assistance was unavailing. Witness took upon him to say, that the preservation of those who recovered was attributable to the promptitude with which the professional gentlemen and their pupils afforded relief. The deaths of the sufferers were occasioned, in his opinion, by pressure and suffocation.

The coroner then adjourned the inquest.

Several witnesses were examined on Friday, who threw no new light upon the unfortunate business; and Mr. Shelton then proceeded to address the jury. He was of opinion, that the pressure of the crowd at the entrance of Skinner-street was so great as to bear down all before it. He stated it as his belief, that when the cry of "Hats off" prevailed, there was

such a falling back of the people from the scaffold towards the opposite houses, as to determine the particular time when so many of the unfortunate sufferers lost their lives. He also thought, from the evidence he had heard, that the number of carts and carriages of different sorts must have narrowed the passage, and contributed to the danger. He then read over the opinion of Mr. Ramsden, the surgeon, and concluded his charge. The court was now cleared, it being near eleven o'clock; and at a little before twelve the doors were opened, and the verdict was read as follows, viz. *That the several persons came by their deaths from compression and suffocation.*

After this a formal verdict was drawn up, which was very long, but in substance the same as the above. The whole examination was laid before the court of aldermen. At twelve o'clock precisely the inquest was dissolved.

On Tuesday morning, February 24th, Mr. Marsham was found in his bed-room, at his lodgings with Mrs. Oliver, in Charlotte-street, Pimblico, with his throat cut in a most shocking manner. He had spent the evening on Monday, at the Magdalen public-house, in Pimlico, as was frequently his custom, where he appeared in perfect good health and spirits, and went home to bed about ten o'clock. He was accustomed to rise about eight o'clock in the morning; and not making his appearance at his usual time on Tuesday morning; at ten o'clock Mrs. Oliver and her servant, went to see the cause: they knocked at his bed-room door, but received no answer; they, in consequence, opened it, when they discovered him lying on the floor, with his throat cut, and a most horrid spectacle, occasioned by an uncommon discharge of blood. A surgeon was called in, but to no purpose, he was dead and cold. No cause can be assigned for this act, but there is every reason to believe he has been slightly deranged for some time past. He has been frequently heard to say, the devil was in him, and that he could feel him in his throat. Two wills were found, one in his pocket, and one upon a table, in them he directs that his body is to be opened, for the purpose of finding the devil. He was about sixty years of age, and by profession a merchant. He was from Scotland.

Admiralty-office, Feb. 28.

[Two letters from lord Keith inclosed the following.]

Ariadne, at sea, Feb. 19.

My lord,—I have the honour to acquaint your lordship, that I have this day captured a French cutter, letter of marque, Le Chasseur, of 32 tons, two carriage guns, and 36 men, commanded by Pr. Collier; 24 men only were found on board, 12 having been sent in prizes.

I have the honour to be, &c.

A. FARQUHAR.

Admiral lord Keith, K. B. &c.

His majesty's cutter Carrier, at sea, February 20, 1807.

My lord,—I have the honour to acquaint your lordship, that having yesterday chased Le Chasseur French cutter privateer into the hands of captain Farquhar, of his majesty's ship Ariadne, I was this morning returning to my station accompanied by the Princess Augusta cutter, when at nine A. M. Goree bearing S. by E. distant ten leagues, we discovered a suspicious sai

sail on the N. E. quarter, steering in for the Dutch coast, to which I immediately gave chase, and at two P. M. came up with and captured the French schooner privateer Le Ragotin, commanded by Jaques Jappie, mounting eight guns, which were thrown overboard in the chase, with a complement of 29 men, eight days from Dunkirk, without having made any capture, and this being her first cruize.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) R. RAMSEY,
Lieutenant and commander.

Admiral lord Keith, K. B. &c.

MARCH.

5. HERTFORD ASSIZES.

Writ of Right.

This writ is the last that can be brought for the recovery of an estate, and is in rare use in modern days, being one of the feudal actions, then pending in this county, in a cause of Desson *v.* Sheppard. The mode of trial is what is called by the grand assize a mode of trial devised by Glanville, justiciar to Henry the Third, in lieu of the Norman mode of deciding it by single combat; but the tenant still has the right of waging battle by champion with his antagonist, if he choose it. The last of which judicial combats was in the reign of Elizabeth. By the trial by the grand assize, four knights, girded with their swords, appear in court, and return the grand assize, that is, the jury who try the cause. In the present case the king's writ to the sheriff was read, by which the sheriff was directed to summon, by good summoners, four knights, who were to appear before the king's justice girded with their swords, to make election for the grand assize, to determine whether the demandant had the greater right to demand, or the tenant the greater right to hold, a messuage and four hundred acres of land, at Offley, in this county. To which writ the sheriff returned, that he had summoned William Baker, Robert Dimsdale, John Baron Dickinson, and Michael Hankin, esqrs. These gentlemen accordingly appeared in court, each with a sword, and returned the names of the grand assize. The cause of course stands for trial the next assizes.

CROWN SIDE.

Friday, 6.

MURDER.—John Harris was indicted for the wilful murder of Benjamin Stapps, on the 24th September, by giving him several violent blows on the head, of which he died. The body was found in a well. It was proved that the prisoner had an interest in the death of the deceased, and that some of his clothes were found in the possession of Harris.

The learned judge, in summing up, told the jury, that in almost every case of murder they must be contented with circumstantial evidence, as murder was perpetrated in secrecy. But their first inquiry would be, whether any murder had been committed, or whether the deceased had thrown himself into this well. From the evidence, there certainly was great probability that the deceased had been murdered.

It was proved that there was great difficulty in any one falling down the well. The surgeons proved that he had received blows, both before and behind, on the head, but none on the top of the head, where it was likely he would

have received one, if he had fallen down head foremost. It was, however, in proof, that the well had a chalky bottom, and such bottoms usually had irregular flint stones. There was no evidence how this was, though it seemed a desirable piece of evidence to have obtained. He then recapitulated all the evidence, remarking on it as he went along, and left the jury to say, whether they thought the circumstances weighty enough to pronounce a verdict of guilty against the prisoner.

In his defence he only said he was innocent.—The jury found the prisoner *Guilty*, and he was executed, denying the charge with his last breath.

TRIAL OF SIR HOME POPHAM.

First day's proceeding.

Friday, 6.

A signal being made for the admirals and captains of his majesty's fleet then at Spithead and Portsmouth, to come on board his majesty's ship the Gladiator, lying in Portsmouth harbour, they accordingly assembled at nine o'clock, and commenced their proceedings immediately. The names of the admirals and captains on board, according to their rank and seniority, were called over by Moses Greetham, esq. the judge advocate, till a sufficient number answered to their names to compose the court.

Mr. Greetham having read the order for the arrest of sir Home Popham, issued by the admiralty, called over the names of the witnesses.—Among whom were

Lord Melville, who was present.
Lord Whitworth, who was not present.

Mr. Sturges Bourne. L. Maclean, esq.

The judge advocate then read the charges, which were in substance the same with the order to admiral Young, hereafter stated, and produced several documents, by which the charges were meant to be substantiated, of which the following were the most particular:—

Copy of an order to sir Home Popham, dated 29th of July, 1805.

Copy of a letter to Joseph Barrow, esq. dated 2d of August, 1805, directing him to send a frigate to cruize on the south-east coast of America.

Copy of a letter to Joseph Barrow, esq. directing him to return all transports at the Cape of Good Hope, excepting such as were necessary to carry the troops to India.

Copy of a letter from the lords commissioners of the admiralty to sir Home Popham, directing him to cooperate with major-general sir David Baird.

Copy of a letter from the lords commissioners of the admiralty to sir Home Popham, dated 25th December, 1805, directing him to send home all transports not wanted.

Copy of a letter from sir Home Popham to W. Marsden, esq. giving an account of the capture of the Cape, &c.

Copy of a letter from sir Home Popham to W. Marsden, esq. giving an account that the Piedmontese French frigate was cruizing in the Eastern Seas.

Copy of a letter from sir Home Popham to W. Marsden, esq. stating that the Voluntaire frigate, the *avant-courier* of a French fleet, had put into Table Bay, and was taken possession of by his majesty's ships.

Copy

Copy of a letter from sir Home Popham to W. Marsden, esq. dated 14th April, 1806, stating that the intelligence by the Volontaire had led him to conclude that the French fleet was bound to the West Indies, but that other accounts stated them as destined for the Mauritius.

Copy of a letter from sir Home Popham to W. Marsden, esq. respecting the weak state of Monte Video.

Copy of a letter from sir Home Popham to W. Marsden, esq. dated 30th April, stating the applications he had made to the governor of St. Helena, for a reinforcement of troops from that island.

Another letter, dated 19th July.

Copy of a letter of sir George Shee, bart. inclosing attested copies of letters from major-general sir David Baird.

The admiralty order, directing admiral Young to proceed forthwith to assemble the court martial, of which he was appointed president, was next read.

The order of admiralty to Mr. Bignel being read, the following members were then sworn, agreeably to an act of parliament:

Admiral Young, president.
Vice-adm. sir E. Gower,
——— J. Holloway,
——— R. Rowley,
——— E. Stanhope,
Rear-Adm. J. Vashon,
——— Sir I. Coffin,
——— Sir R. Strachan,
Captain Graves,
——— S. H. Linzee,
——— M. Scott,
——— J. Irwin,
——— C. Boyle.

Then the judge advocate was sworn not to disclose or discover the opinion of any particular member of the court martial, unless thereunto required by law.

The several documents before enumerated, abstracts of which had been annexed to the charges last preferred, were tendered in evidence, and proved after the manner of documentary testimony. They were afterwards severally read, when the prosecution was stated to be closed. Mr. Jervis appeared as prosecutor for the admiralty.

Sir Home Popham was called on by the court to state when he would be ready to proceed on his defence.

Sir Home, in an animated address, observed to the court, that the first charges sent him by the admiralty, about half an hour after his arrival in town, referred only to three documents, and by which alone he had supposed that they were meant to be substantiated—whereas the new charges, which had been exhibited against him, and which had been presented to him, half an hour after his arrival at Portsmouth, had reference to eighteen documents, of which he had not been furnished with copies, nor had any knowledge of their contents, but from having heard them hastily read in court. Although it might not be necessary in respect to the court, yet he thought, with respect to the public, it might be expedient for him to take a little time in preparing his defence against the charges in their present novel form, in order to remove any impression which they might have made on the public mind.—He, therefore, however reluctantly, must request the indulgence of the court till Monday, when he should be perfectly prepared to enter on his defence.

The court adjourned at half past one o'clock, to meet on the next day, when sir Home Popham was to have attested copies of the docu-

ments, and of such other papers as he might deem necessary to his defence.

PARTICULARS OF A DREADFUL FIRE.

On Friday, March 6, about five o'clock in the morning, a fire broke out at the Globe public-house and chop-house, in St. Saviour's Church-yard, adjoining Green-Dragon-court, Southwark, which was attended with melancholy circumstances. Mr. Sims, the landlord, let out several of his apartments to lodgers, and nearly thirty persons slept on the premises every night. His own family consisted of a wife, a daughter, two sons, and his wife's sister; the latter acted in the capacity of nurse to Mrs. Sims, who for some time had been confined to her bed, and was in the last stage of a consumption. The fire was supposed to have originated in the cellar, or vaults, where some people had been at work the preceding day, and was first discovered by the sister, who, hearing the crackling of wood, and smelling the fire, alarmed the landlord, who ran down stairs in his shirt to see what was the matter, when he perceived the flames burst from the bar, which he supposed had forced their way through the floor. Greatly agitated, he hastened up stairs, procured a wet blanket, and immediately repaired to the bar, in the hope of being able to extinguish the fire, but he found it had made too great progress to be overcome by his efforts. Feeling for the situation of his family, and the poor lodgers at a distant part of the house, he called as loud as he was able, "Fire! Fire!" and wrapping a blanket round his helpless wife, with great difficulty rescued her from the flames. In the height of his agitation he could find no better place to deposit her on than a butcher's block. Having left her, and returned to his house, he found it entirely enveloped in the flames, and supposing the greatest part of his family had perished, he gave himself up to despair. He was soon relieved with respect to his daughter and sister-in-law, who had both escaped by leaping out of a window in the first story into the court, and though somewhat bruised, were in no danger of their lives. As for his two boys, he gave them up for lost. It fortunately happened, however, that they both had escaped through a trap door at the top of the house to some of the adjoining houses, which way they were well acquainted with, having often resorted to it for their amusement. The relation which the boys gave of the scene of horror and confusion which took place among the lodgers is truly distressing. Before they quitted the house they saw the stairs fall, and all means of retreat cut off from the street-door. They several times called upon the inmates to follow them, and they would conduct them to a place of safety, but none of them would take their advice. Two persons leaped out of the higher windows after being severely burnt, and were nearly killed on the spot. One of these unfortunate persons, a plumber, was taken to St. Thomas's hospital, dangerously wounded: he stated, that when the flames first caught him, he had with him his son, about ten years of age, and his wife; they both struggled to get to the window to follow him, but in vain, and became the prey of the furious element. A Mrs. Burrow, and a child were amongst the sufferers, as was also a waggoner. Two more persons, making in all

seven,

seven, were dug out of the ruins the next day, but in such a state as not to be recognised.

Lady le de Spencer narrowly escaped being burnt to death on the same day, at her house in Hanover-square. Her ladyship's muslin dress caught fire whilst she was standing near the fire-place, and was instantly in flames, when she ran screaming to the staircase, and was fortunately heard by a carpenter, who was at work in an adjoining room: he immediately flew to her assistance, tore part of the flaming garments away, forced her into the room, and rolled her in a carpet, which promptitude and presence of mind saved her ladyship's life.

CORONER'S INQUEST.

7. Yesterday George Hodgson, esq. coroner for Middlesex, took an inquisition in Howland-street, on the body of Dr. Kenzie, lately of Hatton-garden, who met his death suddenly on Thursday. It appeared on evidence, that the doctor had taken an airing in a single-horse chaise, and having returned to a livery-stable in Tottenham-court-road, he was met by his son, who was desired to find the hostler. On the return of the son, the deceased was spitting blood, and he observed that he was very ill, and prayed to God that he might reach his house before he died. The deceased, on reaching his home in Devonshire-street, Queen-square, was only just able to direct that a surgeon might be sent for, but before his son returned from doing so, the deceased had expired. The cause of his death was attributed to the bursting of a blood-vessel whilst coughing, and a verdict was delivered accordingly. The deceased was a man universally respected.

SIR HOME POPHAM.

The following is a copy of the charge which was served upon Sir H. Popham in London:

"By the commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, &c. &c."

"Whereas by our order, dated 29th July, 1805, sir Home Popham, then captain of his majesty's ship Diadem, was directed to take under his command his majesty's ships Belliqueux, Raisonnable, Diomede, Narcissus, and Leda; the Espoir sloop, and Encounter gun-brig, for the purpose of capturing the enemy's settlement at the Cape of Good Hope, in conjunction with the troops under the command of major-general sir David Baird, which settlements were surrendered to the ships and troops aforementioned in the month of January 1806. And whereas it appears by letters from the said sir Home Popham to our secretary, dated the 13th and 30th of April following, that, with the view to attack the Spanish settlements in the Rio de la Plata, for which attack he had no direction or authority whatever, he did withdraw from the Cape the whole of the naval force, which had been placed under his command for the sole purpose of protecting it, thereby leaving the Cape, (which it was his duty to guard,) not only exposed to attack and insult, but even without the means of affording protection to the trade of his majesty's subjects,

jects, or of taking possession of any ships of the enemy which might have put into any of the bays or harbours of the Cape or parts adjacent, all which he, the said sir Home Popham, did, notwithstanding that he had received previous information of detachments of the enemy's ships being at sea, and in the neighbourhood of the Cape; and notwithstanding he had been apprised that a French squadron was expected at the Mauritius, of which he informed us by his letter to our secretary, dated the 9th of April, 1806, only four days prior to his departure from the Cape for Rio de la Plata.

"And whereas it appears to us, that a due regard to the good of his majesty's service imperiously demands that so flagrant a breach of public duty should not pass unpunished; and whereas, by our order dated the 28th July, 1806, rear-admiral Stirling was directed to send the said sir Home Popham to England, which he has done accordingly: and whereas sir Home Popham was, on his arrival, put under arrest by our order, and is now at ——, awaiting his trial.—We send herewith the necessary papers for the support of the charge; and do hereby require and direct you forthwith to assemble a court martial (you being the president thereof), which is hereby required and directed to inquire into the conduct of, and to try, the said captain sir Home Popham, for the offences with which he is charged accordingly.

"Given under our hands, &c."

Downing-Street, March 11, 1807.

Lord viscount Howick, his majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, has this day notified to the ministers of friendly and neutral powers resident at this court, that in consequence of the recent proceedings, and the present position of the enemy upon the continent, which enables him to command the navigation of the rivers Elbe, Weser, and Ems, his majesty has judged it expedient to re-establish the most rigorous blockade at the entrance of those rivers, and to maintain and enforce the same, according to the usages of war acknowledged and allowed in similar cases.

On Friday, March 13, a circumstance occurred of considerable interest to the commerce of the port of London. The grand Surry Canal Bason at Rotherhithe, which has so long been an object of attention in the mercantile world, was opened for the reception of shipping and craft. The ceremony took place in the presence of a numerous assemblage of spectators, composed principally of the proprietors and their friends, together with a large company of ladies, who all appeared much gratified on this interesting occasion. The day proved highly auspicious, and though the weather was rather cold, the beauty of the scene was much heightened by the brilliant rays of the sun. Early in the morning every thing about the works denoted the approaching festivity: two colours were seen flying at the entrance lock, and the royal standard was displayed on a staff in the midst of the island.

At two o'clock the ship intended to take the lead in entering began to dress in the colours of various nations, and the remaining ships also followed the example, though in a plainer style. About the same time the company assembled

bled on the insular wharfage, where marquees and a cold collation were prepared for their accommodation. At length the tide rose to a level with the water in the bason, the gates were thrown open, and guns were fired as a signal for vessels to enter.

About half past three o'clock, the Argo, a fine brig of 242 tons burthen, the property of Mr. John Hall, made her entry amidst the acclamations of the spectators. She was saluted by a discharge of cannon on shore, which was returned by the vessel, whilst a band of martial music on the deck played "God save the King," and "Rule Britannia." Four other vessels, named the Equity, the British Tar, the Nautilus, and the Cumberland yacht, all handsomely ornamented with colours, immediately followed. The whole made a very interesting appearance, riding in the capacious channels of the commercial bason, which is a great improvement to the port of London, and promises the most ample accommodation to the trade of the river Thames.

PAPER-CIRCULATION.

It appears from a statement delivered in the house of commons pursuant to their order, that the amount of Bank of England notes of five pounds each, and upwards, including the bank post bills payable seven days after sight, was

On the 1st of May, 1806	£.12,722,060
On the 1st of August - -	12,995,550
On the 1st of November -	12,814,900
On the 1st of February, 1807	12,333,430

besides nearly four millions and a half, at each of those periods, of notes of 2*l.* and 1*l.* each.

13. In common with every admirer of literature and the polite arts, we have most sincerely to lament the total loss by fire of the elegant and magnificent mansion of Hafod in Cardiganshire, the hospitable residence of Thomas Johnes, esq. the worthy representative in parliament for the county, and the theme of rapturous delight to every traveller in that part of the principality. The dreadful accident occurred early in the morning, and originated, it is supposed, in the apartments of the female servants. At a quarter after three, Mrs. Johnes was awakened by the fire; and immediately, but with difficulty, alarmed the family. So rapid was the progress of the flames, that some of the domestics were with great difficulty rescued. The housekeeper was in the most imminent danger of perishing before assistance could be rendered; and two or three other servants, who had made their way to the top of the house, were much scorched before they could be relieved by means of ropes, and conveyed to a place of safety. Scarcely covered, Mrs. Johnes and her daughter, after saving some few articles from the wreck, took shelter at the Devil's Bridge, four miles distant, where the family have since continued. Mr. Hanbury Williams, of Colebrook Dale, Shropshire, brother-in-law to Mr. Johnes, who was on a visit at Hafod, naked, and a few of the men-servants, by wonderful exertions, at the hazard of their lives, succeeded in saving most of the valuable plate, china, and a quantity of inferior furniture; the wine, the linen, Mrs. Johnes's apparel, trinkets, &c. and the principal furniture, magnificent glasses, &c. were all lost. Mr. Williams also sustained a considerable loss, not being able to save his travelling

ing equipage, bills, cash, and other valuables. Many of the splendid books in the lower part of the library were saved; but all the precious lore that was deposited in the gallery and the anti-library fell in the unrelenting flames, among which were the greatest curiosities—the Welch MSS. and the labours of Mr. Johnes for the last forty years: an irreparable loss to society, and to the munificent owner. It was feared that the valuable Froissarts were to be included in the loss; but the copies of that work which, with so much credit to Mr. J. and his assistants in typography, have issued from the Hafod press, and will immortalize the translator and the printer. The fire commenced at the hour before stated; and at 6, three hours after (excepting the three turrets at the corners of the mansion and the conservatory), only the bare walls remained, a melancholy memento of the former splendour of the place. The house, library, &c. were valued at 140,000*l.*; and were insured (we believe, at about half that sum) in the British and Imperial Fire-Offices; and those honourable bodies, immediately on hearing of the accident, dispatched their surveyor to settle the claims under the policies. Fortunately no lives were lost nor persons injured. Mr. Johnes was in town, attending his parliamentary duties; and did not arrive to the solace of his family till Wednesday evening, the 18th instant.

TRIAL OF SIR HOME POPHAM.

We have already laid before our readers the proceedings on the first day of the trial of this officer, in which were included the substance of the charges preferred against him. The second day (Saturday) was chiefly occupied in some uninteresting formalities, and in the reading of the several papers and documents which were to support the charge on the part of Mr. Jervis, who appeared as prosecutor for the admiralty. At the request of sir Home Popham, the court enlarged the time of his defence till Monday. Upon that day the proceedings were resumed, and sir Home entered upon his justification as follows:

DEFENCE.

Mr. President,—After having devoted the greater part of my life to the service of my king and country, I am brought before you and other members of this honourable court, to vindicate my conduct from a charge of a nature as extraordinary and as unprecedented, perhaps, as ever was submitted to the investigation of a court martial. In applying the epithets of extraordinary and unprecedented to the accusation exhibited against me, I speak of it generally, and not with a particular reference to the irregular, and, I believe I may venture to add, the illegal manner in which it is worded. On this point I shall animadvert hereafter. But I cannot, sir, enter into the substance of my defence, without observing to you, how extraordinary it is that I should be brought to trial by that superior authority, to which every officer in his majesty's naval service looks up for reward and protection, for having employed the means placed in my disposal in making a successful attack on a possession belonging to the enemy, instead of suffering them to remain inactive and dormant,

mant. Nor do I conceive that it is less unprecedented to criminate an officer entrusted with a command of some importance, for having exercised that discretionary power, without which no service can be carried on with energy or effect, when the result of such an act, so far from having been attended with any ill consequence, has, on the contrary, been glorious to his majesty's arms, and honourable to the country. Yes, sir, the success which crowned the united exertions of general Beresford and myself, seconded by the bravery and perseverance of the land and sea forces under our orders, was proclaimed by his majesty's ministers to the inhabitants of the British metropolis by the usual signal of triumph, and the news of the conquest of Buenos Ayres was reechoed, with exultation and gratitude, throughout every quarter of the united kingdom.

But now to proceed to the charge before you. I trust I shall be able to show, that the discretion I exercised was not only such as, under the circumstances, was fairly admissible, but such as the ministers, under whose orders I sailed to the Cape of Good Hope, fully warranted by their concurrent opinions, at least by the concurrent opinion of those who were understood by all to hold the leading influence in that administration. I shall, however, not only show that an expedition to South America was a favourite object with Mr. Pitt, that he had it in contemplation, and actually took some steps to carry it into execution in the course of his former administration; but that he never lost sight of it, being only restrained from attempting the execution of it by political reasons, which no longer existed, when I felt it my duty, for the interest of my country, to proceed from the Cape of Good Hope upon this long projected expedition.

In the course of the year 1804, a change occurred in the government of the country, soon after which I was appointed to the Antelope, in the Downs, for the purpose of blockading the harbour of Boulogne, in the absence of admiral Louis. While I commanded that ship, lord Melville, then first lord of the admiralty, corresponded with me on the subject of Miranda's plan; and on my coming to Town in the month of October in that year (at which period the probability of a Spanish war had increased) his lordship directed me to consult again with general Miranda, and to digest my ideas on the subject of an expedition against the Spanish settlements in South America, in the form of a memoir. To the best of my recollection, I delivered this document to lord Melville on the 16th October, 1804. Shortly after I was directed to attend Mr. Pitt at Wimbledon, in order that he might converse with me on the various points comprehended in my memoir.

In the month of December, 1804, I was sent for by his majesty's ministers to Deal, and at the same time the Diadem, to which ship I was appointed, was put in commission for the express purpose of my proceeding in her on the intended expedition to South America. Various circumstances, however, occurred to retard the execution of this project; but, with the exception of the short intervals of peace, it had never been relinquished, from the moment the idea

was

was first suggested. These facts, as far as lord Melville was concerned, his lordship will substantiate.

In July, 1805, I received an account of the weak state of the garrison of the Cape of Good Hope, and also learned that a strong squadron was expected there from France. Conceiving that the capture of this settlement, while it would materially contribute to promote the interest of my country, might likewise afford facilities to the projected conquest of the Spanish dependencies on the east coast of South America, which was the main object in the mind of Mr. Pitt, I immediately proposed to him that an armament should sail without delay for the attack of the Cape. This proposal was acceded to, and in the course of a few days I received my instructions to proceed in the Diadem, as commanding officer of all his majesty's ships and vessels destined for that service. Mr. Sturges Bourne, then one of the secretaries of the treasury, was present at the conversation to which I here allude, and will corroborate my account of what passed on the occasion.

On the 29th of July, 1805, I took final leave of Mr. Pitt, with whom I had a long conversation on the original project of an expedition to South America. Mr. Pitt informed me, that, from the negotiation then pending with Russia, it appeared that the emperor Alexander was extremely anxious to attach Spain to the coalition, and that until that matter should be determined, he (Mr. Pitt) felt a delicacy with regard to the commencement of hostile operations in South America; but that as soon as possible after such an overture should have been rejected by the Spanish court, it was his fixed intention to enter on the original project, and attack Spain in that distant, but most vulnerable quarter. I lament extremely that any proceeding should have made it necessary for me to state these particulars relative to the calculations upon a Spanish alliance, but the fault is not mine. Any thing that serves to show the value attached by those from whom I derived my appointment to that object, for the execution of which I am now brought before you as a delinquent, is manifestly proper and requisite for my justification. From what I have stated, it will, I am confident, appear evident to every member of this honourable court, that if the attack on the Cape of Good Hope preceded that on the Spanish settlements, the priority was the result of my own immediate suggestion to the late prime minister. It will likewise, I am persuaded, appear not less obvious to every unprejudiced mind, that on my interview with that illustrious statesman, he fully and unequivocally strengthened the conviction which I entertained of his intention to follow up the capture of the Cape by an attack on the Spanish settlements; for at this final interview, Mr. Pitt desired me to furnish Mr. Huskisson with a memorandum of the names of the gentlemen from whom he was likely to obtain any further information he might want on the subject. Mr. Pitt was then leaving the secretary's room at the treasury, to go into the board-room; and Mr. Huskisson coming in at the other door just at the moment, I instantly communicated to him the

substance

substance of what had passed. The veracity of this allegation will be confirmed to this honourable court by the testimony of Mr. Huskisson.

When this chain of facts shall have been completely established by the concurrent depositions of lord Melville, Mr. Sturges Bourne, and Mr. Huskisson, it will not be necessary for me again to urge to this honourable court, that, on my leaving England, I sailed under the strongest conviction, that after having succeeded in taking the Cape, nothing would contribute so effectually to accomplish the views of those ministers, by whom I had been entrusted with the command, as to strike a blow in South America, before the Spaniards should be prepared against it. In fact, as there was a necessity for the squadron under my command to touch at St. Salvadore for water, on its passage from England to the Cape, it was naturally to be apprehended, from the constant communication between St. Salvadore and the Rio de la Plata, that every information respecting the naval and military force of the armament would be transmitted to the governors of Monte Video and Buenos Ayres. Therefore, under every view of the subject, it was most advisable not to defer the attack on the Spanish possessions. Urgent, however, as these considerations may appear, they were not sufficiently powerful to fix my attention altogether on the immediate execution of the project referred to. Various circumstances remained to be weighed and examined, but none more particularly than the original cause of delay stated by Mr. Pitt, namely, the anxiety of the emperor of Russia to attach Spain to the coalition forming on the continent of Europe at the time I sailed from England.

Early in February, 1806, I received accounts of the termination of the war in India.

In the course of the same month I also received the news of lord Nelson's glorious victory off Trafalgar, and the account of a general coalition against France, from an alliance with which power it was evident the emperor Alexander had not been able to detach Spain.

Towards the end of February, a Danish vessel, which arrived at the Cape, brought English newspapers, giving an account of the fate of the Austrian army.

By the capture of the Volontaire French frigate, on the 4th of March, I learnt the defeat of the Russian army at Austerlitz; that Bonaparte was in possession of Vienna; and that when Willaumez's squadron sailed from Brest, he left in that port no more than six ships of war, of which three only were fit for service. From a German officer, who was taken prisoner in the Volontaire, I also collected such presumptive evidence respecting the ulterior destination of Willaumez's squadron, as induced me to adopt the idea that, after cruizing a certain time on the banks of Languilles, he would put into the Brazils for water and refreshments, and thence proceed to the West Indies, more especially after he should have been informed that the Cape was actually taken by the British forces. Indeed, so strongly did this presumption operate on my mind, that I dispatched a small copper-bottomed transport-brig to admiral Cochrane, at Barbadoes, to apprise him of what I conceived was the

the most likely course to be pursued by Willaumez, as will appear by my letter to Mr. Marsden, dated ——.

I also dispatched the Protector gun-brig to sir Edward Pellew, in India, and the Rolla brig, to endeavour to fall in with whatever British squadron might be employed in the blockade of the Mauritius.

These measures of precaution evince to the honourable court my extreme anxiety to communicate to the commander in chief of his majesty's naval forces in every quarter of the globe, and on every station liable to attack from the enemy's flying squadrons, such intelligence as might enable them to intercept those squadrons, or to act on the defensive, and to afford every protection in their power to the commerce of his majesty's subjects.

I am charged too with having left the Cape exposed to attack and insult. On the contrary, I maintain, that through the well-known zeal, ability, and judgment of lieutenant-general sir David Baird, the Cape of Good Hope was placed in a state of the most perfect security.

Besides, at the time when I left the Cape, the winter season was about to commence, during which no ships can lie in Table Bay with safety.

Independently of these circumstances, I would ask, How often has the Cape been without a single ship of war to assist in its defence during the time it was in possession of the British forces in the late war, and the flag of the naval commanding officer on the station left flying on board of a small vessel, scarcely capable of making any resistance? Indeed, in the immediate expectation of the arrival at the Cape of some men of war from England, I left an order, dated the 13th of April, 1806, addressed to any naval officer who might arrive there, and be junior to myself, by which order he or they were at perfect liberty either to remain at the Cape, or to follow me to the Rio de la Plata, as should appear most for the benefit of his majesty's service, after a consultation with sir David Baird on the subject. If I am asked why I was so anxious to leave the Cape in such apparent haste, as not to wait for the arrival of the men of war from England, my answer is simply this: I was fearful that the delay in my departure from the Cape, added to the probable length of the passage from that promontory to the east coast of South America, might defeat the object of the expedition, by retarding my arrival at the Rio de la Plata until that season, which, from the information I was possessed of respecting the navigation of this river, might render it impossible to sail up high enough to attack either of the settlements of Monte Video or Buenos Ayres.

Another point to which I am desirous to call the attention of this honourable court is this, that from the manner in which the secretary of the admiralty replies to my letter of the 9th of April, wherein I apprised that board of my intended departure for the Rio de la Plata, for the purpose of attacking the Spanish possessions, I had a just right to suppose that the admiralty board did not disapprove of my having sailed with the squadron on that service; for certainly it is rational to infer, that some expression of their displeasure would have been inserted in Mr. Marsden's letter, acknowledging the receipt of mine of the date before mentioned. Am I not therefore justified, sir, in construing

construing the silence observed on this head, as at least a tacit acknowledgement on the part of that board, which has now brought me to trial for having undertaken the expedition against Buenos Ayres without orders, that it did not then excite their dissatisfaction?

But, in truth, the importance which the admiralty now profess to attach to the Cape, seems extremely singular, when contrasted with the opinions, which, from Mr. Marsden's letter to me, acknowledging the receipt of my account of its capture, they appeared to entertain of it; indeed, the tame, the cold terms of that letter would naturally induce an idea, either that the admiralty thought the Cape of little value in itself, or that it was of no consequence comparatively with the ultimate object of the expedition. Really estimating the Cape as it deserves, it would have been reasonable to infer from the letter, that the admiralty were aware of, and highly prized, that ultimate object; but it is difficult to account for their conduct. When the acquisition was made, not one solitary expression of thanks was pronounced upon those to whom it was owing, and yet I am to be condemned for having exposed that acquisition even to imaginary hazard. The importance of the capture was passed over in silence when I might have been gratified; but it is loudly enhanced when the object is to depress me. Whence this difference, I leave it to your reflections, gentlemen; I leave it to the reflections of my country.

My letter of the 9th of April was received by the admiralty board in June last, and it was not till the end of August that admiral Sterling sailed to supersede me, with an order of recall. If my conduct in having engaged in this enterprise had been really disapproved by his majesty's ministers, why, on their perusal of my dispatches, was not the admiralty board directed to send out a fast-sailing vessel to signify to me their disapprobation of my conduct in having sailed to attack the enemy without specific orders to that effect, by which means also, the visionary exposure of the Cape would have been of near three months' duration? No reason whatever can be assigned for their having kept me so long in such a state of anxious suspense, except, indeed, the uncertainty which the British cabinet seems to have been in at the time respecting the conduct to be pursued in the event of my enterprise being crowned with success, on account of the negotiation then pending at Paris.—In truth, sir, it is manifest, from every view of the conduct of the admiralty board, that at that time they had no intention whatever to arraign me for this successful exercise of the discretionary power with which I maintain every commanding officer, on a distant station, is vested, and which he has a right to exert for the good of his country. The supersession, I conceive, was meant as the extreme measure of punishment.

Indeed, sir, were not our naval and military commanders, employed in foreign service, and in distant quarters, allowed a latitude for the exercise of their discretion, what ill consequences would often arise to his majesty's service!

Numerous precedents exist which fully illustrate the truth of this position, some of which may probably occur to the recollection of the members of the court. Amongst

others which present themselves to my memory at this moment, I shall beg leave to mention the *coup-de-main* which put the British crown in possession of Gibraltar. Sir Geo. Rooke had no orders for undertaking that bold enterprise, nor was he arraigned by his superiors at home, for having exercised his discretion on that occasion: on the contrary, his majesty did every honour to his enterprising mind.

In the American war, sir Peter Parker, I believe, and general Dalling, the then naval and military commanders at Jamaica, concerted an expedition against the Spanish settlement at Omoah, which was to a certain degree successful. No blame, I understand, was attached to either of those officers, for having directed this attack without orders.

At the beginning of the late war, 1793, lord Hood entered Toulon, and afterwards attacked Corsica, without orders, and, *I believe*, against the opinion of the general, who would not cooperate with him. Yet that admiral was not brought before a court-martial for having so acted; or was it ever known that his conduct was censured.

In 1796, lord St. Vincent (then sir John Jervis) sent the heroic Nelson to attack Tenerife, in consequence of information which he received, that two ships had loaded their treasure there. Every person is acquainted with the issue of that expedition, which lost to the country so many brave men, on account of which, notwithstanding the disastrous result of this intended *coup-de-main*, which was incontestably undertaken without orders from any superior authority, it is certain that no public inquiry was ever instituted against lord St. Vincent, although, if an opinion were to be framed from the event only, without considering the motives of the enterprise, there would perhaps appear sufficient ground on which an accusation might have been expected and supported against that commander. But let the court particularly look at the letter recently published from that illustrious officer lord Nelson to sir Simon Taylor, of Jamaica, relative to his discretion in going from the Mediterranean to the West Indies.

These precedents, sir, will clearly prove the existence and toleration of that discretionary power on which I have acted.

I have said, sir, that when the admiralty learnt by my letter of the 9th of April, that I had sailed with the squadron under my orders for the Rio de la Plata, that board did not at first apparently disapprove of my conduct; and I think I am borne out in this conclusion by the tenor of Mr. Marsden's letter, acknowledging mine of the date last mentioned. The letter in question is dated August 6, and is in the following terms:

"Sir,—I have received and communicated to my lords commissioners of the admiralty your letter of the 8th of April last, informing them of your intended proceedings with the squadron under your orders. I am, &c.

"Wm. Marsden."

Now, sir, on comparing the preceding letter, with a letter from Mr. Marsden, dated the 1st of March 1806, in answer to one from me conveying a piece of intelligence which I cannot but suppose must have been gratifying, the two letters will prove to be written exactly in the same style. The letter of the 1st of March is as follows:

"Sir,—

"Sir,—I have received and laid before my lords commissioners of the admiralty your letter of the 13th of January last, with the several papers therein referred to, relative to the capitulation of the town and Cape of Good Hope.

"I am, sir, yours, &c.

"WM. MARSDEN."

The conclusion which I think every unprejudiced man would draw from the perusal of these two letters is, that if the admiralty board did not judge proper to express to me any approbation, not merely of my own conduct, as commander of the naval force employed in the reduction of the Cape, but that of the officers and seamen who contributed to this conquest, still the board could not well be displeased with it; and that by their secretary having left me also in the dark, or rather to my own conjectures, in his reply to my letter acquainting him of my having sailed with the squadron to the Rio de la Plata, it was equally presumable that the board did not then disapprove of my having proceeded on that expedition,—that is, by the tone and character of the two letters, they looked upon the capture of the Cape, and the arrangement of the squadron's sailing to Rio de la Plata, precisely in the same point of view, or that one was as likely to meet their approbation, or to prove advantageous to the country, as the other.

Sir Home Popham having concluded his defence, which lasted about four hours, the deputy judge advocate proceeded to call over the names of the witnesses who were summoned to appear at the court-martial, to give their testimony as to their knowledge of the transactions and orders, &c. given to sir Home Popham.

The witnesses having answered to their names, were directed to withdraw, and wait until their respective evidence were called for.

Lord Melville sworn, and examined by sir Home Popham.

Q. Will your lordship have the goodness to relate to the court all the circumstances in your recollection, respecting the communications I held with Mr. Pitt and your lordship, collectively and individually, respecting the expedition to South America?

A. Some time after I came to the head of the board of admiralty, I had occasion to learn, that the administration preceding that of which I formed a part held communications with general Miranda, respecting some project he entertained relative to South America. I did not immediately give much attention to that subject, because, not being then at war with Spain, I did not think that, consistently with that consideration, this country could take any active part in the business. In the progress of the summer of the year 1804, and particularly towards the autumn of that year, I had little doubt, from the official situation I held at the head of the admiralty, and from communications with the heads of other public departments, that such a war would soon take place. I therefore thought it my duty, through sir Evan Nepean and others, who I had reason to think were acquainted with what passed under the former administration, to inform myself more minutely relatively to the views of general Miranda. I likewise had more than one confidential communication with general Miranda himself; and the result of my opinion was, that, although it might not be wise or expedient, or perhaps within the

means of this country, at that time to commit themselves to the full extent, it was of the utmost consequence to this country so far to watch the progress of his operations as to make use of them, if they could be made subservient to the purposes of opening the ports of South America to the trade and manufactures of this country; and upon that principle, as well as upon every other public subject, I had almost daily communications, both in town and at Wimbledon, with Mr. Pitt, then at the head of the government. The subject was more familiar to my consideration, because, for many years past, particularly in 1796, I had occasion to consider it very maturely in concert with the then board of admiralty. I was at that time secretary of state for the war department. In consequence of the conversations I had with Mr. Pitt, as already mentioned, about the month of October or November, and in consequence of the war with Spain, from the capture of four French frigates, I desired sir Home Popham to attend me, in order that he might be at hand to attend Mr. Pitt and myself at any time we had occasion to consult him; and I think about the same time the ship Diadem being vacant, I wrote a letter to sir Home, dated Wimbledon, 1st Nov. 1804, stating that gen. Miranda not being more urgent with them than with me, as he thought we were at war with Spain, to commence an attack on Spanish America, and not knowing any thing more convenient than to place sir Home on board the Diadem, the letter directed him, if the weather was fair, to come up. This letter was not signed by the official secretary, but sent by myself. Sir Home Popham came in consequence; I had many communications with him, in consequence of the conversations held with Mr. Pitt, from day to day, on this subject, and those communications continued during the period I remained at the head of the admiralty. I ceased to be in that situation immediately after the 8th of April, 1805. I had many interviews with Mr. Pitt after that period, indeed during the whole remaining period of his life, till our final separation in the beginning of the year 1806: from that time I ceased to be his colleague in office, and I made it an invariable rule to avoid all conversation with him upon subjects of a political nature, so that, from my own knowledge, I can speak to nothing after the 8th of April, 1805, but the last time I saw Mr. Pitt was in 1806.

Q. Does your lordship recollect directing me to attend Mr. Pitt, at Wimbledon, when we discussed all Miranda's views? and when there was no person present but yourself and him?

A. I recollect such a circumstance, and interview, but cannot charge my memory with the precise month.

Q. Was it on the night of the day that Mr. Pitt went to Weymouth to the king?

A. It was very likely to be on that night, as he went from my house.

Q. Does your lordship recollect, after conversing with Mr. Pitt on that subject, as to the readiest way for forwarding all the views of gen. Miranda, Mr. Pitt's directing me to draw up, in concert with him, a memoir, explaining all the views of general Miranda, from time to time communicated to me, and delivering it, through myself, or by him, to Mr. Pitt?

A. I recollect perfectly well receiving

ceiving such a memorial, and being very glad to know the full extent of general Miranda's views; but certainly avoided to commit myself, or the British government, beyond the object I have already stated relative to South America; upon which subject I had certainly entertained a most anxious wish at that time, and almost from that time until I was called to take the public concerns under my more immediate consideration, and that anxiety certainly never diminished, but much increased in consequence of all the events which for some years past had taken place in the East Indies, the West Indies, and above all, on the continent of Europe.

Q. In consequence of your lordship's great pressure of business, it is possible you may not recollect all the circumstances relative to this object as well as myself, who had nothing else to think of; but you may recollect employing me to draw up such a memoir?

A. I certainly did employ you to draw up such a memoir, and I thought I expressed myself so before.

Q. Does your lordship, when you did me the honor to appoint me to the Diadem, recollect that it was for prosecuting some of the plans mentioned in the said memoir?

A. When sir Home Popham was appointed to the Diadem, the object then immediately in view was to co-operate, either with or without Miranda, in such objects as, mentioned in the memoir, might be thought conducive to the interests of Britain.

Q. Does your lordship recollect so far as to bring under your contemplation, whether the season was so far advanced, that the part in which I was particularly to be employed was to restrict me to the particular object of the Cape, or to allow me a discretion of prosecuting other objects, with a view to open the markets of South America?

A. Undoubtedly the South American market was the great object; but I cannot speak to any further details at so early a period of the business. The business was not so far advanced as to be the subject of detailed instructions, which might have fixed the particulars more firmly in my memory. It occurs to me, at this moment, as not improbable that the coast of South America, in the neighbourhood of Trinidad, was at one time looked upon as a probable scene for operations.

Q. On hearing of the capture of Buenos Ayres, did your lordship consider it as an object materially advancing the great object Mr. Pitt and you had in view with respect to South America?

Mr. Jarvis objected to this question; but the court considered it a mere question of opinion, and overruled the objection.

Sir Home Popham said, that by the question he only meant to prove the opinion of the cabinet as to their original plan of attacking South America, and their design to follow up that intention.

Mr. Jarvis answered, that it was quite sufficient for him that the court objected to his opinion, to induce him to relinquish it.

A. No doubt the capture of Buenos Ayres was highly beneficial to the object we had in view; but I am by no means sure if I may not have taken that impression from the circumstance of Buenos Ayres having been one of the specific objects in view when the armament was in contemplation in the year

1793; I remember there was an armament then in contemplation which was to go round Cape Horn, and take Buenos Ayres in its way.

Q. Does your lordship recollect my having been confidentially employed, both in the late and present war, by different members of the cabinet?

A. I certainly know sir Home Popham was employed confidentially by the different members of the cabinet which he alludes to.

Q. Is it in your lordship's contemplation, that, in the execution of those instructions, circumstances arose which were not provided for in my instructions, nor indeed could they be; and that under these circumstances I exercised any very large discretion to obtain the great object for which I was so employed; I particularly allude to one of my missions to the court of St. Petersburgh?

Mr. Jarvis objected to the question, upon the grounds, that the prisoner sought to infer that, because he had, upon other occasions, exercised an enlarged discretion, he was therefore warranted to do so on this occasion.

Sir Home Popham.—I used it to show that I was meeting the object of the government by whom I was so employed, and as a justification for my deviating from my original instructions.

The Court.—You have no occasion to trouble yourself as to having before exercised an enlarged discretion; you had no reasonable right to presume, that the exercise of a large discretion, in this case, was admissible; and it is the business of sir Home Popham to show, that officers had generally exercised a discretionary power.

Lord Melville.—I really would state the affair fully, but I am extremely embarrassed upon the subject, lest I may be led to disclose confidential matter which should not be made public. But I may give a general answer; that I know, sir Home Popham has been employed confidentially, and has received the full approbation of government.

Admiral Stanhope.—He may, I think, answer this question, in order to show, that sir Home Popham was, upon other occasions, permitted to exercise discretionary powers.

Cross examined by Mr. Jarvis.

Q. Was sir Home Popham appointed by your lordship to the Diadem with a view to carry offensive operations against South America, and what part of it in particular?

A. I believe sir H. Popham was appointed to that ship with a view of cooperating with general Miranda, to the extent of taking advantage of any of his proceedings, which would lead to the acquiring, on the continent of South America, a trade favourable to this country; but I do not recollect any precise place having been appointed.

Q. Was sir Home Popham appointed by your lordship to any command authorising him to attack any part of South America?

A. Certainly not, in the proper sense of the word.

Q. Is there any note, or official document, on the records of the admiralty, in your lordship's recollection, stating the object for which sir Home Popham was appointed to the Diadem?

A. I cannot speak with absolute certainty, but I should think there is not.

Q. Your lordship has said, that Buenos Ayres was the principal object in view, when the armanent

was

was in contemplation, in 1796; had your lordship that place in contemplation at any time since the breaking out of the present Spanish war, up to the time your lordship retired from office?

A. At all times, and in every conversation I have had with Mr. Pitt, I make no doubt Buenos Ayres was often the subject of discussion. My reason for being so confident of this is, that in all the consideration I gave to the subject of South America, whether the attack was to be made upon a larger or smaller scale, I always considered the Rio de la Plata as the most important position of the interests of Great Britain on that side of South America.

Q. I would take the liberty of asking your lordship whether, with those opinions, it was determined by his majesty's then ministers to make any attack upon Buenos Ayres, and whether sir Home Popham was appointed to any command for that purpose?

A. I do not believe that his majesty's government had ever collectively come to any resolution to make any attack upon South America; and it will be recollected, after what I have already stated, that it was only for a few months after the beginning of 1805 I remained in office.

Q. By the Court.—Whether were the objects, upon which sir Home was employed by his majesty's ministers, in which he used his discretion, and his conduct, approved of? Was he employed as a captain in his majesty's navy, or on service of a nature distinct and different from the naval service?

A. Upon those of the latter description, except one circumstance in the Red Sea, which admits of some exception.

By sir Home Popham.

Q. Was it customary to enter a minute at the admiralty, when an officer was selected by the cabinet, or the leading members of it, to make the necessary preparations for secret service which was afterwards to be submitted to their consideration?

A. Certainly not.

Mr. Sturgess Bourne was next examined; but his evidence was of little importance.

Mr. Huskisson sworn, and examined by sir Home Popham.

Q. Had you any conversation with Mr. Pitt, in the year 1805, on the subject of South America, and particularly Buenos Ayres; and did you by his directions take any steps respecting myself?

A. I had many frequent conversations with Mr. Pitt on the subject of South America, and I might say particularly with respect to Buenos Ayres

Q. Have the goodness to state the nature of those conversations with Mr. Pitt in general; but I do not wish to exact from you any thing that can affect the interests of the state, or of individuals, however materially such disclosures might serve my purpose.

A. I believe, almost on every occasion Mr. Pitt conversed with me on the subject of South America, his attention was called to that part of the globe particularly by some incident or occurrence. A person brought to me a plan or chart of the Rio de la Plata, which had been recently, as he informed me, published at Paris, the original being taken from the *depôt* of the king of Spain at Madrid; and he added, that he had intelligence which led him to believe that plan

would shortly be of use to some part of the French navy, who would probably find their way with troops to that settlement. Knowing this person was one on whom Mr. Pitt could place reliance, I felt it my duty to communicate to Mr. Pitt what that person told me. Mr. Pitt stated to me, generally, the views he entertained with respect to South America; and he generally conceived that it would be of the utmost consequence to this country to maintain our naval superiority, and the facilities to which that superiority would enable us in distant operations against South America, if obliged to carry on the war, as the success of the confederacy on the continent of Europe did not correspond with his wishes, and it was also desirable to prevent the French doing that which they certainly would do, if not anticipated; namely, by our taking possession of the Spanish settlements in South America: he was therefore disposed to give credit to the person who gave that information, and hoped we should be beforehand with the superiority of naval resources. This was the general subject of the conversation. I can only state very generally the purport of Mr. Pitt's desire, but I cannot say more, without being so guarded as scarcely to render myself intelligible. I did take further steps to obtain information respecting Buenos Ayres, and put a series of questions to learn whether any French force were likely to arrive there, and also took preliminary steps with a view to facilitate the capture by a British force. Those steps were taken very shortly after the explanations were given to sir Home, and the person spoken of in these conversations as a person with whom he had communicated, and who had given him much information upon the subject.

Q. I think you said Mr. Pitt desired you to take some preliminary steps, as, in case of the continuance of the war, it would be of great importance to commence operations in South America, and still greater to anticipate the supposed views of France in that quarter of the world. Do you know of any circumstances which happened to occasion him to change his opinion as to the value he set on the objects of his views in South America?

A. I believe his views in South America were not confined to the mere object of introducing British manufactures; but I have no occasion for belief that any of his views, with respect to that country, were at all changed.

Q. Do you think his views materially increased by the extraordinary and rapid successes of the French on the continent, and from shutting up the ports of the continent against our trade?

A. I believe they were.

Cross-examined by Mr. Jarvis.

Q. Did Mr. Pitt at any time state to you, that sir Home Popham had any positive or provisional instructions to proceed to South America after the reduction of the Cape, in the event of success in that quarter?

A. I never understood that he had such instructions.

Q. Do you not know, from conversations with Mr. Pitt, that he had not in his contemplation the attack of Buenos Ayres after the reduction of the Cape?

A. From the conversations I have had with Mr. Pitt, I rather understood that any attack upon Buenos Ayres

Ayres was not in his contemplation when sir Home Popham sailed for the Cape.

Fourth Day.

Mr. Marsden, chief secretary of the admiralty, was now examined, but his evidence went to no particular point.—Captain King, and several other gentlemen, were then examined, who deposed to the admirable character and officer-like conduct of sir Home.

Fifth Day.

The court having met, with the usual ceremonies, sir Home Popham having taken his place, the president addressed him nearly as follows:—

"Sir Home Popham, the court did not consider your defence closed yesterday at its rising; you are therefore at liberty to proceed in calling further evidence in support of your defence."

Sir Home Popham.—I feel I am highly obliged to the court for their indulgence, and by no means wish to trespass further on the time of the court. I had three or four witnesses more to examine, but they chiefly go to corroborate the evidence of captain King; I do not, therefore, now mean to call them; but that it may not go abroad to the world that I had but one solitary witness to support my defence, I request, as an indulgence from the court, that an entry may be made of their names upon the minutes of its proceedings, as having been adduced by me.

The president.—As far as the evidence goes to answer the charge, it would be perfectly right that you should examine witnesses. The court are of opinion, that you be at liberty to have the names of those witnesses entered as proposed to be called by you, and that the court were perfectly satisfied, but did not think it necessary.

Sir Home Popham.—I am truly grateful for the indulgence of the court, and perfectly satisfied with what they have done me the honour to propose. I had intended to call captain Parker, who had formerly sailed from his station off the Cape to Rio de la Plata, conceiving it to be within the limits of his command. I also intended to have called Mr. Maclean, who was the secretary and confidential agent of admiral Christian, to show that he had secret orders for an attack upon the Spanish settlements; and I also meant to have called captain Dundas as a precedent analogous to my case. I shall further request the court to permit me to deliver in a number of papers, all of which, except a very few, have already been read in the course of my defence; and this I do to the end that it may not appear in the minutes of this trial, that I have no documentary evidence to bear me out in the statement made in my defence. I trust that all the communications between the board of admiralty and myself will be admitted as proper evidence.

The list of papers was then read, and admitted as evidence.

Sir Home then concluded his defence, by addressing the court to the following effect:—"I have now closed my defence, and throw myself upon the wisdom and justice of this honourable court. My feelings and my character have suffered, but I trust your judgment will relieve the one, and your wisdom and discernment rescue the other. If in my zeal I have exceeded the strict limits of discretion, I hope it will

will be allowed that I have been actuated solely by a desire to promote the honour, the glory, and the interests of my country. In the prosecution of those great objects, it has been my good fortune to add to his majesty's possessions two great capitals, of two opposite quarters of the globe; and upon a close examination of my defence, I trust it will appear,

'This is the head and front of my offending.'

"I rely that my conduct, though perhaps erroneous, through the excess of my zeal, was excusable for its motives, before this court and my country. And that the result will justify the hope I now entertain of an honourable acquittal."

The court being now cleared, the members continued in deliberation for nearly four hours.

At a quarter before three the doors were opened, and the auditory admitted.

Sir Home Popham having taken his place, the deputy judge advocate proceeded to deliver the judgment of the court. He first read the charge against sir Home, and continued to the following effect:

"The court is of opinion that the charges have been proved against the said sir Home Popham:—that the withdrawing, without orders so to do, the whole of any naval force from the place wherein it is directed to be employed, and the employing it in distant operations against the enemy, more especially if the success of such operations should be likely to prevent its speedy return, may be attended with the most serious inconvenience to the public service; as the success of any plan formed by his majesty's ministers for operations against the enemy, in which such naval force might be included, may, by such removal, be entirely prevented. And the court is further of opinion, that the conduct of the said captain sir Home Popham, in the withdrawing the whole of the naval force under his command from the Cape of Good Hope, and the proceeding therewith to the Rio de la Plata, was highly censurable; but, in consideration of circumstances, doth adjudge him to be only severely reprimanded, and he is accordingly severely reprimanded."

Upon sir Home Popham getting out of the ship into the boat, he was cheered by acclamations from a vast number of boats which waited the issue of the trial, and also from an immense multitude assembled on the beach. As soon as sir Home had landed, the acclamations were repeated, and the horses were taken from the carriage that waited to convey him to his lodgings; which sir Home perceiving, he declined entering the carriage, and, after thanking the people for their attention, exhorted them to disperse, in order that no improper imputation should be attached to their conduct. But the people continued to follow him until he reached the house of captain Madden, and expressing, as they went along, the strongest interest in his fate.

SUSSEX ASSIZES, CROWN SIDE.

17. James Vaughan Everell, a genteel young man, aged twenty-four, was indicted for maliciously pointing a pistol, loaded with ball, at Victor Amadee Raymond, and pulling the trigger, with intent to murder him.

Mr. Courthope stated, that this was a case of melancholy atrocity on

on the part of the prisoner, who was the son-in-law of the prosecutor, against whom he snapped the pistol, with intent to murder him. The prosecutor, Mr. Raymond, had many years kept a school of great respectability, at Lewes, in that county, and the defendant came into his family in January 1805, as an usher. While he was there, he paid his addresses to the prosecutor's daughter, but without the knowledge of the prosecutor. They at length eloped together, and were married. The young woman, however, lived with him but a short time, being, from the ill treatment of the prisoner, obliged again to seek the shelter of her father's house. She was actually living with him at the time of the present transaction, which occurred on the 31st of November last. On that day the prisoner came to Lewes, and wished to have an interview with his wife; but access to the house was denied him. He immediately wrote a note to Mr. Cripps, the magistrate at Lewes, complaining that he could not see his wife and child, and begging that gentleman's interference to procure an interview. The gentleman accordingly went to Mr. Raymond, who agreed to see the prisoner, but in the presence of Mr. Cripps, as he would not venture alone to encounter the violence of his temper. Mr. Cripps accordingly accompanied the prisoner to Mr. Raymond's, and he was there shown his wife and child. He asked his wife if she would live with him, provided he could get the means to support her? She replied, that she would, if he would not misconduct himself in the manner he had hitherto done. He then requested to be left alone with his wife; which being refused, his demeanour became so outrageous, that Mr. Cripps thought it necessary to order him to be turned out of the house. He immediately went away, but returned again about four o'clock, and knowing the ways of the house, he gained access to the parlour-door without being observed, where he found Mr. Raymond and one of his scholars. He immediately drew a pistol, and snapped it at Mr. Raymond; but fortunately it flashed in the pan, otherwise the shot would probably have proved fatal.

Victor Amadee Raymond, the prosecutor, stated the interview and conversation, as detailed by the counsel; he added, that as he was sitting at tea in the parlour, he heard the door open, and supposing it was his assistant, he said "Walk in," without lifting his eyes from a letter which he was reading.—But hearing a voice exclaim, "Now, God d—n you," he looked up and saw the prisoner, who pulled a pistol from under his coat and snapped it at him. The pistol flashed in the pan; he attempted to wrest it from the prisoner, but the latter being the strongest prevented him, and closing the pan, he snapped it at him a second time. The house being alarmed, the prisoner retreated.

Thomas Whiteman, the constable, stated, that he apprehended the prisoner at the end of Mr. Raymond's garden wall. When he first saw the prisoner, and offered to lay hold of him, he presented the pistol at the witness, and afterwards snapped it at his own head.

The prisoner, in his defence, urged, that he was driven to desperation by the prosecutor having allured the affections of his wife from

from him, and said that he meant to have shot himself in the presence of his wife. Verdict—*Guilty*.

When he was sentenced he prayed for mercy, and desired to be sent from England for ever.

MURDER OF MRS. POOLEY.

20. On Friday, John Maycock and John Pope were indicted for the wilful murder of Anna Maria Pooley, at Horselydown, on the 9th of August.

The common serjeant opened the prosecution with great ability, and narrated the facts to the jury, which were proved in evidence.

Mrs. Sarah Pooley, sister of the deceased, stated that her sister lived by herself at Horselydown, and in so retired a manner, that her windows, which looked into the street, were constantly kept shut. The last time she saw her was on the 26th of July last, when she called to pay her some money, and in consequence of information she received of her sister not having been seen for some time, steps were taken which led to the discovery of the murder. Witness stated, that her sister always kept money.

John Mackwell Garrat forced his way into the house of the deceased, by desire of her sister, on the 20th of August. Having done so, he found the deceased dead in the wash-house, lying on her back, and the body in a putrefied state, insomuch that it was impossible to ascertain whether there were marks of violence about her. Her pockets were turned inside out, and some trifling articles were lying by her; and on witness going over the house he found that the drawers, &c. had been ransacked. Witness opened the door, and let in a Mr. and Mrs. Humphries, and it was discovered that some bricks had been taken out of the wash-house, by which a person might unbolt the window-shutters, which he found fastened.

Thomas Burgess, a corn-porter, who was at work with Maycock, was taken ill on Thursday, and on the Friday he heard of the murder of Mrs. Pooley. He also knew the prisoner Pope, the Barleymow public-house, and that of the deceased. About two months before he heard of the murder, Maycock informed him, as they were going to work, that he would put him into a good thing if he would go with him to rob the house of an elderly lady, who had always money by her, and who lived alone, and kept her house shut up, and who could easily be done out of her property. The prisoner did not say where the house was, nor did the witness inquire.—The prisoner described the man who was to go with them as a Ware bargeman, but the witness did not consent to be of the party. On hearing of the murder, and the house where it was committed answering the description of that described by Maycock, the witness gave information before Mr. Graham the magistrate, which led to the detection of the prisoners.

A body of evidence was here produced to prove that Maycock had plenty of money after the murder of Mrs. Pooley, without having any visible means of getting it; and tradesmen proved having sold him various articles to some amount.

John Gray, at whose house Maycock lodged, proved his having been absent from Saturday evening to Sunday night, the morning of the day

day when the murder was supposed to have been committed, in company with Pope. On the return of the prisoner in the evening, he was particularly anxious to know if any one had inquired for him, and the wives of the two prisoners were waiting for him at that moment.

Mr. Graham, the magistrate, here produced a written confession made by the prisoner Pope, in his presence; but he had never advised Pope so to do, but on the contrary had cautioned him against the measure. It appeared that a proclamation had been issued by his majesty, offering a reward for the apprehension of the party concerned in the murder, and for the pardon of an accomplice, who was not actually the person who inflicted death. This proclamation had been shown to Pope by Mr. Graham, and he afterwards confessed being one of the party, in a letter to Mr. Graham, which also expressed a hope of his majesty's pardon.

Mr. Gurney submitted to the bench, on behalf of the prisoner Pope, that he was entitled to an acquittal by virtue of the proclamation, he having made a full confession. After a good deal of argument the learned counsel carried his point, and a verdict of acquittal was taken for Pope, who was afterwards put in the witness box to give evidence against the prisoner Maycock. Here another point was argued, on an objection taken by Mr. Lawes, counsel for Maycock, who contended that Pope was not a legal witness after having been indicted. His objection was overruled.

Pope stated that Maycock advised him to assist him in robbing the house of Mrs. Pooley, and on the 9th of August the plan was put into execution. The following is the substance of Pope's testimony: They were drinking together at the Barley-mow, on the evening of Saturday, the 8th, the back premises of which house are contiguous to those of the late Mrs. Pooley. At ten o'clock at night Pope began to pull out the bricks, and having succeeded, he unbolted the shutter, entered the house, and opened the door for his companion. They were prevented from getting further by the door of the wash-house being fastened; and they were until day-light attempting in vain to open it. They returned to a cellar and waited till Mrs. Pooley came down. On her opening the door which was fastened, Maycock met her, and the old lady cried Oh! This was at eight o'clock in the morning, and Maycock held her throat until she was strangled. They then rifled the drawers, &c. of the house, and got 90*l.* which they divided, and remained in the house until ten o'clock at night to prevent detection, at which hour they went out at the street door. Maycock rifled the pockets of the deceased and took the keys therefrom. The jury without hesitation found the prisoner guilty, and the judge in passing sentence observed, it was a murder the most barbarous and cold-blooded he had ever heard or read of.

The prisoner was ordered for execution on Monday, and his body to be dissected. The prisoner often laughed during the trial; and sentence being passed on him, he observed on going from the dock "Thank ye for that; I am done snug enough."

John Augustus, who was indicted for the murder of Peter Williams,

liams, on board an American ship in the river, was found guilty of manslaughter.

MURDER OF MR. CHIVERS.

William Duncan was indicted on a charge of the murder of William Chivers, esq. in the parish of Battersea.

The witnesses brought home the charge very strongly to the prisoner, who, when called upon for his defence, thus expressed himself:

"I beg leave to assure your lordship that I never bore Mr. Chivers any malice whatever. On Saturday morning I had been employed in digging some ground, and with my spade in my hand I went to the green-house to give it some air, and there I left my spade. I then went for some refreshment, at eleven o'clock in the morning, as was usual, and on going into the kitchen I saw the footman, of whom I asked how long it was since Mr. Chivers went out. I then went into the garden, and to the green-house, into which I let a little more air. I then went with my spade in my hand and looked at a vine. I saw Mr. Chivers, told him that I had finished my digging, and said, I was sorry to have left so good a place, and now to be turned off. A few words passed between Mr. Chivers and me, and the last expression he used when I had the spade in my hand was, 'You scoundrel, I will break your skull.' He shook his cane over me; he made an attempt to strike at me, when I, turning aside, escaped; he again endeavoured to strike, and I avoided the blow. After this he followed me up with his cane, and I then had, as I before said, a spade in my hand. I raised the spade, and to my surprise it struck him.

"Immediately afterwards, I went into the green-house, with the full intention of taking away my own life, but I had not sufficient courage to do it. I then went into the kitchen, and called Henry, who said, 'What is the matter?' and I replied, 'Good Lord, I have struck my master, and he fell.' I then went out towards Clapham, and the first persons I saw were a butler and a gardener. I went to the garden of Mr. Robert Thornton, and asked for Mr. Dixon, who is one of the gardeners. They said he was cutting a vine, but they went to him, and Mr. Dixon sent me word that I might come to him. I asked if any body was with him, and they said 'Yes.' I then desired to speak to him alone, and Mr. Dixon inquired if I had any thing particular to mention, and I told him 'Yes.' The first words I said were, 'I have ruined myself.' He inquired 'What is the matter?' I said 'I am afraid I have killed my master.' He then said it was a dreadful thing, and that I had better go back and resign myself into the hands of justice. Upon this I observed to him, that if I should be executed, I should be glad if he would write to Scotland, and inform my friends there that I had died suddenly. He said that he would, and I then came back towards Mr. Chivers's house, and my heart failed me. I turned again, but I had not gone far before I met a man, who said to me, 'Are you Mr. Chivers's gardener?' He then told me I must go with him; and I replied, 'With all my heart.' He said that this was a very dreadful thing, and added, that

that he was very sorry for me; to which I answered, 'I am sorry also, but I am afraid that it is too late.' After this I was taken to Wandsworth, where I underwent an examination. I was then committed to Horsemonger-lane, and from thence I have been brought here to take my trial."

The witnesses for the prisoner were then called to his character.

The chief baron, after stating the nature of the indictment, said that the prisoner was accused of having murdered his master. He had given a detailed account of the transactions referred to in the evidence; and the jury would recollect, that in considering his narrative it was fair to allow what he said in his own favour, as well as what he said against himself. The question was this: If there was a previous design in the breast of the prisoner to perpetrate the crime of murder; or if, being threatened, provoked, or assaulted, he did this act from the passion of the moment? In the latter case the crime in law was extremely different from that of wilful murder. It was not easy to suppose that there should be such a diabolical design formed in a short space of time.

His lordship here entered into a general review of the facts in evidence, and then concluded:—"By the witnesses who have appeared on the part of the defendant, he seems to be, in their judgment, a very moral young man. You are to judge, if you think it was a deliberate intention; or if it were the ebullition of anger at the instant, under the circumstances of provocation stated. If the design sprang up on Wednesday which was executed on Saturday, the offence will be murder; but if it were not previously formed, then there was no execution of such a deliberate intention; and he will be acquitted of the capital part of the charge."

The jury, after having conferred for a considerable time, found the prisoner Guilty of murder.

The prisoner, during the whole of the time, conducted himself with great composure. He was a tall athletic man, of respectable appearance.

At the Worcester assizes a traverse was tried upon an indictment against John Lester, late of Coventry, for enticing and inveigling from the guardianship of her father, Susannah Hyett, she being under 21 years of age, and procuring the solemnization of matrimony between himself and the said Susannah Hyett, in a secret and clandestine manner, against the will of her father. The jury pronounced him Guilty; and the learned judge, after declaring the marriage null and void, sentenced him to be imprisoned in the Worcester gaol for the space of twelve calendar months, and to stand in the pillory for one hour on a market day during the said term.

20. John Muckett, convicted of the wilful murder of his wife, at Colchester, in September last, was at length executed for the offence. He was a private soldier in the 1st battalion of the 4th foot.

The miserable culprit was brought upon the platform at half past eight, when he addressed the spectators in a firm and audible manner, acknowledging the justice of his sentence; though he solemnly declared he had not the most distant idea of causing the death of his wife, when, in the intemperance of passion, he inflicted the blows which had been the occasion of terminating her existence; and earnestly exhorted the spectators

tors to bear in mind the dreadful example they had then before them, of the consequence of suffering a sudden impulse of anger to get the better of the understanding.

KINGSTON ASSIZES.

21. Thos. Greenaway, *alias* William White, *alias* Weeping Billy, was tried on an indictment, charging him with the wilful murder of Elizabeth Winterflood, or Ann Webb, in Higler's lane, on the 22d August last.

Mr. Morris opened the prosecution, and was followed on the same side by Mr. Gurney, who, in a humane speech, explained the nature of the defence he had to offer in support of the case. The jury would have no positive evidence come before them regarding the prisoner at the bar, for such is seldom the case in a charge of murder, where the assassin seeks darkness for the concealment of his diabolical purpose, and consequently offenders of this description were generally brought to justice by circumstances which it was the province of juries to weigh.

The learned counsel warned the jury against entertaining any prejudice that might have arisen in their minds at the horrid deed with which the prisoner stood charged. It were laudable in a jury to confine themselves within the bounds of entertaining a virtuous emotion against the crime of murder; but if they suffered their minds to be influenced, that warmth became vicious and misplaced. The circumstances the learned counsel had to offer were the following: The prisoner had said he slept on the morning of the murder, where he should prove he had not slept, and that he was seen about the time the murder had been committed, near the spot, and he then appeared confused. This latter circumstance would be proved by two witnesses. He had also denied his real name, and that he knew the deceased. The learned counsel concluded by recommending the jury to weigh well the facts he should adduce in evidence, and, at the same time, to carry in their minds that the life of the prisoner depended on their verdict.

The first witness called was Todman, the watchman, who found the body of the deceased, with her head reclining against the step of the door of Mr. Gibbs's house, in Higler's lane, between two and three o'clock on the morning of the 22d of August. A waggon was being loaded on Mr. Gibbs's premises, at twenty minutes before two o'clock, and witness then saw a man standing at the head of it, and on his asking his business he went away. Witness described the deceased as lying with her garments stripped up to her arm-pits, and he found articles of her apparel lying in a cart which was tilted up. A handkerchief which was supposed to have been tied round the neck of the deceased sufficient to have produced suffocation, had been cut, and the knot left untied.

Mr. Gibbs, who heard his dogs bark at about a quarter before three o'clock, was then alarmed, and arose; and on the watchman calling three o'clock, he gave witness the alarm of the murder.

Mr. Prince, a surgeon, who examined the body, was of opinion that the deceased had been strangled by the handkerchief. He saw a piece of fleshy substance the size of a small nut, which had been taken off the body of the deceased by

by an instrument, to all appearance; and there must have been a good deal of violence used towards her, from the appearance of her neck, and other lacerations. On comparing the fleshy substance with that part of the body from which it had been taken, it corresponded with it.

Mary Horner, the principal witness for the prosecution, who resided in Higler's lane, stated that she went to the house of a neighbour between one and two o'clock on the morning that the murder was committed, and on her return (in about a quarter of an hour) she saw a woman sitting at Mr. Tucker's door in Higgler's lane, with her head reclining on her bosom, her left hand in her lap, and her right hanging by her side. On witness going to her own house, which was only a few yards distant from where she had seen the woman, she saw the prisoner behind some railing which separates the foot-path from the horse road; and on being rather alarmed, witness asked him if he was a watchman: he replied no; and with an oath, and apparently much agitated, he exclaimed he wanted a watchman.

On witness going into her house, the reflection of a candle in her passage gave her a full view of the face of the prisoner, and she could not mistake his person. He wore a shabby hat, a good deal turned up. She had seen the prisoner in Cold Bath Fields prison, and she knew his voice before she saw him, and afterwards recognised his features.—On being cross-examined by Mr. Pooley, witness said she had heard of a reward of 100*l.* for the conviction of the prisoner, but she had never paid any attention to it.

Mr. Clark, who was spending the evening of Thursday, Aug. 21, at the house of a friend in Walcot-place, Borough, saw a man standing at the corner of Great Suffolk-street, as he (the witness) was going home. This was about half past one o'clock. The man, which witness believed was the prisoner, but he would not swear to it, appeared greatly distressed, insomuch that his knees knocked together, and his gestures were terrific. He had a bundle under his arm. Witness had picked out the prisoner as the man he saw from a number of others in Cold Bath Fields prison.

Ann Prior, who resides in Mansfield-street, St. George's Fields, proved that the deceased, who lodged at her house, was visited on a Sunday by the prisoner, and other witnesses proved that he had known her.

Emily Huntingdon proved that she saw the deceased on the morning of the murder, at one o'clock, standing near the Obelisk, which was about ten minutes walk from where the body was found.

Barnet Isaacs, a Jew salesman, with whom the prisoner had had dealings, proved, that after the murder, the prisoner had exchanged a shabby old hat for one of the witness's old ones, which was little better than his own, as he said he was going to a gentleman's house.

Hopwood, a patrole belonging to Bow-street, apprehended the prisoner on the 28th of September, and found on him a razor; the prisoner gave his name Green, and said he never had known the deceased. Other witnesses proved that the deceased knew the prisoner by the name of White.

Mr. Stafford, chief clerk of Bow-street, produced depositions of the prisoner, as taken before the magis-

trate (Mr. Graham). These depositions were read, and the prisoner had denied ever having gone by the name of White. He also said he lodged at the White Horse, and slept there the night of the murder, with a man of the name of Hawkins. He said he barely knew Ann Webb.

Mrs. Brakewell, in whose house at Brixton Causeway the prisoner had formerly lodged, and where he stated in his depositions that he had slept on the night of the murder with Hawkins, proved that she had shut her door against him on the Wednesday preceding the murder, in consequence of some words which had passed between them, and that he did not sleep there on the Thursday night preceding the Friday morning when the murder was committed. It was also proved by Hawkins, and the servant of Mrs. Brakewell, that the statement in the depositions of the prisoner was false, they not having seen him on the Thursday night.

The prisoner had also informed the magistrate, that he got to bed on the night of the murder, by the assistance of Hawkins, unknown to the landlady; but this was also denied. The prisoner had said he slept several nights with Wright, a soldier, which Wright denied.

Several women of the town were called to prove that the prisoner knew the deceased intimately.

After the case for the prosecution had closed, Testic, one of the officers to the sheriff of Middlesex, stated that he had overheard the patrole Hopwood instructing Wright the soldier, and a witness for the prosecution, what to say, and the patrole observed, that unless he took care what he was about, they should be done. This was denied by the parties.

—— Hineson, another officer, stated, that he saw Hopwood, before he had been called, whispering to Mary Horner, the principal witness, and he heard Horner say she had been rarely handled by a bothering counsel, but they could get nothing out of her. Hopwood told her not to mind, and to take care how she came on if she went in again. The officers felt it their duty to come forward, as belonging to the court.

The prisoner protested his innocence, and some witnesses gave him a humane character.

Baron M'Donald summed up the evidence with perspicuity, and combined the facts for and against the prisoner, in one point of view. He warned the jury to look with discernment at the testimony of Horner, who from her sanguine manner of conducting herself, whilst giving evidence, seemed to have more than ordinary interest in the fate of the prisoner, which had been heightened by her subsequent conduct.

The learned judge also pointed out the circumstances which attached suspicion on the prisoner. His depositions at Bow-street had gone to deny several important facts proved in evidence; and the jury would also look at his conduct in stating he had slept with Hawkins. The judge reprobated the conduct of the patrole in instructing witnesses, whatever motives of justice he might have had in so doing.

The jury deliberated for some time, and delivered a verdict of *Not Guilty*.

The prisoner, on being taken from the dock, thanked the judge and jury, and observed, that he was an injured man.

COURT

COURT OF CHANCERY, LINCOLN'S-INN.

Ex-parte Johnson, a bankrupt.

The bankrupt in this case was for many years a person of great smuggling notoriety; but in consequence of some important information he had given, and some essential services he had rendered to government, he twice received his majesty's most gracious pardon, and, as it may be remembered, was released from prison, in order to pilot the ships composing the expedition to Holland, when his royal highness the duke of York commanded in chief. Johnson latterly had the command of the Nelson revenue cutter. Some time since he was arrested for 2000*l.* and confined in the Fleet prison, from whence, by a singular stratagem, he made his escape, and went to sea. He was afterwards made a bankrupt, and a few days ago attended, under the act, at Guildhall, in order to surrender before the commissioners of bankrupts, and go through his examination.

Mr. Nixon, warden of the Fleet prison, and his assistants, attended at Guildhall upon that occasion, and took Johnson into custody, notwithstanding the remonstrance of the commissioners, who informed him of the consequences, but in vain; Mr. Nixon persisted in detaining his prisoner, and carried him to the Fleet.

In consequence of this transaction, an application was made to the lord chancellor to discharge the bankrupt out of custody; and that the warden of the Fleet, and his assistants, should stand committed for a contempt of the court, in arresting the bankrupt, and detaining him in custody; it being argued, that, in proceeding to be examined before the commissioners, the bankrupt was under the protection of the court, from the time of leaving his own house until his return thereto again: therefore, that the present arrest was illegal, and the party entitled to his discharge.

The lord chancellor delivered his judgment on Tuesday to be, that he could not, under the circumstances, order the bankrupt to be discharged out of custody; but observed that an application might be made for an *habeas corpus* from the court from whence the original process issued.

About five o'clock on Friday morning, a fire was discovered on the premises of Messrs. Clementi and Co. musical instrument makers, Tottenham-court-road. In the course of an hour, the conflagration threatened the destruction of the whole of the adjoining neighbourhood. Happily the prompt arrival of the engines, and the timely exertions of the firemen, prevented the spreading calamity; but exclusive of the front of the building, scarcely a vestige remains standing of this once extensive manufactory. A similar accident took place on these premises about ten years ago.

YORK ASSIZES.

Thomas Jewett, of Old Malton, in the North-Riding of this county, aged 24 years, was charged with violating the chastity of Elizabeth Stabler, his master's daughter, a child under the age of ten.

The counsel for the prosecution stated that the prisoner was servant to William Stabler, blacksmith, at Old Malton, and lived in the family as an inmate.—On Sunday the 27th of July last, Mr. Stabler and his wife went to Castle-Howard,

leaving the care of his family to the prisoner. The family consisted of five children, the eldest of which was the child on whom the injury was committed, and who was at that time under the age of nine years. The two eldest boys went to the Sunday school, leaving only this girl, the prisoner, an apprentice-boy, and two young children under four years of age, in the house. The apprentice boy was sent out of the way to fetch some water, and in his absence the prisoner committed the unmanly crime for which he now stood at the bar.

We shall briefly state the substance of the evidence in this case, without entering into any details of the testimony of the respective witnesses. As soon as the prisoner had got the apprentice out of the way, he proposed to Elizabeth Stabler to go with him into his lodging-room, and he would give her a glass of gin. The girl acceded to this proposal; and the prisoner gave her a glass of the liquor he had promised her, which she drank; he offered her more, which she refused. The prisoner then placed the child upon his bed, and fully completed his criminal purpose. The child did not complain of his outrage until the following Wednesday, when, on being interrogated by her mother, she related the whole transaction, and whose evidence, as to the situation of her daughter, materially corroborated the child's testimony. On the following day a surgeon was sent for, who examined the child, and whose evidence we cannot notice further than by stating that it placed beyond a doubt, the truth of the previous testimony of the girl, and proved the actual perpetration of the crime. The prisoner, when charged by Mr. Stabler with the injury done to his child, at first denied it; but afterwards confessed it, so far as to beg forgiveness; but in a few days thought proper again to deny the charge; which so irritated his master, that he had him apprehended.

Many witnesses were examined on the part of the prisoner, who gave him an exceeding good character, but whose evidence no further affected the charge against him than by proving that the girl had not been so much injured as to prevent her attending school the following week.

His lordship, in stating the law to the jury, said, "that the statute which took the benefit of clergy from persons convicted of rapes, had made it a capital offence for any man to have what the law calls carnal knowledge of a female child under the age of ten years; and that without any reference to consent or non-consent of the child." His lordship then recapitulated the whole of the evidence.

The jury, after consulting for a few moments, found the prisoner Guilty, but recommended him to mercy on account of his general good character.

His lordship with the most impressive solemnity said, "Gentlemen, I always listen with pleasure to your recommendation, whenever I can do it consistently with my public duty: but I am afraid I shall hand over the young and innocent part of the female sex to the lust of the depraved part of the other sex, if I should in this instance yield to your suggestion; and it will be my painful duty to leave the prisoner to the unmitigated severity of the law."

24. On Tuesday lord Grenville received a letter from his majesty, stating, that he would be

be ready to receive his and his colleagues' resignation, on the following day, at twelve o'clock. They accordingly attended on Wednesday, at the Queen's palace, at the above hour, when all of them had private audiences of his majesty, according to their rank in office, and resigned their seals, except the lord chancellor, who retained his office till the Wednesday following. At three o'clock his majesty held a private levee, when the following had the honour of being presented, and kissed hands on their several appointments:—

The earl of Westmoreland, upon his being appointed the lord privy seal;

The duke of Portland, upon his being appointed first lord of the treasury;

Lord Hawkesbury, upon his being appointed secretary of state for the home department;

Mr. Canning, upon his being appointed secretary of state for the foreign department;

Viscount Castlereagh, upon his being appointed secretary of state for the war and colonial department;

Earl of Elgin, upon his being appointed lord lieutenant of Fifeshire;

Earl of Selkirk, upon his being appointed lord lieutenant of Kirkcudbright stewarty.

The ministers had audiences of his majesty, when he delivered to them the seals of office.—Mr. Sheridan presented a petition to his majesty. After the levee his majesty held a privy council.

On Thursday his majesty held a levee at the Queen's palace, at which the following had the honour of being presented, upon their appointments, and kissed hands:—

Mr. Perceval, as chancellor of the exchequer, and chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster;

Earl Camden, as president of the council;

Lord Mulgrave, as first lord of the admiralty;

Lord C. Somerset, as joint paymaster of the forces;

The earl of Chichester, as one of the post-masters general;

Earl Bathurst, as master of the mint, and president of the board of trade;

Mr. Robert Dundas Sanders, as president of the board of control;

Mr. Robert Long, as joint paymaster of the forces;

Lord Louvaine, as a member of the India board.

After the levee his majesty held a privy council, at which Mr. Perceval and Mr. Robert Dundas Sanders (son of lord Melville) were introduced, sworn in members, and took their seats at the board accordingly.

COURT OF CHANCERY.

23. In consequence of a notice previously given to the register to attend in his place to hear judgment given in the cause of Purcell v. Macnamara, the court was unusually crowded. The lord chancellor soon after ten o'clock entered the court, accompanied by his honour the master of the rolls. His lordship, instead of delivering his judgment, addressed the bar in these words: "I had fixed on this morning as the earliest and most convenient time for finishing, with the assistance of his honour the master of the rolls, at least the judicial part of this long and important case; but, late last night, much too late to make it possible for me to apprise you of it, I had notice to attend his majesty with his other ministers, before twelve o'clock this day. I shall, therefore, ask his honour to deliver his opinion,

in which I heartily concur, his honour and myself having had long deliberations upon the subject. With regard to the other matters which stand over for my own judgments, I shall not have time to deliver them in open court: adopting the same course as my lord Eldon when he retired from the office of lord chancellor, I shall send them in to the register. If I should be called out of this world as suddenly as I have been out of this place, it will be a happy thing for me if I can render as clear an account of my conduct through life as of my administration of justice during the period I have presided here. I believe it would not have taken an hour by the clock to have delivered all the judgments that remain for me to pronounce. I have altered nothing here—I have removed no man. But I cannot, with satisfaction to myself, or with propriety as it regards you, retire from this court without returning you my most sincere thanks for the kind, honourable, and liberal manner in which you have uniformly conducted yourselves towards me. I approach the threshold of my high office with conscious pride and satisfaction, particularly when I consider the complicated nature of the duties I had to fulfil, and their newness to me. I am happy to acknowledge that it is to the learning of the bar, and the assistance I have derived from you, that I am indebted for having been enabled to administer those duties with justice and equity. In retiring to private life, it will be my satisfaction to cultivate that acquaintance I have had with you in my public situation."

Mr. attorney general (sir A. Pigot)—"I am sure, my lord, I should not speak the sentiments of the bar, if I was to suffer your lordship to leave this court without expressing their grateful sense of the kindness shown to them while your lordship has presided."

The whole bar then rose and bowed to his lordship, who instantly after retired.

On Thursday se'nnight, in the morning, the servant of colonel M'Donnel, of Nott's Hill, near Bayswater, hearing a violent screaming in the house of Mrs. Gell, widow of admiral Gell, he rushed in, and found Mrs. G.'s garments completely in a flame: immediate assistance was afforded, but in vain, as the unfortunate lady soon expired. She had entertained a large party the preceding evening, and it is supposed on their departure she had reclined her head on the table, and the flame of the candle had communicated to her head-dress. She has left ten children.

MAIDSTONE.

25. Benjamin Plummer, John Spittle, Charles Sifleet, and John Savage, were indicted for a burglary in the house of Margaret Baldwin, at Wrotham, in this county, on the 12th of November.

Mrs. Baldwin, an old lady, aged 90, said that on the night stated five men rushed into her house, after some one had previously knocked at the door. They immediately secured the servants, and put a guard over them. They then dragged her about the house, and made her discover her money and plate: while they were doing this her gown sleeve caught fire from the candle, and her female servant exclaiming "she would be burnt," one of the men cried out "D—n the old bitch, let her burn." Three of them were like soldiers, and they were all disguised, so that she could not speak to the persons of any of them

them. They took away, besides 100*l.* in money, a great quantity of plate.

George Hill, who was an accomplice, stated, that the above parties having agreed upon the robbery, they disguised themselves, and proceeded to Mrs. Baldwin's house, which they entered in the manner she described, and bound four persons they found in the house in a chair; they then compelled Mrs. B. to disclose where her money was, which they carried off and all the plate. It was also proved that Plummer had offered some of the articles of the plate to sell at Gravesend. The jury found them all *Guilty*.

26. A. Schostock, a German, was indicted for the murder of Thomasin Ward, in the Isle of Thanet, on the 16th of January.

Mr. Garrow stated, that the prisoner was a private in the German legion, and the woman who was murdered was at the time a shopkeeper at St. Peter's in the Isle of Thanet. She had taken a walk to Broad-Stairs, about a mile from her residence; and not returning at the time appointed, her husband became alarmed; and on search being made, the body was found in a field, about sixty yards from the road. The prisoner was seen walking a few yards from the deceased, a short time before the murder was committed, and he was absent from his guard, without leave, from seven till ten o'clock; his shoes were soiled with field dirt; and he was found in possession of three handkerchiefs the property of the deceased, which had been taken from her. On being questioned where he was at nine o'clock, he said he was at the Neptune's Hall public-house, which would be contradicted; and he said that the handkerchiefs found in his possession had been given him by a stranger. In another conversation the prisoner had said he saw a man knock a woman down, and it was that man that gave him the handkerchiefs. A ribbon was found tied very tight round the neck of the deceased, and it would be proved by her husband, that she never wore an appendage of the kind. It would be stated by the surgeon, that by this ribbon the deceased was strangled. Under these strong circumstances, the jury would have no doubt of the guilt of the prisoner.

H. Blackburn, a carpenter, at Broad-stairs, stated, that he met a soldier in the regimentals of the German legion, as he was returning home from St. Peter's about nine o'clock, on the evening of the 16th of January; and he immediately after met the deceased, whom he knew, and with whom he conversed. Witness could not swear to the prisoner as being the man whom he met.

S. May found the body at twelve at night, in a field about 60 yards from the road. She was lying on her back, and her apparel was mostly torn from her. Her mouth was open, and witness found a handkerchief lying by her side, which was wet, and from appearances had been stuffed into her mouth. A ribbon was also fastened tight round her neck. Her person had sustained a good deal of injury. There were tracks of two persons having had a scuffle from the road to the field.

Mr. Frome, surgeon, examined the body, but there were no external marks sufficient to cause death: there might be a concussion of the brain by a fall, or by other violence, so as not to leave appearances. Witness had seen the ribbon which was tied twice round the neck, and

which he believed was the cause of death by suffocation.

Serjeant F. Riford, of the German legion, proved, that on the evening of the murder the prisoner absented himself from the guard, without leave, from seven till ten o'clock. In consequence of information of the murder, a privy was searched, and two handkerchiefs found therein, which belonged to the deceased. Another handkerchief, which had also been taken from the deceased, was found in the crown of the prisoner's foraging cap. The prisoner had informed the witness, that the handkerchiefs were given him by a stranger, whom he had seen knock down a woman after dragging her into a field.

Mr. Barfield, sub-deputy of St. Peter's, gave information of the murder in the presence of the prisoner, who appeared a good deal agitated. This gentleman corroborated what was stated by the preceding witness, and further stated, that the prisoner's shoes were covered with field dirt.

W. Ward, the husband of the deceased, said that his wife had gone to Broad-Stairs on the evening of the murder, to see her daughter, and that she never wore a ribbon round her neck.

Judge Heath summed up the evidence; and the jury, without any hesitation, found the prisoner *Guilty*. He was sentenced to be executed on Saturday, and his body to be dissected.

The prisoner, after sentence, said, "There is one God and one heaven, and he had one prayer to make." The judge informed him he need not expect mercy in this world.

26. The following melancholy accident occurred a few days since: A farmer, at Enderfield, in Gloucestershire, having removed a rick, a quantity of rats were discovered in the staddle, many of which were shot; and one of the men having laid down his loaded gun, a young man took it up, and levelling it at his brother, said, "I 'll shoot you." The gun missed fire twice, but at length went off, and killed the unfortunate youth on the spot.

The following circumstance, no less curious than interesting to the safety of every family, occurred at the house of Mr. Whitworth, draper, in Northampton: Mr. Whitworth, perceiving a strong smell of fire, was induced to search into the cause of it; when going into a bedroom, he found it proceeded from a crape handkerchief on fire, hanging against the wall, with one end on the dressing-table. No fire or candle having been in the room, it is supposed to have happened from the reflection of the sun's rays, drawn to a focus through a large globular bottle filled with water, which stood upon the toilet a few inches from the crape handkerchief. The toilet was scorched and also the hanging paper.

A remarkable instance of sagacity and love for the human species, in a dog, occurred on the 22d ult. in Romney Marsh: A female child, about four years old, the daughter of a looker, having been left by its mother alone in a room where there was a fire, the clothes of the child caught the flames, and she ran terrified, with her garments burning, into an adjoining apartment, where a dog was tied up. The animal, it is supposed, as soon as the child came within its reach, threw her on the ground and tore every article of her clothes off, in which situation she crawled to a bed,

bed, and wrapped herself in a coverlet. On the return of the mother, she discovered some ashes and remnants of the child's clothes beside the dog, and on approaching the bed, found the poor infant with one of her arms burnt and her side so miserably scorched, that her heart was nearly perceptible. She had, however, power to tell her parent that Shepherd (the dog's name) had taken her burning clothes off. She survived about an hour after being discovered.

ASSIZES.

27. MAIDSTONE.—James Watts, a soldier in the artillery at Woolwich, was tried for a violent assault, with intent to commit a rape, on a young lady, the daughter of a respectable gentleman at Charlton. This was a most atrocious case. As the young lady was passing on the 4th of January from Woolwich through Hanging Wood, she was attacked by the prisoner, who drew a knife, and threatened to murder her if she made any noise. She however struggled, took the knife from the ruffian, and contrived to make her escape. He was found guilty, and sentenced to two years imprisonment.

YORK.—Grace Robinson, of Sculcoates, Hull, was charged with the wilful murder of Esther Bustard, her sister, by administering the poison of white arsenic to her on the 20th of October last.

The counsel for the prosecution stated, that the deceased Esther Bustard resided at Sculcoates, in the same house with Grace Robinson and her husband. The prisoner and her sister lived upon very bad terms with each other, the prisoner using the most violent expressions towards her; and this was more particularly the case since the deceased had expressed an intention of marrying, upon which occasion the prisoner used language expressive of a very malignant disposition towards the unfortunate victim of her hatred. This unnatural behaviour, combined with a variety of suspicious circumstances attending her death, led to the apprehension of the prisoner, who was charged by the grand jury with having occasioned the death of the deceased by wilfully administering white arsenic, either by her own hand, or by putting it in the way of the deceased with an intention that she should take it.

Evidence was adduced to prove this statement. It fully appeared that the death of the deceased was occasioned by poison; that the prisoner had purchased arsenic a short time before the death of her sister; that she had used very harsh expressions to the deceased, who was in her usual state of health the day before her death; that the prisoner had offered indignities to the corpse, and had informed the friends of the deceased that she had been ill and confined to her bed for several days, though it was proved that she had been doing the work of the house during that time; and that no medical aid had been procured for the unfortunate woman, who expired unassisted in great agony.

On the part of the prisoner, it was stated that the deceased was believed to be subject to fits; that she had been heard to say she would hang or drown herself; and that the prisoner had frequently mixed arsenic with soft soap to destroy the bugs.

The jury, after some consideration, acquitted the prisoner.

STAFFORD.—These assizes did not

not conclude until eleven o'clock on Saturday se'nnight. Six prisoners received sentence of death, only one of whom was left for execution, viz. George Allen, of Upper Mayfield, who, it will be recollected, with unparalleled barbarity attempted in cool blood to murder his wife, and unhappily succeeded in murdering three of his children. He was executed on the following Monday, and was afterwards dissected at the infirmary at Stafford.

The evening before William Webster, (who was executed at Derby, for poisoning Mrs. Dakin and miss Roe, of Parwich, near Ashborne, in that county) suffered the awful sentence of the law, he persisted in his innocence in the most solemn manner, and said he should address the people in his last moments, and declare himself not guilty. The next morning, however, previous to his receiving the holy sacrament, he acknowledged (to the chaplain and three other gentlemen) having put poison into the ale, with intent to poison Mr. Dakin, and that he, and he only, caused the death of the two women. On being asked, at the place of execution, if he had any thing to say to the people, he replied, "No, I cannot speak, I am guilty."

Admiralty-office, March 28.

Copies of two letters to admiral Cochrane.

H. M. S. Venus, Carlisle Bay, Barbadoes, Jan. 18.

Sir,—With great pleasure I report to you the capture, by his majesty's ship under my command, of the French privateer brig Determinée, from Guadaloupe, mounting fourteen guns, with a complement of one hundred and eight men. We saw her from our masthead, on the forenoon of the 16th inst. about a hundred leagues east of Barbadoes, and she gave us a chase of sixteen hours. The Determinée is nearly new, (being on her fourth cruize only,) and a remarkably fine vessel, coppered and copper-fastened, out sixteen days, and had not taken any thing.

I am, &c.

HENRY MATSON.

H. M. S. Cerberus, off Martinique, Jan. 3.

Sir,—I beg leave to acquaint you, that in pursuance of your orders to me by captain Pigot, I reconnoitred the ports of Guadaloupe and the Saints: after having so done, and perceiving no force of any consequence, except a brig, of sixteen guns, lying in the Saints, I left captain Pigot, of the Circe, off that port, and was proceeding to my former station, in further pursuance of your directions, when, on the 2d inst. as I was beating to windward between Martinique and Dominique, I observed a privateer schooner, with a schooner and a sloop in company, standing for St. Pierre's, with French colours flying. I gave chase, and prevented them from reaching that port; upon which they all three anchored under a battery to the northward, near to the Pearl Rock, and very close to the shore. It, however, appeared to me practicable to cut them out in the night. I consulted lieutenant Coote on the occasion, who, with lieutenant Bligh, volunteered the attack; when, about eight o'clock, they very gallantly boarded two of the vessels, under a most tremendous fire of cannon and musketry from the shore, and brought them out,

notwithstanding the enemy had taken the precaution to unbend their sails. Our loss, however, upon this occasion, has, I am concerned to say, been considerable. Lieutenant Coote has received a most desperate wound in the head, which has deprived him of his eyesight, and I very much apprehend will eventually his life. One midshipman was wounded by a musket-ball in the leg, two men were killed, and eight more were wounded; a list of which I herewith inclose. I cannot close this account without expressing, in the highest terms, my entire satisfaction of the gallant conduct of lieutenants Coote and Bligh, together with Messrs. Hall, master's-mate, Mr. Sayer, Mr. Carlewis, and Mr. Selby, midshipmen, whose bravery on this occasion could not be exceeded; and which I feel assured will be the means of procuring them your approbation. Messrs. Horopka and Ratkove, Russian young gentlemen, serving as midshipmen, and Mr. Collins, boatswain, are also entitled to my warm praise. The privateer made her escape with her sweeps, under cover of the darkness of the night. I herewith inclose you a list of the vessels captured (one schooner, one sloop, French), and have the honour to be &c. W. SELBY.

Killed. W. Torbuct, ordinary seaman. W. Townshend, marine.

Wounded. W. Coote, 2d lieutenant, dangerous. George Sayer, midshipman, not badly. Peter Pipon, ordinary, since dead. W. Smith, landman, not dangerous. John Burke, quarter gunner, ditto. John Tucker, landman, dangerous. John Tesdale, corporal of marines, ditto. Anth. Marley, ordinary, slightly. Steph. Old, able, ditto.

[Another letter to admiral Cochrane, from captain Sayer, of the Galatea, dated off Guadaloupe, Nov. 12, mentions the capture, by the boats of the frigate, of the La Reunion schooner privateer, of ten guns, without any loss on our side.—A letter from capt. Hodge, of the sloop St. Christopher's, states the capture of a French privateer, of one gun and seventeen men, off Basseterre; and another from lieutenant Dean, of the brig Dominica, mentions the capture of the Basilisk row-boat privateer, of one gun and sixteen men, near Point à Petre.]

List of captures of privateers, &c. made by the ships of his majesty's squadron in the East Indies, under command of sir E. Pellew, since last return, per Tremendous, Feb. 12, 1806.

French schooner La Cacotte, having 4 guns, but pierced for 8, and 70 tons, laden with cocoanuts; taken off Diego Garcia, Nov. 27, 1805, by the same ship and commander.—French ship privateer La Henrietta, of 20 guns and 135 men; taken off Friar's Hood, June 13, 1806, by the Powerful, R. Plampin commander.—French brig privateer L'Isle de France, of 8 guns and 71 men; taken at sea, April 8, by the Duncan, lord G. Stuart commander, destroyed.—French ship privateer La Bellone, of 30 guns and 194 men; taken off Basses, July 12, by the Powerful, R. Plampin commander, and the Rattlesnake, J. Bastard commander.—French brig privateer Vigilante, of two 18 pounders; taken at Muscat, July 21, by the Concorde, J. Cramer commander.—French ketch La Charles, of 2 guns, 16 men, and 55 tons; taken

taken at Rodrigue, July 13, by the Seaflower, lieutenant Owen commander.—French ship privateer L'Emilien, of 18 guns and 150 men; taken at sea, September 23, by the Culloden, Christopher Cole commander. This list includes 17 merchant vessels of different sizes.

APRIL.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE BRITISH NAVAL FORCE.

The report up to April 1:—Ships of the line at sea, 88; ditto from 50 to 44, 13; frigates, 116; sloops, &c. 146; gun-brigs and small vessels, 172—Total, 535.—The whole in commission—of the line, 143; fifties, &c. 20; frigates, 166; sloops, &c. 207; gun brigs, &c. 233.—Grand total, 771 ships of war.

CRIM. CON.

An action came on to be tried at the last assizes of Dundalk, before the hon. justice Fox and a special jury.—The damages were laid at 10,000*l.*

The plaintiff, John Henry, of Richardstown, esq. the rev. —— Murphy, vicar of Stabannon, defendant.

Mr. Dunn opened the case on the part of the plaintiff, in an elaborate and feeling address to the jury, and stated the enormity of the defendant's conduct, to his friend and benefactor, in the most pathetic terms; who, until the ill-fated period of the defendant's residence in his neighbourhood, enjoyed every domestic comfort and happiness; and to add to his infamy, he was himself a married man, with a family of children. The learned counsel went at great length into a review of the baseness and turpitude of the defendant's mind, in depriving a respectable and worthy man of the affections of the partner of his cares and the mother of his children.

Several respectable witnesses proved, that Mr. and Mrs. Henry, prior to the defendant's intercourse in his house, lived on terms of mutual love and affection.

Other witnesses deposed, that they frequently saw the defendant take unwarrantable liberties with Mrs. Henry, degrading to the character of a virtuous woman; and that the defendant, in the absence of Mr. Henry, frequently visited her at unseasonable hours.

The evidence given by the above witnesses was nearly conclusive of a criminal connection between the parties; but their guilt was proved in the clearest manner by a young gentleman, who was a tutor in the family, whose testimony, on his direct and cross-examination, we deem wholly unfit to meet the public eye.

The jury retired for a short time, and brought in a verdict for the plaintiff, 4000*l.* damages, and 6*d.* costs.

POLICE.—QUEEN-SQUARE.

Seats in Parliament.

On Tuesday Richard Andrews underwent an examination on a charge of swindling.

Colonel Davison (not of St. James's-square) stated, that he became acquainted with the prisoner in the King's Bench. It was very material for the colonel to get a seat in parliament; and as the prisoner had often represented himself as intimately connected with some of the first characters in the country, the colonel disclosed his affairs to him, who undertook to forward his intention. He described himself as the intimate acquaintance of the earl of Besborough, lords Fitz-

Fitzwilliam, R. Spencer, &c. from whom he received contributions while in prison. After the colonel had left the bench, he frequently relieved him with pecuniary trifles, till he was liberated by the insolvent act; and he then carried his pretensions to the extreme, by observing that he had been offered a seat in parliament by earl Fitzwilliam, but it would ill become him to accept it, having been so recently liberated; and he could, by the interest of the earl of Besborough, have the honour conferred on the colonel, as it was by the interest of that earl that lord Fitzwilliam's promise was to be realized. The colonel went to dine with B. Goldsmid, esq. at Roehampton, and the prisoner accompanied him in his carriage to the earl of Besborough's house, at the same place, but the earl was from home. He saw the prisoner again in a day or two, when he informed him that he had conversed with the earl of Besborough on the subject of a seat in parliament, and the earl jocosely remarked, "I should conceive you to be a Don Quixote to want a seat, after taking the benefit of the insolvent act." The conversation then became more serious, and the colonel, as his friend, was to have the seat promised by earl Fitzwilliam. The prisoner went on to state, that he was connected with the noble earl, who had four boroughs in Ireland, and who would dispose of them at 4000*l.* each; and if the colonel should have other friends to accommodate, he might have the preference, as the noble earl had authorized him to find candidates. The colonel found candidates for all the boroughs the prisoner had talked of, and by his desire the money was deposited in the hands of a banker. The candidates, when they became members, were to retain their seats for five years, in case of a dissolution of parliament. The colonel here observed, that he had such full confidence in the prisoner, as by his artifices to have been led away in a manner that made him look more like an accomplice than a dupe. He had been so deceived by the plausible pretences, and the solemnity of the prisoner's conduct, that his mind was tranquillized; thus he had obtained of him (the colonel) and his friends, by his recommendation, 4000*l.* he having got 2000*l.* in two payments, as he said, for the earl of Besborough, as part of the consideration for the boroughs in Ireland. The other money consisted in relieving the temporary embarrassments of the prisoner, and accepting his bills. The colonel had accepted bills for a carriage, which the prisoner had had made in Poland-street, also for his stud, &c. besides those of different tradespeople. The colonel having at length entertained some suspicion of the prisoner, waited on the earl of Besborough; when he found his suspicions realized.

The earl of Besborough stated, that he knew no more of the prisoner than having received letters from him while in prison, asking relief, which he granted to him in trifles. He knew nothing of what had been related respecting the boroughs, and the other nobleman who had been talked of knew no more of the prisoner than having afforded relief to his distresses.

A gentleman who had agreed to purchase one of the boroughs, proved, that he had paid the prisoner 400*l.* as part of the consideration,

tion, and had been completely misled.

The prisoner was committed for re-examination.

He formerly kept his carriage and a dashing equipage in Half-moon-street, Piccadilly; but he was apprehended in an obscure lodging in Westminster.

On Friday, Richard Andrews was brought up to answer some other charges preferred against him.

Mr. Harris, an old gentleman, alleged, that he was a surgeon and man-midwife, in the Strand; he first became acquainted with the prisoner in 1800, and then resided in Theobald's-road. Mr. Harris accidentally met a lady in the street on the 3d of October, and it being at a late hour he saw her to her residence in Edward-street, Cavendish-square. This lady turned out to be the prisoner's wife, and the prisoner expressed his thanks for the obligation to Mr. Harris. The prisoner begged of the complainant to come and dine with him; the offer was accepted, and, from an intimacy which afterwards subsisted, he became the prisoner's family surgeon, and delivered Mrs. Andrews of an infant in February 1801. The prisoner soon after took apartments in the house of Mr. Harris, and remained there until June 1802. He kept his carriage at this time. He used to represent himself as the brother of the proprietor of the powder-mills at Dartford. Mr. Harris was employed by the prisoner, with whom he used to ride in his carriage, to give his opinion in regard to Jesuits' bark, opium, and other drugs, which he, the prisoner, used to purchase in considerable quantities. The complainant supped with the prisoner, and some others, in April 1801, and after the company had all drunk freely, the complainant became stupid, and the company left the room for two or three minutes: on their return a quantity of papers was exhibited on the table, and presented by one of them to the complainant for him to sign each of them, as a witness.—Mr. Harris did not know what papers they were, he being much inebriated. The complainant had reason to believe that opium had been mixed in his drink, from the situation he felt himself in the next morning. The complainant had not signed these papers many days before he was arrested, at the suit of Mr. Barrow, druggist, in the Strand, though unconscious of having contracted a debt with that gentleman. This business was, however, settled; after one of the above party had paid him a visit while in a lock-up-house. The complainant was in an ill state of health, and on a certain day the prisoner advised him to take an airing with him in his carriage. On their arrival near Westminster-bridge the prisoner alighted, and observed, that he was going to fetch another gentleman, and in a few minutes after arrived with the gentleman, who turned out to be a bailiff. Mr. Harris was arrested again without having contracted a debt, and was driven in his carriage to the King's Bench, where he remained until October 1804, when he was liberated under the insolvent debtors' act. He always thought Mr. Andrews a cruel man, and he reflected on his conduct with horror. The prisoner called at his house again after his release from prison, and observing a closet-door open, he

he reached down a box containing plate of the value of 100*l.*, and rattled it. Mr. Harris was called into his front-shop, while the prisoner had the box in his hand, and on his return the prisoner had gone up stairs. Mr. Harris was much agitated, and on going after the prisoner, found he was off with the box. Mr. Harris saw the prisoner again in the evening, and he observed, that he made a temporary use of the plate to save himself from being arrested, and he promised from day to day to return it; but he at length absconded, and by information of the prisoner's wife the property was traced to the shop of Mr. Parker, pawnbroker, Fleet-street, where 22*l.* had been advanced on it. The plate, it appeared, was the property of a West India merchant, who had married the daughter of Mr. Harris; and it was left in the house of the father for protection while the merchant was abroad.

Another charge was made against the prisoner by a young man, whose mother had been duped by him of 22*l.* This traced the swindling career of the prisoner to as early a period as 1797. A great part of this sum was for apparel for a woman with whom he cohabited. The accuser had seen the prisoner with sir Watkin Lewes, who had promised to pay the debt if the prisoner did not; but the young man said, he had recently seen sir Watkin, who had also a charge to prefer against the prisoner.

W. Brown, late coachman to the prisoner, appeared to answer interrogatories relative to the obtaining goods of Mr. Asser, the proprietor of a china warehouse, who was not, however, present. The coachman wore the same handsome livery (blue and silver), as was provided for him by the prisoner.

The magistrate informed the prisoner, that his situation wore a serious aspect; for he stood charged with felony. The prisoner observed, he had been advised to say nothing until he appeared before a jury; but he had feelings which, irritated by an abominable conspiracy, compelled him to speak. He entered into a vindication of his conduct n a firm manner, and protested his innocence. He also begged of the persons present, to suspend their judgment till the hour of trial. The magistrate observed, that it was astonishing that the prisoner should make solemn asseverations of his innocence, when it was palpable, that without fortune, or any visible means of obtaining support, he had been enabled to keep a carriage and sumptuous equipage.—There had been a multiplicity of persons at the office to substantiate charges against him; and he, the magistrate, considered it the duty of his official situation to remand the prisoner, for the further investigation of his conduct. He was accordingly remanded.

On Friday, Mark Young, who surrendered himself to Chapman and Trott, as they were coming to town from Hertford assizes, was examined a second time. On his first confession before a magistrate, that, about twelve years ago, in company with William Woodward, he murdered Dr. Bailey, near Long Sutton, Lincolnshire; being then questioned, if he remained in the same mind, he recanted, and said, that he did not know what he was about, and that it was all false which

which he had formerly stated, and that Woodward was perfectly innocent.—Testimonials from persons of respectability in the country being offered in behalf of Woodward, for strict honesty and industry, he was discharged.—Young was detained, to be conveyed to Lincoln gaol, as a proper case to come before a jury. This proved afterwards to be a wicked calumny invented by Young.

On Saturday se'nnight, as Mrs. Williams, with a gentleman and two of her children, were going in her chariot from Mill-hill to Hendon, the coachman drove against a cart, by which he was thrown from the box. The horses then set off at full speed, and passed another cart so closely as to strike the handle off the chariot-door. Mr. W. was at a friend's house on the road when his chariot passed, and heard the shrieks of his wife and children without being able to afford them assistance. The gentleman at length jumped out, and escaped unhurt. The carriage-door, the flapping of which augmented the fright of the animals, then caught in a hedge, and for a moment checked the animals' career, but they soon set off again with equal rapidity; till at length they broke the traces, leaving the carriage behind, and providentially neither Mrs. W. nor the children suffered any other injury than what resulted from the fright. The coachman had three ribs broken, and such a severe contusion on his head, that his life is despaired of.

A few days since, as miss Brown, daughter of a picture-dealer in Crown-street, Seven Dials, was attending an infirm relation, her clothes caught fire, and, before assistance could be afforded, she was burnt in such a dreadful manner, that, notwithstanding immediate surgical aid, she continued in the most excruciating torture for a few hours, when she expired.

Monday morning, Richard Nettlefield was, after a short time spent in prayer with the chaplain, launched into eternity from the platform erected on the top of the lodge of the Surrey county gaol, in Horsemonger-lane. He died very penitent, and has left a wife and five children, who must of course become dependent on the parish of Putney for support; the youngest is only six weeks old. He was in the chapel on Sunday to hear the condemned sermon, and was accompanied by Duncan (the gardener), and their behaviour was pious, devout, and resigned to their fate. The execution of the latter was respited, and he was pardoned on condition of transportation for life.

Admiralty-office, April 4.

A letter from Sir Thomas Troubridge, bart. introduces the following:

Greyhound, Java Sea, July 27.

Sir,—I have the honour to inform you that his majesty's ships Greyhound and Harrier, after destroying, on the 4th of July, under the fort of Manada, the Dutch company's brig Christian Elizabeth, armed with eight guns, and having a complement of eighty men, stood across the Molucco sea to the island of Tidon, when they captured, on the 6th, another of the enemy's cruizers, called the Belgica, armed with twelve guns, and manned with thirty-two men; from thence proceeding to the westward, on the evening of the 25th of July four sail of ships were descried passing through the streights of Salayer;

Salayer; immediate chase was given to them; and, by nine, I had the satisfaction of seeing them lying-to between the small Dutch posts of Bonthean and Balacomba, at about seven miles distance from the shore. I easily made out one of them to be a frigate, and another a corvette; but a third had so much the appearance of a line of battle ship, that both captain Troubridge and myself deemed it prudent to wait till day-light before we examined them. We accordingly lay-to during the night, at two miles distance to windward. As the day broke, I had the pleasure of finding the ship which had forced on us cautionary measures, was a large two-decked ship, resembling an English Indiaman. The enemy (for they proved to be a Dutch squadron) immediately drew out in order of battle on the larboard tack, under their topsails; the frigate taking her station in the van, an armed ship astern of her, the large ship in the centre, and the corvette in the rear. Fortunately for us, the frigate, by fore-reaching upon her second astern, caused a small opening in their line. It was suggested to me by Mr. Martin, master of his majesty's ship Greyhound, that, if we could close with the enemy whilst in that position, our attack might be made to advantage; accordingly, under French colours, we bore up, as with an intention to speak the frigate; and when within hail, all further disguise being unnecessary, we shifted our colours, and commenced firing, which was instantly returned with a smartness and spirit that evinced they were fully prepared for the contest. The Harrier, who had kept close astern of the Greyhound, on seeing her engaged, bore round up, and passed between the frigate and her second astern, raked them both, the latter with such effect, that they bore up in succession to return her fire, thus leaving the frigate separated from them. Being resolved to avail myself of this advantage, and being anxious to be in a position for supporting the Harrier, now engaged in the centre of the enemy's line, I wore close round the frigate's bows, raking her severely while passing; and when on the starboard bow, by throwing our sails aback, we fell into the desired position. The cannonade from the Greyhound was now admirable, while that of the frigate visibly slackened; and at last, after an action of forty minutes, wholly ceased. On hailing, to know if they had struck, they answered they had; and lieutenant Home took immediate possession of her. On directing her fire on the ships astern, they all followed her example, except the corvette, who, from being in the rear, had suffered little from the action, and now made off towards the shore. Captain Troubridge immediately wore in pursuit of her, sending at the same time a boat to take possession of the large ship (whose fire he had nearly silenced early in the action). Perceiving the corvette sailed remarkably well, and that she could spread more canvass than the Harrier, her mast and rigging being entire, I recalled the latter from a chase which was likely to be fruitless. The prizes proved to be the Dutch Republican frigate Pallas, of 36 guns, commanded by N. S. Aalbers, a captain in the Dutch navy; the Victoria, a two-decked ship, of about 800 tons, commanded by Klaas Kenkin, senior captain in the Dutch com-

pany's service; and the Batavia, a ship of about 500 tons, commanded by W. De Val, a captain in the same service: both the company's ships are armed for the purpose of war, and richly laden with the produce of the Moluccas. The ship which escaped, I learn from our prisoners, was the Republican corvette William, mounting 20 twenty-four pounders, and manned with 110 men. The support and assistance I have received from captain Troubridge, on every other occasion, (through a difficult and perilous navigation,) I attribute to the same talents, ability, and zeal, which he so nobly displayed on this one. I feel happy in an opportunity for recommending Mr. Purvis Home, first lieutenant of the Greyhound, a deserving good officer, who proved that innate courage was to be assisted by experience, and I reaped the benefit of that which he had acquired at Copenhagen, by the advice and assistance which he gave me. The fire from the main decks, and the consequences of it, is the best encomium on lieutenants Andoe and Whitehead; but I beg leave to add, that their conduct has been as good and exemplary on every other occasion. I have had cause to speak of Mr. Martin in the body of this letter; I can only add, that he is a credit to the profession to which he belongs. The behaviour of the warrant officers and midshipmen was highly becoming; from among the latter I beg leave to recommend Messrs. Harris, Bray, Grace, and Majoribanks, as young officers deserving of promotion. The coolness, bravery, and good conduct of the petty officers and ship's company, were such as would make it tedious, difficult, and perhaps invidious, to attempt to particularize their individual merits; they have long, by their excellent behaviour, had a claim on my gratitude, and they now have one on my admiration; suffice it then to say, that an enthusiastic courage reigned throughout the ship; such as I fancy belongs to Britons alone. Captain Troubridge speaks in the highest terms of the Harrier; he has requested me to make known the great assistance he received from Mr. Mitchell, the first lieutenant, and the very exemplary conduct of acting lieutenant C. Hole, and Mr. R. Qualst, the master. In expressing his approbation of the conduct of the warrant and petty officers, he mentions Messrs. Coffin and Mitford, midshipmen, especially; and I take the liberty of adding that both of them have served their time. For all other particulars I beg leave to refer you to the inclosed reports, from the perusal of which you will perceive how much his majesty's ships have suffered in their masts and rigging; but you will participate in the joy which I feel, that our loss has been trifling when compared with that of the enemy. I have, &c.

E. Elphinstone.

Greyhound, 1 killed and 8 wounded.—Harrier, 3 wounded.—Total, 1 killed, and 11 wounded.

Officers slightly wounded.—Greyhound, James Wood, boatswain; George Majoribanks, master's mate; and John Bradford, clerk.

On board the ships:—Pallas, 8 killed, and 32 wounded. (The captain, pilot, and 4 seamen, since dead).—Victoria, 2 killed.—Batavia, 2 killed and 7 wounded. The lieutenant and one seaman since dead.—Total, 12 killed, 39 wounded.

Officer

Officer killed.—Batavia, P. Hulsenbos, first lieutenant.

Officers wounded:—Pallas, N. S. Aalbers, captain, since dead; W. Stander, second lieutenant; E. C. Herson, fifth lieutenant; A. Edetz, midshipman; T. Ammban, clerk.—Batavia, F. H. Mammsel, lieutenant; Genit Fredericks, ditto, since dead.

E. Elphinstone.

6. Holywell, Flintshire. This day, twenty-seven men were killed in a coal-mine, owing to the fire-damp arising. They were drawn up in the course of the day, but so mangled as scarcely to be known by their relations. The scene of distress that took place, masters all description; wives screaming out for their dead husbands, children for their fathers. One poor woman, as soon as she saw her husband, fell into a fit, and expired immediately; another, from the fright, immediately fell into labour, and was delivered on the spot. The accident was occasioned by the steward of the mine neglecting to have the damp drawn out; which was perceived by the miners not long before it arose. One humane man went down to save as many as he could. He brought up four alive. He then returned to save a little boy, only nine years old. The child leaped on his back, and in that manner was brought near the mouth of the pit; but the current of air was too much for him—he gave one gasp, and expired.

7. Lately, a fire broke out at the Rev. Richard Codrington's, at Staplegrove, near Taunton, which entirely consumed the Parsonage-house, and the whole of his furniture, clothes, &c. Fortunately, as it happened by day, no lives were lost. What rendered the scene truly distressing was, Mrs. Codrington's being about to be confined for her tenth child.

10. Matthew Daley was indicted for violently assaulting and cruelly beating and ill-treating his wife, Maria Daley.

The case excited considerable interest, from the elegant manners and prepossessing appearance of the prosecutrix. She said that she had been prevailed upon, some years since, to elope from the abode of her parents, by a young gentleman of family and fortune who had seduced her. She quitted England, and went to reside with him in Ireland, where she was surrounded by wealth and splendour. After a considerable period had elapsed, she became acquainted with the defendant, who disclosed to her his passion, assuring her, that if she would leave her protector, he would make her his wife. She was sensible of her own degraded situation, that of living as the mistress of the man who had seduced her; and having learned that the defendant was the son of a respectable attorney in Dublin, she resolved to become the wife of a poor man, rather than remain the mistress of a rich one. She left her seducer, and was married to the defendant about a year since. They had not, however, been married more than three weeks, when she discovered the violence and depravity of her husband's disposition. He beat her, sold off her furniture, and turned her into the street. She quitted Ireland, and sought an asylum once more under the roof of her parents, at Lynn, in Norfolk. The defendant followed, and found her out. He compelled her to come to London, and forced her upon means to obtain their mu-

tual support, which she blushed to think of. In that way he had for months kept up the appearance of a gentleman, daily compelling her to expose her person and her constitution to the hire of every loose obtruder, with this especial remark, that she was to be careful in selecting old admirers, or he should be jealous.

[Here the defendant interrupted her narrative, by saying, that when he so stated he was drinking *champaign*, and might be elevated beyond the bounds of discretion.]

Mrs. Daley continued. The defendant's brutality, even though she was sacrificing her feelings and her health for his support, was beyond example; he beat her, and turned her into the street naked at midnight. She was again obliged to leave him, and took obscure lodgings in the Edgware road. The defendant again found her out, and beat her till her screams brought the mistress of the house to her relief, and probably saved her life. She was at that time without food, or money to purchase it; and while the female alluded to was giving her nourishment below stairs, and advising her to get the protection of the law, the defendant, who remained in her lodging-room, stript her drawers of her shawls, &c., and, having pawned them, sold the duplicates to a woman for one guinea; after which he returned to the pawnbroker and prevented the party from obtaining the things out of pledge, which had been so purchased.—A variety of other transactions were detailed, equally wicked and depraved, and the defendant was found guilty of the assault and ill-treatment, and ordered into custody till the court should deliberate upon his sentence.

The defendant denied that he was legally married to the prosecutrix; and said that he had given a travelling clergyman in Ireland half-a-guinea to perform the service, but that the marriage was not lawful; thus adding an additional circumstance to the catalogue of his depravities.

QUEEN-SQUARE.

Mr. Andrews underwent a fourth examination. The first witness called was Mrs. Harris, the wife of the merchant who had lost his plate, and the daughter of Harris from whose house it was said to have been stolen. This lady corroborated what had been advanced by Mr. Young, who redeemed the plate.

Mr. Brown, who resides in the neighbourhood of Bedford-square, stated, that he lived on an independent property, and first became acquainted with the prisoner in the King's Bench, a few months since. He (Mr. B.) was discharged by the insolvent act as well as the prisoner, and about the same time; they had become the most intimate friends: and Mr. Andrews after his release lived in Great Russel-street, Bloomsbury, where he kept his chariot and a livery-servant, which was afterwards replaced by a family coach and two livery-servants. Mr. Andrews had given this witness to understand that he was on the eve of coming to an unlimited fortune, as the heir of bishop Andrews; and Mr. Brown and his lady used frequently to dine with the prisoner, as did he and his lady with them. At Mr. Andrews's dinner party, colonel Davison, Maltby, McCullum, and others, used to be present; but these persons were never invited

to

to Mr. Brown's table. In a conversation between a Mrs. Roberts, who used to dine at the prisoner's table, that lady, in the presence of Mrs. Brown, felt herself surprised at seeing Mrs. Andrews pay some tradesmen's bills, and publicly deprecated so mistaken an idea! This witness had subscribed four hundred pounds to Mr. Andrews's system of finance, besides having done him some little favours while he was in the King's Bench. He had also some bills of colonel Davison's acceptance, which were not yet due. Mr. Brown had also received a letter from the prisoner, addressed to the earl of Besborough, which was to procure him (Mr. B.) a place of four or five hundred a year under government, which he delivered to the earl. Mr. Brown had received this mark of kindness from the prisoner, after he had lent him four hundred pounds, and he needed no promise for that advance; for Mr. Andrews, by his open conduct, had completely got the better of his purse, which he felt no hesitation in opening to him.

A poor man of the name of Newcombe, at whose house the prisoner lodged, lost 25*l.* by him, by paying chandler's shop and other little scores, and gave a very singular description of the prisoner's conduct. He acted the part of an embarrassed gentleman, and one day read a printed speech, which he said he made from the hustings at Ipswich, when he was a candidate for the representation of that borough in parliament.

Mr. Andrews complained of the unfair conduct of the magistrate during the inquiry, and again denied ever having had an intention of injuring any one. A committee, he said, sat daily at Fishmongers' hall, to carry on this foul conspiracy against him; and however his feelings might be tortured by being made a ridicule in that office, a jury would convince the world of his innocence. The prisoner was remanded for another examination.

A shocking circumstance occurred last Wednesday morning, at Shacklewell. A tradesman who rents a house and garden, in which there is a number of choice flowers, having been frequently robbed, resolved, if possible, to deter the thief from committing similar depredations; he therefore notified that man traps were set. About one o'clock he was alarmed by groans issuing from the garden; and, accompanied by a man-servant, proceeded to the spot, where to his surprise he found his own brother caught by the leg. Surgical assistance was procured, but the sufferer was obliged to have his leg amputated.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Downing-street, April 12.

The following dispatch was received from brig. gen. Auchmuty.

Monte Video, Feb. 6.

Sir, I have the honour to inform you, that his majesty's troops under my command have taken by assault, and after a most determined resistance, the important fortress and city of Monte Video. The Ardent, with her convoy, arrived at Maldonado on the 5th of January; and I immediately took under my orders the troops from the Cape, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Backhouse. On the 13th I evacuated that place, without opposition, leaving a small garrison on the island of Gorriti.

On consulting with rear-admiral Stirling, it was determined to attack Monte Video; and I landed on the morning of the 18th, to the westward of the Caretas rocks, in a small bay, about nine miles from the town. The enemy were in great force, with guns on the heights, when we disembarked; but they did not advance to oppose us, and suffered me to take a strong position, about a mile from the shore. A trifling cannonade, and some firing at the outposts, commenced in the afternoon, and occasionally during our stay on the ground. On the 19th we moved towards Monte Video. The right column, under the hon. brig. gen. Lumley, was early opposed. About 4000 of the enemy's horse occupied two heights to his front and right. As we advanced, a heavy fire of round and grape opened upon us; but a spirited charge in front, from the light battalion under lieutenant-colonel Brownrigg, dispersed the corps opposed to him, with the loss of a gun. The enemy on the flank did not wait a similar movement, but retreated. They continued retiring before us, and permitted us, without any further opposition, except a distant cannonade, to take up a position about two miles from the citadel. Our advanced posts occupied the suburbs, and some small parties were posted close to the works; but in the evening the principal part of the suburbs was evacuated. The next morning the enemy came out of the town, and attacked us with their whole force, about 6000 men, and a number of guns. They advanced in two columns; the right, consisting of cavalry, to turn our left flank, while the other, of infantry, attacked the left of our line; this column pushed in our advanced posts, and pressed so hard on our out-picquet of 400 men, that colonel Browne, who commanded on the left, ordered three companies of the 40th, under major Campbell, to their support: these companies fell in with the head of the column, and very bravely charged it; the charge was as gallantly received, and great numbers fell on both sides; at length the column began to give way, when it was suddenly and impetuously attacked in flank by the rifle corps, and light battalion, which I had ordered up, and directed to the particular point. The column now gave way on all sides, and was pursued, with great slaughter and the loss of a gun, to the town. The right column, observing the fate of their companions, rapidly retired, without coming into action. The loss of the enemy was considerable, and has been estimated at 1500 men their killed might amount to between 2 and 300; we have taken the same number of prisoners, but the principal part of the wounded got back into the town; I am happy to add, that ours was comparatively trifling. The consequences of this affair were greater than the action itself. Instead of finding ourselves surrounded with horse, and a petty warfare at our posts, many of the inhabitants of the country separated, and retired to their several villages, and we were allowed quietly to sit down before the town. From the best information I could obtain, I was led to believe that the defences of Monte Video were weak, and the garrison by no means disposed to make an obstinate resistance; but I found the works truly respectable, with 160 pieces of cannon; and they were ably defended. The enem

enemy, being in possession of the island of Ratones, commanded the harbour; and I was aware that their gun-boats would annoy us, as we approached. A two-gun battery was constructed on the 23d, to keep them in check, and our posts were extended to the harbour, and completely shut in the garrison on the land side. Their communication was still, however, open by water, and their boats conveyed to them troops and provisions: even water for the garrison was obtained by these means; for the wells that supply the town were in our possession. On the 25th we opened batteries of four twenty-four pounders and two mortars, and all the frigates and smaller vessels came in, as close as they could with safety, and cannonaded the town. But finding that the garrison was not intimidated into a surrender, I constructed, on the 28th, a battery of six twenty-four pounders, within a thousand yards of the south-east bastion of the citadel, which I was informed was in so weak a state that it might be easily breached. The parapet was soon in ruins, but the rampart received little injury, and I was soon convinced that my means were unequal to a regular siege; the only prospect of success that presented itself was, to erect a battery as near as possible to a wall by the south gate, that joins the works to the sea, and endeavour to breach it. This was effected by a six-gun battery within six hundred yards; and though it was exposed to a very superior fire from the enemy, which had been incessant during the whole of the siege, a breach was reported practicable on the 2d instant. Many reasons induced me not to delay the assault, though I was aware the troops would be exposed to a very heavy fire in approaching and mounting the breach. Orders were issued for the attack an hour before day-break the ensuing morning, and a summons was sent to the governor in the evening to surrender the town. To this message no answer was returned. The troops destined for the assault consisted of the rifle corps under major Gardner, the light infantry under lieutenant-colonel Brownrigg and major Trotter, the grenadiers under majors Campbell and Tucker, and the 38th regiment under lieutenant-colonel Vassal and major Nugent. They were supported by the 40th regiment under major Dalrymple, and the 87th under lieutenant-colonel Butler and major Miller. The whole were commanded by colonel Browne. The remainder of my force, consisting of the 17th light dragoons, detachments of the 20th and 21st light dragoons, the 47th regiment, a company of the 71st, and a corps of 700 marines and seamen, were encamped under brigadier-general Lumley, to protect our rear. At the appointed hour the troops marched to the assault. They approached near the breach before they were discovered, when a destructive fire from every gun that could bear upon it, and from the musketry of the garrison, opened upon them. Heavy as it was, our loss would have been comparatively trifling, if the breach had been open; but, during the night, and under our fire, the enemy had baricaded it with hides, so as to render it nearly impracticable. The night was extremely dark. The head of the column missed the breach; and, when it was approached, it was so shut up, that it was mistaken for the untouched

wall. In this situation the troops remained under a heavy fire for a quarter of an hour, when the breach was discerned by captain Rennie of the 40th light infantry, who pointed it out, and gloriously fell as he mounted it. Our gallant soldiers rushed to it, and, difficult as it was of access, forced their way into the town. Cannon were placed at the head of the principal streets, and their fire for a short time was destructive: but the troops advanced in all directions, clearing the streets and batteries with their bayonets, and overturning their cannon. The 40th regiment, with colonel Browne, followed. They also missed the breach, and twice passed through the fire of the batteries before they found it. The 87th regiment was posted near the north gate, which the troops who entered at the breach were to open for them; but their ardour was so great that they could not wait. They scaled the walls, and entered the town as the troops within approached it. At day-light every thing was in our possession except the citadel, which made a show of resistance, but soon surrendered, and early in the morning the town was quiet, and the women were peaceably walking the streets. The gallantry displayed by the troops during the assault, and their forbearance and orderly behaviour in the town, speak so fully in their praise, that it is unnecessary for me to say how highly I am pleased with their conduct. The service they have been engaged in since we landed, has been uncommonly severe and laborious, but not a murmur has escaped them; every thing I wished has been effected with order and cheerfulness. Our loss during the siege was trifling, particularly as we were not sheltered by approaches, and the enemy's fire of shot and shells was incessant. But it is painful for me to add, that it was great at the assault. Many most valuable officers are among the killed and wounded. Major Dalrymple of the 40th was the only field-officer killed. Lieutenant-colonels Vassal and Brownrigg, and major Tucker, are among the wounded. I am deeply concerned to say, that the two former are severely so. The enemy's loss was very great, about 800 killed, 500 wounded, and the governor don Pasquil Ruis Huidobro, with upwards of 2000 officers and men, are prisoners. About 1500 escaped in boats, or secreted themselves in the town. From brigadier-general the honourable W. Lumley and from colonel Browne I have received the most able and most zealous assistance and support. The former protected the line from the enemy during our march, and covered our rear during the siege. The latter conducted it with great judgement and determined bravery. The established reputation of the royal artillery has been firmly supported by the company under my orders, and I consider myself much indebted to captains Watson, Dickson, Carmichael, and Willgress, for their zealous and able exertions. Captain Fanshaw, of the engineers, was equally zealous, and though young in the service, conducted himself with such propriety that I have no doubt of his proving a valuable officer. Owing to great fatigue, he was taken ill in the midst of our operations, and captain Dickson readily undertook his office, and executed it with the greatest judgment. From the heads of the corps and departments, from the general staff of the army, from

the medical, and from my own personal staff, I have received the most prompt and cheerful assistance. It is sufficient to say, that the utmost cordiality has subsisted between rear-admiral Stirling and myself; I have received from him the most friendly attention, and every thing in his power to grant. The captains and officers of the navy have been equally zealous to assist us; but I feel particularly indebted to captains Donelly and Palmer for their great exertions. They commanded a corps of marines and seamen that were landed, and were essentially useful to us with the guns, and in the batteries, as well as in bringing up the ordnance and stores. This dispatch will be delivered to you by major Tucker, who was wounded at the assault; and as he has long been in my confidence, I beg leave to refer you to him for further particulars. I am, &c.

S. Auchmuty.

P. S. I am extremely concerned to add, that lieutenants-colonels Vassal and Brownrigg both died yesterday of their wounds. I had flattered myself with hopes of their recovery; but a rapid mortification has deprived his majesty of two most able and gallant officers.

Killed, wounded, and missing between the 16th and 20th ult. 1 lieutenant, 1 drummer, 18 rank and file, killed; 2 majors, 3 captains, 1 lieutenant, 2 serjeants, 1 drummer, 119 rank and file, wounded; 1 rank and file missing.—During the siege, 1 captain, 3 rank and file, killed; 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign, 12 rank and file, wounded; 7 rank and file, missing.—At the assault, 1 major, 3 captains, 2 lieutenants, 2 serjeants, 5 drummers, 105 rank and file, killed; 2 lieutenant-colonels, 3 captains, 8 lieutenants, 4 ensigns, 4 staff, 18 serjeants, 5 drummers, 235 rank and file, wounded.—Total, 1 major, 4 captains, 3 lieutenants, 2 serjeants, 6 drummers, 126 rank and file, killed; 2 lieutenant-colonels, 2 majors, 6 captains, 10 lieutenants, 5 ensigns, 4 staff, 20 serjeants, 6 drummers, 366 rank and file, wounded; 8 rank and file, missing: captains Wilgress and Crookshanks, and 31 rank and file, included in the above, have since returned to their duty.

Officer killed on landing: lieutenant Fitzpatrick, of the 40th.—Slightly wounded upon landing, major Trotter, of the 83d; major Campbell, of the 40th; captains Willgress, of the royal artillery; Crookshanks, of the 38th; Rogers, of the 40th; lieutenant Chawner, of the 95th.—Killed during the siege, captain Beaumont, of the 87th.—Wounded during the siege, lieutenant O'Brien, of the 87th; honourable C. Irby, midshipman.—Killed in the assault, major Dalrymple, of the 40th, captain Rennie, of ditto; lieutenant Alston, of ditto; captain Mason, of the 38th; lieutenant Browne, of the 87th; captain Dickenson, of the 95th.—Wounded in the assault, 11th regiment, lieutenant-colonel Brownrigg, since dead.—40th, lieutenant Smith, and ensign Cameron.—87th, lieutenants Evans and McRea.—38th, lieutenant-colonel Vassal, captain Shipton, lieutenant Brownson; ensigns White, Willshire, and Frazer (the last since dead); paymaster Willshire, adjutant Hewill, and assistant surgeon Garrat.—40th, captain Whetham, lieutenants Wallace, Johnson, and Ramus.—72d, major Tucker.—87th, assistant surgeon Wildair.—95th, lieutenants Scanlon and M'Namara.

A dis-

A dispatch from admiral Stirling, dated Feb. 8, relates his co-operation with the military forces; and mentions the landing of 800 marines to assist them. Finding he could not get near enough with the ships to produce any effect, he disposed of them so as to prevent any escape from the harbour. "The distance," says he, "which the ships lay from the shore, with the almost constant high winds and swell we had, and the great way every thing was to be dragged by the seamen, up a heavy sandy road, made the duty excessively laborious. The squadron had almost daily 1400 men on shore, and this ship was often left with only 30 men on board.—The defence made by the enemy protracted the siege longer than was expected, and reduced our stock of powder so low, that the king's ships, with all the transports, and what a fleet of merchantmen had for sale, could not have furnished a further consumption for more than two days, when a practicable breach was fortunately made, and on the 3d inst. early in the morning, the town and citadel were gallantly carried by storm."—[After many encomiums on the bravery of his officers and men, the admiral states his loss at six killed, 28 wounded, and four missing, and gives a list of the prizes taken at Monte Video, comprising 57 vessels, from 100 to 650 tons, besides 15 sloop-rigged gun-boats, and 6 row-boats with guns.]

14. A letter from capt. Sayer of the Galatea frigate, dated coast of Caraccas, January 22, and transmitted by admiral Cochrane, gives an account of the capture of the French national corvette Lynx (one of those which escaped from sir Samuel Hood's squadron), by the boats of the Galatea. The enemy was discovered on the morning of the 21st, steering for La Guira, and afterwards for Barcelona. Her top-gallant sails were only visible; and she had the advantage of a light breeze, while the Galatea was nearly becalmed. The boats of the Galatea then pushed off, under the direction of the first lieutenant, William Coombe, manned with five officers, 50 seamen, and 20 marines; and, after rowing about 12 leagues in eight hours (part of the time under a burning sun) they came up with her, going with a light land breeze, about two knots; our brave fellows instantly attempted to board on both quarters, but by the fire of her guns, which had been all trained aft in readiness, and having to combat with more than double their numbers, were twice repulsed by them. The boats now dropped, and poured through the stern and quarter ports, a destructive fire of musquetoons and small arms, that cleared the deck of many of the enemy, who were all crowded aft; when, after an arduous struggle (a third time), for a footing, our men rushed aboard, and in a few minutes drove all before them; the bowsprit and jib boom were covered; some flew aloft, and others below; the captain and most of his officers were lying wounded on the decks, leaving the remainder of this handful of men in proud possession of the French 24 pounders carronades, and two long nine-pounders, chasers, pierced for 18 guns, and manned with 161 men, commanded by M. Jean M. Yarquest, with dispatches from Guadaloupe for the Caraccas: she is two years old, and a well-equipped fine vessel, in all respects, for his majesty's service. Mr. Walker, second lieutenant

tenant of the Galatea, was killed, together with 8 seamen and marines. Twenty-two were wounded, among whom Mr. Coombe, first lieutenant, and Mr. Sarsfield master's mate, were severely, and Mr. Green master's mate, slightly wounded. On board the Lynx 14 were killed, and 20 wounded, most of them badly. Among the killed was the third lieutenant.

A letter from sir A. Cochrane, on board the Jason, January 28, mentions the capture near Soramine river, of the ship La Favorite, (formerly in his majesty's service,) mounting sixteen long sixes and thirteen twelve-pounder carronades, having on-board 150 men.

[This gazette also contains an accout of the capture of two small Spanish frigates, on the Jamaica station, by his majesty's ships Orpheus and Hunter.]

Discovery of a valuable gold mine in India.

The sand of the rivers of Poniacer, Palaur, and Cargoory in India, has long been celebrated for the quantity of gold found in it; so abundant in fact, that, after heavy floods, grains of gold were constantly found in the ears of paddy on the banks of the rivers. Representations on the subject having recently been made to the Madras government, they sent lieutenant J. Warren to Ooscotta, to survey that district; and the result has been the discovery of a tract, about 45 miles in length, along the Yena Batterine Conda Hills, abounding with gold.

AMERICA AND THE WEST INDIES.

The bill for prohibiting the importation of slaves into America, after the 31st December 1807, has received the signature of the president.

All the legal proceedings against Mr. Burr have failed. Having surrendered himself, he was bound to appear at the supreme court of the territory of Mississippi. He did appear there; and the attorney general found he was not authorised to proceed against him, the offence of which he was accused not having been committed within his jurisdiction: no bill was consequently prepared or found against him; and the grand jury having been discharged, Mr. B. conceived he was entitled to be discharged also. In consequence, he did not appear again at the court. This, however, was not the opinion of the governor of the Mississipi; and he has proclaimed Mr. Burr as breaking his recognizance, and offered a reward of 2000 dollars for his apprehension.

PASSAGE OF THE DARDANELLES.

14. The Porte was attacked in its territories by the Russians without any declaration of war; the acts of her internal administration were criticised in the proclamation of the enemy's general; not a single diplomatic note preceded the hostile operations, and no way was left open for a reconciliation. The English ambassador also acted in the same spirit; he saw the Russian minister depart, and he remained tranquil. A few weeks after he appeared at a conference which took place on the 25th of January with the Sublime Porte. He handed a declaration, and then went on board of a frigate, ordered the cables to be cut, and disappeared; and on the 29th he sent from on board the frigate Endymion another note to the Porte. It was plain at this crisis, that it was intended to impose upon the Porte by a sudden blow; for scarcely had the

the ambassador arrived at Tenedos, when the squadron of admiral Duckworth appeared there also. After the English admiral had waited some time at Tenedos, he appeared with two 3-deckers, three 80-gun ships, two 74s, and a few bomb-vessels, before the Dardanelles. Favoured by a south wind, the enemy's squadron arrived at eight o'clock in the morning of 19th February before the batteries of the two first towers; the latter began a brisk and well-directed fire, which the English did not answer. When they arrived off the heights of the two other forts, the batteries began to play upon the ships. The wind drove the ships forward, and the batteries of the fort were badly manned. Off the heights of Gallipoli, the English squadron encountered a Turkish ship of the line and five frigates. The crews of these vessels were in the mosques. Besides, what could this division do against so superior a force? The English attacked them, and were accused of a transgression which was said to be peculiar to the nation, and with which they had already disgraced themselves by the burning of four Spanish frigates. The English admiral, in short, burned the six Turkish ships of war; and yet war was not declared, negotiations were still going on, and the minister of the Porte was still in London. Constantinople was in an uproar; in place of despondency being produced, all the inhabitants were inflamed.

On the 20th, at five o'clock in the evening, the English squadron appeared before the Seraglio. Nothing was prepared to receive them; not a single point was in a state of defence; but every one ran to arms. The Grand Sultan was the first to proceed to the positions which were thought most advisable for the batteries to be constructed. Turkish men, women, children, Armenians, Greeks, Ulemas, sheiks, dervises,—all seized upon spades and shovels. Ten French engineers, artillery, and artillery officers, arrived from Dalmatia in the night time. In five days, 500 cannon and 100 mortars were planted on the batteries, and the Turkish empire was not only secured against the destruction of a few houses and buildings, but also against the loss of its honour and dignity,—the only kind of property which nations can never regain when they have once lost them. In the mean time, the English minister sent a boat on shore to demand a truce. The rage which filled all the inhabitants was concealed, and the Kiaya Bey went on board of the admiral's ship to hear the proposals that might be made to him. They were as follow:—The Dardanelles to be given to the English; 15 ships of war, fully equipped, to be taken to Malta; the Porte to declare war against France, and send away the ambassador; Russia to keep Moldavia and Wallachia; Ismael, and the other fortresses on the Danube, to be delivered up to the Russians. Such proposals deserved no answer. The next day the minister of the Porte was dispatched, but in vain. Either the acceptance of the conditions, or bombardment, was the language of the English admiral. He did not think that mortars were in readiness, and that bombs would answer bombs.—Such is the enemy's account of this affair.

On 25th Feb. the English ambassador required that a place should be appointed where he could land, in order to confer with the minister

minister of the Porte. The Divan answered, that in future there was no place, no foot of ground in the whole Ottoman empire, where an Englishman could land without being exposed to the just indignation of the people; that even in the Seraglio of the Sultan himself, there was not sufficient power to protect an Englishman against the exasperation of Mussulmen. The English squadron now saw that they could obtain nothing; that the Porte was not to be terrified, and that their plan had failed. They desisted from the first proposed conditions; but the Sultan replied, that he would not negotiate as long as the English fleet was on this side of the Dardanelles; a sublime answer, to be compared to that of the Roman senate to Pyrrhus. The English now proceeded to use intrigue, corruption, and meanness; the usual arts resorted to by injustice and presumption.

On 26th Feb. admiral Duckworth sent a note along with the instructions of admiral Louis to the Reis Effendi, whom he expected to resume the negotiations. The Grand Sultan was inflexible; his conduct was energetic and decided. Although educated in the Seraglio, he behaved himself as a prince who had spent all his life in camps. He was night and day with his troops, or upon the batteries. On 2d March, general Sebastiani was permitted to approach him. The former found him on horseback, in the midst of his soldiers.—The Grand Seignior said to him, "The English wish that I should remove the French ambassador, and commence war against my best friend. Write to the emperor, that I received a letter from him yesterday, that I shall stand by my engagements, that he may depend upon me as truly as I depend on him." The Seraglio and the European and Asiatic shores were covered with batteries; every description of fortifications was erected towards the Dardanelles, which were planted every where with cannon, and provided with camps. In these circumstances, the English fleet thought it advisable to withdraw. It has repassed the Dardanelles, and came to an anchor on the 3d, two leagues on the other side of the Streights, on the side of the old Castle of Asia.

16. A court martial assembled on-board the Gladiator, on this and the following day, to inquire into the conduct of captain Whitby, late of the Leander, on a charge of violating the neutrality of a state in amity with his majesty, and having, within the jurisdictions of the United States of America, unlawfully, wilfully, and of his malice aforethought, caused a shot to be fired, whereby John Pearce, a citizen of America, was feloniously killed and murdered. The court were of opinion that the charge had not been proved, and did adjudge captain Whitby to be acquitted.

SINGULAR SUICIDE.

17. An inquisition was taken yesterday at Harpledown, near Uxbridge, on the body of Andrew George Mautimer, Esq. who put a period to his existence on Friday last, whilst taking an airing in his carriage. The deceased, who was for many years a merchant in the metropolis, was far advanced in age, and had been confined by sickness for the last two years, which reduced him at intervals to a state of insanity. He had apparently in a great measure recovered previous to the day of his death,

death, and on that morning he ordered his carriage to take an airing. The coachman had observed the deceased in a reclining posture in the coach, and he supposed him to be sleeping; but on his arrival at his master's residence, he discovered that the deceased had inflicted a wound in his neck with a penknife, which was found near him, and had caused his death; he has left no family. Verdict—*Insanity*.

18. About three this afternoon, as a vessel was coming from the fort of Harwich, with two companies of the 79th regiment of Scotch Highlanders, in number 98 men, women, and children, she upset in a squall of wind, owing chiefly to so many men being upon deck. Though assistance was immediately given, only three small children were picked up, floating on the water, all in petticoats; one which, a boy, the father had held by his clothes in his teeth ten or fifteen minutes till some person caught hold of its clothes to save himself, and pulled it from him, the father all the time clinging to the rigging, and is one of the number saved; in the whole, 13 soldiers, 2 officers, the master, and one woman: every means was used to restore the children, but in vain. One of his majesty's gun-brigs coming in just at the time, turned its boat off, and was the means of saving the chief of them that were saved, eight of them having hung fast to the rigging.

We are sorry to state the loss of the Blanche frigate; the particulars of which are contained in a letter from captain sir Thomas Lavie, dated Brest, March 9. The ship sailed from Portsmouth on the 3d, to join admiral sir James Saumarez, and encountered most tempestuous weather. On the night of the 4th she struck. The captain thus proceeds: "The night was dreadfully dark and cold, and there was no possibility of discriminating whether the rocks were distant from the land, or connected with the shore; however, happily, it proved the latter. I immediately ordered the masts to be cut away, and recommended the officers and men to stay by me and the ship to the last. A few hands got into the quarter-boats; and they were no sooner on the water than they were dashed to pieces. It was about high water; and while the tide flowed the ship lay tolerably easy, until it began to fall, when most tremendous breakers covered us. I remained by the wheel until she divided amidships, and fell over seaward. The crew were all on the side, and hauled me up to them. It was pleasing to observe the attention they paid me to the last; and now they caress me as their father. We lay in this state about three hours, when the water left the wreck sufficient for us to attempt a landing, and, with the exception of a few, got safe on shore, and assembled under a rock, when three cheers were given to the remains of the poor dear Blanche. At day-light, not two pieces of wood were left together, and the masts were shattered into shivers. Nothing was saved; and we make a most shabby appearance. A cask of rum was the only thing found on the shore; and, after I was carried to a cottage, some were so imprudent as to broach it, by which about 15 died. It is not possible to ascertain our exact loss, but should think 45, 20 of whom were marines. All the officers are saved. Mr. Goodhew, passenger, died through fear. We landed on a shocking coast; but every

every attention possible was paid to us. We have already been marched about 30 miles, and are now at Brest, which is a heaven to all hands, as they are most comfortably lodged and fed in the navy hospital."

20. A most extraordinary circumstance occurred at Sheffield: a clergyman, who resides near our parish church, was hastily summoned thither, early in the morning, to marry a couple, the woman, as he was informed, being taken very ill. He accordingly attended as soon as the clock struck eight, and immediately proceeded with the ceremony, which however was scarcely concluded, and the register duly signed and witnessed, ere the young bride appeared in such extremity of pain, as to render her removal, without the approbation of a surgeon, highly unwarrantable, if not absolutely impracticable. A neighbouring one, who was instantly procured, arrived just in time to deliver the poor woman in the vestry (in the presence of the clerk's wife, who very humanely slipped in on the occasion, and of the sexton, an elderly matron) of a very fine girl, which was baptized before it left the church by the name of Sarah; and before nine o'clock a sedan conveyed the happy mother to the house of her grandfather, at the Bridge-houses, where she and the infant were pronounced "as well as can be expected." It ought to be mentioned, in justice to both parties, that insuperable obstacles hitherto impeded their more early and much wished for union; that the woman was very well when she left home, and that a fall which she got on the snowy pavement, in coming to church, probably hastened the above singular catastrophe.

John Robinson, of Mickleby, farmer, was committed to the castle of York on the second inst. charged with the murder of Susannah Wilson, who formerly lived with him a servant, but who about two months since went to reside with a relation at Guisbrough. This poor girl left her friends at Guisbrough on the morning of the 17th February (on the evening of which day there is every reason to believe she was murdered, though her body was not found till the 27th of March), alleging she was going to see her master, who had promised to meet her with a bushel of wheat; but previous to her setting out, she told them (to use her own language), a fear had come that morning, that if any thing but good came to her, they were to look to nobody but Robinson. Some weeks having elapsed without any tidings being received of her, it was conjectured she had been murdered; and as she left Guisbrough to proceed towards Mickleby (a distance of 12 miles) for the avowed purpose of meeting Robinson, suspicion naturally fell upon him. This mysterious affair having become a common topic of conversation, on Good Friday several country people made a strict search for the body, which they at last found buried in a part of Robinson's ground. At the coroner's inquest Robinson's servant deposed, that his master left home about five o'clock in the evening of the day on which the girl left Guisbrough, and he told his family he was going to Straiths, about four miles distant; it appeared that he arrived at Straiths about half-past nine, and slept there that night, from which there is reason to believe that he proceeded to that place immediately

ly after he had perpetrated the murder. The horror excited by this atrocious deed, is greatly heightened by the consideration that the unhappy victim was, at the time, in an advanced state of pregnancy.

20. This day, the lord mayor of London, with a deputation of twelve aldermen and twelve commoners, attended by the recorder and remembrancer, proceeded with an address of the corporation to the Queen's Palace, through the Horse Guards and along the Park. The lord mayor's state carriage, his servants in state liveries, on foot, and a number of carriages, between the trees had a most delightful effect. The procession arrived at the palace exactly at two o'clock, and soon after their arrival his majesty entered the levee room, when the recorder presented the address as follows:

"To the king's most excellent majesty.

"The humble and dutiful address of the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled.

"Most gracious sovereign!

"We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons, of the city of London, in common council assembled, approach the throne with our warmest and most unfeigned gratitude, for the dignified and decided support and protection recently given by your majesty to the Protestant reformed religion, as by law established, and for the firm and constitutional exercise of your royal prerogative, to preserve the independence of the crown.

"Deeply sensible as your majesty's faithful citizens of London at all times are, of the great and substantial blessings we enjoy under your majesty's paternal government, we should justly incur the imputation of criminal indifference, as the first municipal body in your majesty's dominions, were we lightly to consider the scrupulous regard and fervent zeal, which have invariably guided your majesty, for the preservation of our religion, laws, and liberties, more particularly at this interesting conjuncture, or silently to withhold our loyal acknowledgments, due to the best of kings, for his wise and steady resolution to secure inviolate our glorious constitution in church and state.

"We contemplate, sire, with the warmest affection, and most profound veneration, the exercise of those unextinguishable principles in the royal breast, which protect, in every situation, the religious interests of your people, and provide for the happiness and freedom of posterity, by guarding the protestant succession in your majesty's royal house, on the throne of the united kingdom.

"Your majesty's faithful citizens of London feel it no less their pride and exultation, than their bounden and indispensable duty, to express the sentiments of satisfaction which animate their hearts, at the wise and dignified measures pursued by your majesty, for securing the glorious independence of the crown, as one of the three estates of our well-tempered and invaluable constitution.

"That your majesty may be long spared to us by an over-ruling providence, and that the people of this land may be long sensible of the blessings of your majesty's auspicious government, in the protection of every thing dear to them,

is

is the ardent prayer of your majesty's loyal citizens of London.

"Signed, by order of the court.

"HENRY WOODTHORPE."

They were received very courteously by his majesty, who returned them the following most gracious answer:

"I receive, with the greatest satisfaction, the assurances you give me of your concurrence in those principles which have governed my conduct on the late important occasion. It has ever been my object to secure, to all descriptions of my subjects, the benefits of religious toleration; and it affords me particular gratification to reflect, that during my reign these advantages have been more generally and extensively enjoyed than at any former period; but, at the same time, I never can forget what is due to the security of the ecclesiastical establishment of my dominions, connected as it is with our civil constitution, and with all those blessings which, by the favour of Providence, have hitherto so eminently distinguished us amongst the nations of the world."

His majesty was pleased to confer the honour of knighthood upon Jonathan Miles and James Branscomb, the sheriffs.

24. The catholics of Ireland, at a general meeting held on the 18th instant, at the Exhibition-house, in William-street, Dublin, have come to a resolution not to agitate the country by pressing their claims at the present moment. They have appointed a committee to prepare an address to their protestant fellow-subjects, expressive of their loyalty and devotion to the common cause, and their desire to cultivate and preserve the unanimity so necessary at the present moment in preference to every other consideration. That unanimity, and the confidential and happy social intercourse that results from and accompanies it, are in themselves preferable to all the political rights from which the catholics are excluded, even were they to be admitted to those rights in a much larger degree than they could ask or expect. When they live in an unrestrained interchange of brotherly affection with their protestant brethren, they will feel without concern,

> Of all the ills unhappy men endure,
> How small the part that kings can cause or cure.

25. Letters, received from a petty officer of the Nautilus, 18 guns, captain Palmer, wrecked on a desert island in the Mediterranean, state, that about 70 of the survivors, among whom was the captain and first-lieutenant, had escaped the horrors of a watery grave to encounter a more dreadful death by starvation. These poor fellows were without food nearly ten days. The captain and first-lieutenant, with the greater part of those on the island, perished from hunger. The few survivors were found on the shore, with the dead bodies of captain Palmer's coxswain and cabin-boy; which, horrible to relate, they were obliged to eat to preserve their lives, until they were taken off by the boats of the squadron under admiral Louis.

A court martial was held on board his majesty's sloop Roebuck, in Yarmouth Roads, for the purpose of trying lieutenant Henry Weir, commander of his majesty's late gun-brig Ferreter, together with his officers and crew, for the capture of the said brig by the enemy's gun-vessels in the river Emms, on the morning of the 31st of March. It appeared, by the

evidence adduced on the trial, that the Ferreter was attacked at day-break, on the 31st of March, by seven Dutch gun-vessels, each carrying three 24-pounders and 50 men. On discovering the enemy, lieutenant Weir ordered his cable to be cut, and made sail on the brig; and notwithstanding the vast superiority of force he had to contend with, he, with his little crew of only 34 men, defended the vessel in the most gallant manner, and by a spirited fire from the Ferreter kept his assailants at bay for near forty minutes. The difficulties he had to encounter, however, were such as neither skill nor courage could surmount; the wind was against his getting out of the river, his sails and rigging were cut to pieces, and at this moment the Ferreter grounded. In this condition, being perfectly unmanageable, and not being able to bring a gun to bear, the enemy boarded him on the bows and stern in great numbers. Further resistance would have been rash and unavailing, and, in all probability, would have occasioned a sacrifice of the few men he had: motives of humanity, therefore, suggested to lieutenant Weir the propriety of ordering his people below. Great praise is due to him for the coolness and presence of mind displayed by him on this trying occasion, and to which, indeed, may be attributed the preservation of the lives of his people.

Lieutenant Weir made a very animated defence, in which he expatiated with considerable ability on the zeal, promptitude, and alacrity displayed by his handful of men on this occasion, and concluded with a very able and energetic appeal to the feelings of the court and his auditors.

The court having heard the evidence, and having maturely weighed and considered the same, were of opinion, that the Ferreter, which was captured by the enemy's gun-vessels in the river Emms, on the 31st of March, was gallantly defended by lieutenant Weir, and that further resistance would have been fruitless. The court, therefore, unanimously adjudged lieutenant Weir, his officers and crew, to be most honourably acquitted; and they were thereby most honourably acquitted, accordingly. The president returned lieutenant Weir his sword, with a handsome and appropriate compliment.

An inquisition was taken, on Monday, at Islington, before G. Hodgson, esq. coroner for Middlesex, on the body of an unfortunate female, who met her death on the preceding day.—It appeared in evidence, that the deceased, who was the wife of a respectable farmer in the West of England, had, in consequence of mental derangement, been placed in an asylum for those so afflicted at Islington. Her apartment was in the attic story, and she was attended by two females, one of whom left the room for a few minutes early on Sunday morning, leaving the other in bed. The deceased seized an opportunity of making her escape to the top of the house in her chemise, and she was discovered in this situation by a person who resides opposite the madhouse, but who could afford her no relief. The neighbour saw the wretched woman step deliberately over a parapet and suspend herself by her hands a few seconds, when she fell from an immense height. Her breastbone was dreadfully fractured, and she was much bruised; but she lingered several hours before death relieved her from her misery. The verdict was, of course, Insanity.

An inquest was taken before G. Hodgson, esq. coroner for the county of Middlesex, on Tuesday, on the view of the body of Geo. Carnevale, esq. who shot himself on Sunday last. It appeared in evidence, that the deceased, who was a young gentleman about 22 years of age, had been lately married, and on the day on which he met his death had been walking with his wife and a friend in the Park. On their return, the deceased and his friend amused themselves with firing at marks in the garden of the house where he resided. After they had finished their amusement, the deceased retired into his bed-chamber, and shot himself with the pistol which he had just before been firing at the mark with. He had been subject to depression of spirits; and the jury accordingly returned a verdict of—Insanity.

This day the parliament was very unexpectedly prorogued, by a speech from the lords commissioners, previous to an intended dissolution, "his majesty being anxious to recur to the sense of his people, while the events which have recently taken place are yet fresh in their recollection."

FUNERAL OF MR. OPIE.

26. The remains of Mr. Opie were removed on Monday last, for interment in St. Paul's cathedral, in a hearse and six, followed by 29 mourning, and as many other coaches, the duke of Gloucester's closing the procession. Lord De Dunstanville, sir. John St. Aubin, sir John Leicester, Mr. Whitbread, the honourable Mr. Elphinstone and Mr. W. Smith, were pall-bearers; and his relatives and friends, as chief mourners, were followed by the president, council, officers, and members of the Royal Academy. Mr. Opie was justly denominated the English Carravaggio. Like him, his hand was not always directed by the graces, but constantly by the animated genius of painting. His draperies, though occasionally heavily executed, were always disposed with judgement and taste. His historical compositions, though devoid of the correctness of the antique, always possessed considerable dignity.

With more obvious faults than many eminent modern painters, he interested more than any of them. For if he was unclassical, he was always sensible and natural; and if inelegant he was always vigorous. In the early part of his professional career, Mr. Opie was with justice censured for want of grace in his figures, but latterly many of his female figures, both in portrait and fancy painting, have exhibited a degree of elegance and grace which the candid and discriminating few were not only able to discern, but willing to acknowledge as such. He was recently appointed professor of painting, and had delivered one year's course of lectures, in a style so strongly marked by the same original and characteristic mind which his paintings exhibit, that no one possessed of discernment could fail for a moment to recognise in Mr. Opie's lectures the same genius and the same mode of expressing which directed his celebrated pencil.

MAY.

2. The following disgraceful scene, which must be regretted by the friends of decorum and good order of all parties, took place at Liverpool.—On Mr. Roscoe presenting himself at one of the windows of the Bank, to address the

electors, the clamours of the opposite party rendered it impossible for a single word to be heard. Mr. Rathbone next presented himself, and entreated a hearing, but to as little purpose! A stone was soon afterwards thrown through one of the Bank windows, which passed close to Mr. Roscoe, and struck a gentleman on the cheek standing near him, which severely wounded him: a second stone was then thrown, which fortunately missed the window. These, however, were only the signals to a scene of more brutal outrage. The gentlemen on horseback, who had halted at the top of Dale-street, were immediately assailed in the most furious manner with whips and sticks, provided, no doubt, for the purpose. Col. Williams was actually dragged off his horse, and most scandalously treated, whilst the poor animal was stabbed in the flank with a knife. Stones and staves were thrown in every direction, and many of the friends of Mr. Roscoe were severely wounded. Counsellor Raincock received a violent blow on the face, which was succeeded by a second. A miscreant carrying a standard in his hand, rushed with it through the crowd, and forced it violently through a window of the Bank, aiming it directly at the breast of Mr. Rathbone, who retired to avoid the brutal assault. In this state of confusion and tumult, which the appearance of Mr. Roscoe seemed only to increase, and after repeated but unavailing calls for the interference of magistracy, that gentleman was prevailed upon, as the only means of putting a stop to a scene of outrage and bloodshed, to retire.

On Monday the right hon. Charles Bathurst made his public entry as a candidate for Bristol; but the No Popery mob received him, on the Exchange, with reiterated hisses and groans, and would not permit him to be heard. They continued their conduct to the White Lion Inn, where they became outrageous, declaring they would not be represented by a friend of popery, and proceeded to demolish the windows, the whole of which were destroyed; and on some loose boys being taken into custody for riotous conduct, the mob proceeded to the Council House, the windows of which they also broke; and not a blue ribbon was to be seen the whole evening. On Tuesday the election came on, when Messrs. Bathurst and Baillie were declared duly elected. The hisses and groans of the populace were incessant, until Mr. Bathurst got into his chair, when the people manifested every disposition to do him personal injury, by throwing mud, oyster-shells, &c. at him. When he had passed only a few yards into High-street, he was assaulted with stones; and on being struck with a piece of wood, he seized and held it in his hand with a seeming menace, which so exasperated the deluded people, that stones, oyster-shells, &c. fell in showers; and Mr. Bathurst, having received several severe blows, was obliged to descend from his chair and seek refuge in a house in High-street, and the blue cavalcade compelled to return.

3. On Thursday se'nnight, about three o'clock in the afternoon, Alex. Williamson, hopsman to John Corson, of Dalwhat, on his way from Dumfries to Kirkcudbright, stopped at Drumjohn, in the parish of Kirkgunzion, to look upon some cattle; and having gone about a quarter of a mile off the high road for that purpose, he was most barbarously murdered by a

pistol shot, and thereafter robbed of a letter, containing a bill upon London for 800*l.*, his watch, a purse containing some silver, and several papers. The ball entered about an inch from the spine, fractured one of the ribs, passed directly through the heart and breast, and was only covered by the tegument of the breast, when found by Messrs. Laing and Shortbridge, surgeons, Dumfries, who opened the body. Mr. Ferguson, of Drumjohn, who was going to join Williamson, heard the shot, and saw the murderer run away: he immediately returned home, and dispatched his son and servant upon horseback in search of him; at the same time they alarmed the whole neighbourhood, who all with the greatest alacrity joined in the pursuit; and about an hour after the murder, a man was discovered concealing himself in a ditch, within a plantation in the lands of Lochend.—He was apprehended, and the letter containing the bill, the watch, the purse, and silver, and the papers, of which Williamson was robbed, found upon him, together with a pair of pistols, the one loaded and the other not. The man calls himself Maitland Smith, stocking-maker, Dumfries; and he travelled from near Cargen toll-bar to Kirkgunzion in company with Williamson. Smith has been committed to Kirkcudbright gaol.

6.—Election Duel.—In consequence of some circumstances which happened at a public dinner among Mr. Paull's friends, on Friday May 4, and, possibly, of some further circumstances relating to the election not explained, a challenge was given by Mr. Paull to sir Francis Burdett, and a meeting took place yesterday morning at Putney. The result was, that both parties were wounded: Mr. Paull in the leg, and sir Francis Burdett in the thigh, near the pope's eye. Sir Francis Burdett lies at his own house in Piccadilly: he is pronounced out of danger: he is attended by Mr. Cline. Mr. Paull lies at his house in Charles-street, St. James's square. The bone of his leg is shattered a little below the knee.

A fire, the most destructive in its consequences, broke out at three o'clock on Friday the 4th, at the house of Mrs. St. Leger, in Norton-street, Marybone, who was absent from home: the fire was first discovered in the second floor. The rapidity of the flames spread universal alarm, and it also produced a dreadful catastrophe. A young woman, servant maid in Mrs. St. Leger's family, who slept in the garret, presented herself at the window of her chamber whilst the flames were raging beneath on every side. She had no opportunity of descending by the stairs, nor had she any alternative of escaping immediate death but by risking the awful mode she adopted, that of throwing herself into the street. She did so; when, shocking to relate, her head was dashed in pieces, and she died instantaneously. About this time some shrieks were heard to come from the first floor, which proceeded from the nursery maid, who was unable by the smoke and fire to find the place of repose of an infant. She ran frantic into the street, when a person at the hazard of his life ran to relieve the child, which philanthropic act succeeded, although he was obliged to throw it out of the first floor window, but fortunately it was caught by the populace unhurt. The house was demolished, but the flames were prevented spreading by the party walls and the exertions of the firemen.

The body of a female, apparently about 24 years of age, was picked up in the Thames, above Milbank, early on Tuesday morning, by a boatman, of Lambeth, which did not appear to have been long in the water. A scarlet mantle, shoes, and a hair-comb, were found by the river side on Sunday night, by a soldier in the Guards, which appears to have belonged to the female in question, who resided in the vicinity of Cavendish-square. The body was owned by a person in whose house the deceased lodged; and it appeared that she had left her apartments on Sunday evening (as she said) to go and see an acquaintance in Park-street. It is supposed that circumstances of embarrassment led the wretched woman to commit the rash act.

An Inquisition was taken yesterday on the body of Ann Nicholson, who met her death by falling out of a window at the late disastrous fire in the house of Mrs. St. Leger. It appeared by the statement of Mr. Anderson, a carpenter, that on hearing the alarm of fire, he saw the second floor in flames, and in the third floor and attic he saw two females at the window, vociferating shrieks of distress. He went to the window of the third floor of an adjoining unfinished house, which was parallel with that of the house on fire, and the space between them was about 4 or 5 feet. The deceased was the nearest to Mr. A. who stretched out his hand, as she was hanging out at the window, which she laid hold of, and slung herself under the window of the new house. The deceased was in a swoon, and witness held her with both his hands for five minutes, without being enabled to move her, and she at length fell in an erect state; her feet touched the moulding of the first floor, which precipitated her upon her head, and dashed out her brains.

The other young woman craved the assistance of Mr. Anderson, who took hold of her hand, and she slung herself under the window as her companion had done. She was considerably lighter than the deceased, and being very active, whilst Mr. A. held one hand, she caught the window-frame of the second-floor with the other, and remained suspended until her deliverer went into another room, and saved her life by dragging her in at the window.—Verdict, Accidental Death.

The following narrative of the last moments of the brave lieut.-col. Vassal, who fell at the capture of Monte-Video in February, is given by serjeant Matthews, in a letter to a friend of the colonel's: —"On our approach to the walls, we missed the breach; the grape and musketry flew so hot, drove the men in confusion, and numbers of them were about to retreat, but for his exertions. When he observed any of them stop or flinch, he cried out as loud as possible, 'My brave men, don't flinch; every bullet has its billet; brush on, follow me, 38th.' He called on them repeatedly in this manner till he got them inside of the breach. He immediately directed a party to take possession of the cannon-battery next the sea, which was done in a few minutes; and another party, under the command of major Ross, to advance to the great church, and was also advancing himself, when a grape-shot broke his leg; and as soon as he fell he cried out, 'Push on, my good soldiers! charge them, never mind me, somebody will take me up; it 's only the loss of a leg in the service.' He sat up

up and helped to lay on a handkerchief to stop the blood. He cried out all the time of the action, 'I do n't care for my leg, if my regiment does its duty; and I hope it will.' As soon as the town surrendered, he heard the men cheer; he joined them in as great spirits as though nothing had happened, and called to me to have him carried to the head of his regiment.—At half-past three in the morning of the 3d he received his wound; on the 7th, at one, he departed; and at eight on the same evening was interred at the entrance of the great church with all military honours."

Admiralty-office, May 5.

This gazette contains dispatches from sir J. Duckworth to lord Collingwood, relative to the affairs at the Dardanelles on the 19th and 27th of February, and 3d of March. The following are the particulars.

Royal George, without the Dardanelles, March 6.

My lord,

Together with this letter, I transmit to your lordship two letters of the 21st and 28th ult. the former of which will have informed you of my arrival with the squadron near Constantinople, and the latter of an unlucky attempt, in which the marines and boats' crews of the Canopus, Royal George, Windsor Castle, and Standard, had been engaged.

It is now my duty to acquaint your lordship with the result of the resolution which, for the reasons I have already detailed, I had adopted of forcing the passage of the Dardanelles. My letter of the 21st is dated at anchor eight miles from Constantinople, the wind not admitting of a nearer approach; but the Endymion, which had been sent a-head with a flag of truce, at the request of the ambassador, was enabled to anchor within four miles. Had it been then in our power, we should have taken our station off the town immediately; but as that could not be done from the rapidity of the current, I was rather pleased than otherwise with the position we had been forced to take; for in the conferences between Mr. Arbuthnot and the captain pasha, of the particulars of which your lordship is in possession, it was promised by Mr. A. that even when the squadron had arrived before Constantinople, the door to pacification should remain open, and that he would be willing to negotiate on terms of equality and justice. In consideration of this promise, and as it would convince the Porte of his majesty's earnest desire to preserve peace, as well as possess her ministers with a confidence in the sincerity of our professions, it was the opinion of Mr. A., in which I concurred, that it was fortunate we had anchored at a little distance from the capital, as a nearer approach might have given cause of suspicion and alarm, and have cut off the prospect of an amicable adjustment of the differences which had arisen.—At noon of the 21st, Ysak Bey, a minister of the Porte, came off; from whose expressions Mr. Arbuthnot thought it impossible not to believe, that in the head of the government (for, in the present instance, every circumstance proved that between him and the armed populace a great distinction is to be made) there really existed a sincere desire for peace; and the negotiation was carried on, as will appear by the documents transmitted to your lordship, till the 27th; but from the moment of our anchorage till we weighed, on the

morning of the 1st of March, such was the unfortunate state of the weather, that it was not at any time in our power to have occupied a situation which would have enabled the squadron to commence offensive operations against Constantinople. On Sunday the 22d, alone, for a few hours the breeze was sufficient to have stemmed the current where we were placed; but such was the rapidity on shore, where the Endymion was at anchor, that capt. Capel thought it very doubtful whether the squadron could have obtained an anchorage, though it had been held in preparative readiness, by signal, from day-break: but the peculiarly unsettled state of the weather, and the minister's desire that I should give a few hours for an answer to his letter, through Ysak Bey, prevented me from trying. Before five o'clock *p. m.* it was nearly calm; and in the evening the wind was entirely from the eastward, and continued light airs or calm till the evening of the 28th, when it blew fresh from the N. E. and rendered it impossible to change our position.—Two days after our arrival near Constantinople, the ambassador found himself indisposed, and has been ever since confined with a fit of illness, so severe as to prevent him from attending to business. Under these circumstances he had delivered in, on the 22d, to the Turkish ministers, a project, as the basis on which peace might be preserved; and at his desire the subsequent part of the negotiation was carried on in my name, with his advice and assistance; and while I lament most deeply that it has not ended in the re-establishment of peace, I derive consolation from the reflection that no effort has been wanting on the part of Mr. Arbuthnot and myself to obtain such a result, which was soon seen, from the state of the preparations at Constantinople, could be effected by negotiation only; as the strength of the current from the Bosphorus, with the circuitous eddies of the port, rendered it impracticable to place ships for an attack without a commanding breeze; which, during the ten days I was off the town, it was not my good fortune to meet with. I now come to the point of explaining to your lordship the motives which fixed me to decide in repassing the channel of the Dardanelles, and relinquishing every idea of attacking the capital; and I feel confident it will require no argument to convince your lordship of the utter impracticability of our force having made any impression, as at this time the whole line of the coast presented a chain of batteries; that twelve Turkish line-of-battle ships, two of them 3-deckers, with nine frigates, were with their sails bent, and apparently in readiness, filled with troops: add to this, near two hundred thousand were said to be in Constantinople, to march against the Russians: besides, there were an innumerable quantity of small craft, with boats; and fire-vessels had been prepared to act against us. With the batteries alone we might have coped, or with the ships, could we have got them out of their strong hold; but your lordship will be aware, that after combating the opposition which the resources of an empire had been employed many weeks in preparing, we should have been in no state to have defended ourselves against them as described, and then repass the Dardanelles. I know it was my duty, in obedience to your lordship's orders, to attempt every thing (governed by the

the opinion of the ambassador) that appeared within the compass of possibility; but when the unavoidable sacrifice of the squadron committed to my charge (which must have arisen, had I waited for a wind to have enabled me to cannonade the town, unattended by the remotest chance of obtaining any advantage for his majesty's service) must have been the consequence of pursuing that object, it at once became my positive duty, however wounded in pride and ambition, to relinquish it; and if I had not been already satisfied on the subject, the increased opposition in the Dardanelles would have convinced me I had done right, when I resolved on the measure as indispensably necessary. I therefore weighed with the squadron on the morning of the 1st; and as it had been reported that the Turkish fleet designed to make an effort against us, to give them an opportunity, if such was really their intention, I continued to stand on and off during the day: but they showed no disposition to move. I therefore, as every hour was of importance, bore up at dusk with the squadron: we arrived off Point Pesquies towards the evening of the 2d instant; but the day-light would not admit of our attempting to pass the castles, and the squadron came to anchor for the night; we weighed in the morning, and, when I add that every ship was in safety outside of the passage about noon, it was not without the most lively sense of the good fortune that has attended us. The Turks had been occupied unceasingly, in adding to the number of their forts; some had been already completed, and others were in a forward state. The fire of the two inner castles had, on our going up, been severe; but, I am sorry to say, the effects they have had on our ships returning, has proved them to be doubly formidable: in short, had they been allowed another week to complete their defences throughout the channel, it would have been a very doubtful point whether a return lay open to us at all. The manner in which they employed the interval of our absence has proved their assiduity. I transmit your lordship an account of the damages sustained by the respective ships; as also their loss in killed and wounded, which your lordship will perceive is far from trifling. The main-mast of the Windsor Castle being more than three quarters cut through by a granite-shot of eight hundred weight, we have found great difficulty in saving it.

J. T. Duckworth.

P. S. I am sorry to observe, that, in the course of this letter to your lordship, I have omitted to mention that, having placed the hon. capt. Capel in the Endymion, which had been advanced in the stream of the Bosphorus, for the purpose of ascertaining when the squadron could stem the current, and for a watchful observation of the movements of the Turks, as well as to facilitate communication with the Porte, I feel myself indebted to that officer for his zealous attention and assiduity during the time he was placed in that arduous situation. J. T. D.

Royal George, off Constantinople, Feb. 21.

My lord,

I had the honour of transmitting to your lordship, by the late first-lieutenant of the Ajax, the various details relating to the transactions of the squadron till the 17th ult. Your lordship will from thence have been informed of my resolution

tion of passing the Dardanelles the first fair wind. A fine wind from the southward permitted me to carry it into effect on the morning of the 19th. Information had been given me by his majesty's minister Mr. Arbuthnot, and sir Thomas Louis, that the Turkish squadron, consisting of a 64-gun ship, four frigates, and several corvettes, had been for some time at anchor within the inner castle; and conceiving it possible they might have remained there, I had given orders to rear-admiral sir Sidney Smith, to bring up with the Thunderer, Standard, and Active, and destroy them should our passage be opposed. At a quarter before nine o'clock, the whole of the squadron had passed the outer castles, without having returned a shot to their fire (which occasioned but little injury). This forbearance was produced by the desire of his majesty's minister, expressed to preserve every appearance of amity, that he might negotiate with the strongest proof of the pacific disposition of our sovereign towards the Porte; a second battery opened on the European side, fired also with as little effect. At half past nine o'clock the Canopus, which, on account of sir Thomas Louis's knowledge of the channel, joined to the steady gallantry which I had before experienced, had been appointed to lead, entered the narrow passage of Sestos and Abydos, and sustained a heavy cannonade from both castles, within point-blank shot of each. They opened their fire on our ships as they continued to pass in succession, although I was happy in observing that the very spirited return it met with had so considerably diminished its force, that the effect on the sternmost ships could not have been so severe. Immediately to the N. E. of the castles, and between them and Point Pesquies, on which a formidable battery had been newly erected, the small squadron which I have already alluded to were at anchor. The van division of our squadron gave them their broadsides as they passed, and sir Sidney Smith, with his division, closed into the midst, and the effect of the fire was such that in half an hour the Turks had all cut their cables to run on shore. The object of the rear-admiral was then to destroy them, which was most rapidly effected; as in less than four hours the whole of them had exploded, except a small corvette, and a gunboat, which it was thought proper to preserve. I inclose to your lordship a statement of their number; and when I add also an account of the loss his majesty's ships have sustained, I cannot help expressing my satisfaction that we have suffered so slightly; as, had any of their stone shot, some of which exceeded 800 weight, made such a breach between wind and water, as they have done in our sides, the ships must have sunk; or had they struck a lower mast in the centre, it must evidently have been cut in two; in the rigging, too, no accident occurred that was not perfectly arranged in the course of next day. The spritsail yard of the Royal George, the gaft of the Canopus, and the main-topsail yard of the Standard, are the only spars that were injured. It is with peculiar pleasure that I embrace the opportunity which has been at this time afforded, of bearing testimony to the zeal and distinguished ability of sir Sidney Smith; the manner in which he executed the service intrusted to him was worthy of the reputation which he has long since

so

so justly and generally established. The terms of approbation in which the rear-admiral relates the conduct of captains Dacres, Talbot, Harvey, and Moubray, which, from my being under the necessity of passing the Point of Pesquies before the van could anchor, he had a greater opportunity of observing than I could, cannot but be highly flattering; but I was a more immediate witness to the able and officer-like conduct which captain Moubray displayed in obedience to my signal, by destroying a frigate with which he had been more particularly engaged, having driven her on shore on the European side, after she had been forced to cut her cables, from under the fire of the Pompée and Thunderer. The sixty-four having run on shore on Pesquies Point, I ordered the Repulse to work up and destroy her, which captain Legge, in conjunction with the boats of the Pompée, executed with great promptitude and judgement. The battery on the Point, of more than thirty guns, which, had it been completely finished, was in a position to have annoyed the squadron most severely in passing, was taken possession of by the royal marines and boats' crews of the rear division; the Turks having retired at their approach, and the guns were immediately spiked. This service was performed under the direction of captain Nicholls, of the Standard's marines, whose spirit and enterprise can never be doubted: but as circumstances rendered it impracticable to effect the entire destruction of the redoubt, orders were given by sir Sidney Smith to capt. Moubray, which I fully approved, to remain at anchor near the Pesquies, and to employ lieuts. Carrol and Arabin of the Pompée, and lieut. Lawrie of the marines, to complete the demolition of the redoubt and guns; which when performed, the Active was to continue in the passage of the Dardanelles till further orders. At a quarter past five *p. m.* the squadron was enabled to make sail; and on the evening of the next day, the 20th, came to an anchor at ten o'clock, near the Prince's Island, about 8 miles from Constantinople, when I dispatched capt. Capel, in the Endymion, to anchor near the town, if the wind, which was light, would permit the ship to stem the current, to convey the ambassador's dispatches to the Sublime Porte in the morning by a flag of truce; but he found it impracticable to get within four miles, and consequently anchored at half past 11 *p. m.* I have now the highest satisfaction to add, that the conduct of the officers and ships' companies of the squadron under my command has fully supported the character of the British navy, and is deserving of my warmest eulogium. Having endeavoured to pay just tribute to those whose duty necessarily called them into this service, I should feel myself very deficient if I omitted to mention, that his majesty's minister, Mr. Arbuthnot, and lord Burghersh (who had requested to take a cruize with me), were amongst the most animated in the combat. To capt. Blackwood, who, after the unfortunate loss of the Ajax, volunteered to serve in the Royal George, great praise is due for his able assistance in regulating the fire of the middle and lower decks; and when the Royal George anchored, he most readily offered his services to convey a message to the Endymion, of great moment, her pilot having refused to take charge of the ship. From thence he gave his assistance

assistance to arrange the landing of the troops from the sixty-four, and setting her on fire: indeed, where active service was to perform, there was his anxious desire to be placed. His officers too requested to serve in the squadron, and their services in passing the Dardanelles met with approbation. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) J. T. DUCKWORTH.

A list of Turkish ships and vessels taken and destroyed at anchor off Point Pesquies, Feb. 19, 1807, *within the Forts of the Dardanelles.*

Burnt, 1 line-of-battle ship, of 64 guns; 4 frigates, 3 corvettes, 1 brig, 2 gun-boats. Taken possession of, 1 corvette, 1 gun-boat.

[The letter, dated Feb. 28, mentions an unfortunate attempt to capture a body of Turks, who had landed on the island of Prota, and were erecting a battery. About 100 of the enemy retired to an old convent, and fired through the loopholes on our seamen and marines who had landed. Lieut. Belli, a promising young officer, fell at the attack of the Prota. Lieuts. Willoughby and Forbes were wounded; as were Messrs. Holbrook, Furneaux, Dalrymple, Alexander, Rouse, and Cotesworth, midshipmen: and 33 seamen and 8 marines were killed. The total loss on the different days was, 42 killed, 235 wounded, and 4 missing.]

Downing-street, May 9.

The following dispatch has been received at the office of visc. Castlereagh from major-gen. Fraser.

Sir, *Alexandria, March* 25.

It is with much satisfaction I have the honour to inform you, that in the afternoon of the 20th current, the town and fortress of Alexandria, with two Turkish frigates and a corvette, surrendered to his majesty's arms by capitulation; and that they were taken possession of on the memorable morning of the 21st, by the troops under my command. You are already apprised of my having been detached on this service, with a body of troops from Messina, by his excellency gen. Fox, under convoy of his majesty's ships Tigre and Apollo; and the Wizard sloop was sent for ward by capt. Hallowell, to get intelligence from major Missett, whom I had been by my instructions directed to consult, as to the best plan of operations for effecting the purposes of the expedition. I have now to acquaint you, that in the night of the 7th instant (the day after we sailed) the Apollo frigate, with 19 transports out of 33 which conveyed the troops, parted company, and that the other 14, with the Tigre, came to an anchor to the westward of Alexandria on the 16th. On our getting near the land we saw the Wizard; and capt. Palmer immediately brought me the intelligence he had received from major Missett, together with a letter from him, stating that he had not come off himself, thinking his presence in Alexandria absolutely necessary to counteract the intrigues of the French consul, who was endeavouring to prevail upon the governor to admit a body of Albanians from Rosetta, to assist in the defence of the place. He earnestly recommended me to land the troops immediately, as the inhabitants were well affected towards us, and that he had sanguine hopes we should be able to get possession of it without firing a shot. Before I determined, however, upon this measure, I deemed it prudent to acquaint major Missett with the very diminished state of my force, and I

therefore

therefore sent in my aid-de-camp, capt. A'Court, of the 31st regiment, with a flag of truce to him, with a detailed account of it, and at the same time a manifesto to the governor and inhabitants (a copy of which I inclose), which had not the desired effect, but, on the contrary, was treated by the governor with contempt. The major, however, in reply, strongly urged my immediate landing; still repeating that we should not meet with any resistance, and that my doing so would be the only means of preventing the garrison being reinforced by the Albanians, who had actually been sent for, and might be expected in the course of 24 hours. These considerations led me to follow his advice, and accordingly I landed that evening (the 17th) as many troops as our small number of boats could convey, a few miles to the eastward of Marabout, without opposition, though I could only take up a position for the night, as, before the next landing could be effected, such a surf had arisen on the beach, as totally to prevent the second division from approaching the shore. The next morning, however, with infinite difficulty and risk they were landed; but finding my situation now, from the increased height of the surf and appearance of the weather, to be very precarious, both with respect to getting provisions or stores on shore, or having any communications with the transports, I determined at all hazards to force my way to the western side, where I could receive supplies from Aboukir bay; at the same time resolving to attempt (in passing) to get into the town even with the small force I had, and push my way, if possible, into the forts that commanded it: a matter which I had reason to believe, from major Missett and others, would not be very difficult to accomplish. I therefore moved forward about eight o'clock in the evening of the 18th, and in our way forced a palisaded intrenchment, with a deep ditch in front of it (that had been thrown up by the Turks as a defence against the Mamelukes and Arabs on the western side) stretching from Fort des Bains to Lake Mareotis, strengthened by three batteries, mounting 8 guns, exclusive of Fort des Bains on its right flank, mounting 13 guns. This we effected with very little loss, though under a heavy fire of cannon and musketry; and proceeded within a few yards of Pompey's Gate, where we found the garrison prepared to receive us, the gate barricaded, and the walls lined with troops and armed inhabitants: this, added to the smallness of my force (not exceeding 1000 men of all descriptions) led me to think the risk too great; and I determined to proceed to the westward, as I had originally intended; where I arrived in the morning of the 19th, and took up my position on the ground the British troops occupied in the action of the 21st, immediately sending detachments to take possession of Aboukir castle, and the cut between the lakes Maadie and Mareotis, by which communication the reinforcement of Albanians was expected in Alexandria: in both these attempts we succeeded. The next day, the 20th, I sent (by a friendly Arab who had stolen out of town, and joined us) a manifesto, addressed to the inhabitants, warning them of the danger of implicating friends and foes, in the event of taking the place by assault,

assault, and urging them to force the governor to capitulate. This had the desired effect; a flag of truce was sent out, and a capitulation (of which I herewith inclose a copy) was agreed to and signed. Although this service has fortunately not been of long duration, yet from the scantiness of our numbers, and the scarcity of all sorts of supplies, as well military stores as provisions (which the boisterous state of the weather completely prevented our receiving,) our situation was for some time rather critical; and I am happy to have it in my power to bear testimony to the patience and cheerfulness with which the troops bore every privation, and the ardour and spirit they showed in the attack of the enemy's works, as well as the inclination and wish they displayed to have stormed the place, had I deemed that step advisable. To maj.-gen. Wauchope, brig.-general Stuart, and col. Oswald, who landed with and accompanied me, I feel myself under great obligations for their exertions and assistance in carrying on the service; and I am much indebted to lieut.-col. Airey, acting as deputy adjutant-general, and capt. Green, acting as deputy quarter-master general, for the great attention and zeal shown by them in forwarding and executing the duties of their respective departments; and I think it but justice to capt. Pym, and to the officers and men of the detachment of the royal artillery that was with me, to mention the very great zeal and alacrity which they displayed on every occasion, which I am confident would have been equally conspicuous on the part of capt. Burgoyne and the officers of the engineers, had circumstances permitted them to have acted. To capt. Hallowell, and the officers and seamen of his majesty's ship Tigre, I cannot sufficiently express my acknowledgments for the assistance they afforded me, and for the readiness with which they stood forward on all occasions. Capt. Hallowell landed and marched with me to the attack of the enemy's entrenchments, and to the very gates of the city, and remained on shore until the place surrendered: from his advice and local knowledge I derived much useful information. Capt. Withers of the royal navy, agent of transports, is also entitled to praise, for his activity in landing the troops, and for the exertions he afterwards made for supplying them with provisions. I send you herewith a return of the killed, wounded, and missing, together with returns of prisoners made, and of the public stores of different descriptions found in the several batteries and magazines.

I am, &c.

A. M. Fraser, maj.-gen.

P. S. The Apollo, with 19 missing transports, came to anchor in Aboukir bay on the morning of the 20th; and sir J. Duckworth's squadron arrived here on the 22d.

It is but due to lieut. Hunter, and a small detachment of the 20th light dragoons, who were landed without their horses or arms, to mention the zeal and spirit with which they volunteered their services, and carried the scaling ladders on the night of the 13th.

[Here follow the articles of capitulation, which engage, that the Turks shall be sent to Turkey, but they are to consider themselves as prisoners of war, till exchanged; that the vessels and all public property shall be given up to the British

tish forces; but private property to be respected.

Killed and wounded.—Total: 1 officer, 6 rank and file, killed; 1 officer, 1 serjeant, 8 rank and file, wounded.

Assistant surgeon Catanazo, killed; lieut. Cameron, wounded.

Return of the garrison of Alexandria previous to its surrender.

Soldiers of the line, 215; gunners, 44; sailors and marines, 208. Total, 467. Escaped of the above number while the capitulation was pending, 240. Total prisoners remaining, 227.

SWITZERLAND.—About 200 Roman copper coins were found on digging a foundation at Coire near Zurich. On one side is a Venus holding a garland, with these words: "*Genio Populi Romani*;" and on the reverse the heads of Diocleſian, Maximian, Constantius, Chlorus, and Antoninus Pius.

6. The election for the city of London closed, when the numbers polled were declared as follows:

Sir C. Price	-	3117
Sir W. Curtis	-	3059
Mr. Shaw	-	2663
Mr. Combe	-	2583
Mr. Hankey	-	226

The British and foreign Bible society held, this day, their third annual meeting. The president (lord Teignmouth) read from the chair a very interesting report of proceedings during the last year. It appears that the society have distributed, either gratuitously or at reduced prices, many copies of Bibles and Testaments, in various languages; and that by their encouragement and pecuniary aid, presses have been set up at Basle, Berlin, and Copenhagen, for the purpose of supplying the Scriptures in the German, Bohemian, Icelandic, and other languages, to countries which are in great need of them. The society have further granted 2000*l.* to their corresponding committee at Calcutta, for the purpose of aiding the translation of the Scriptures into the native languages of India.—Various other particulars were stated in the report, which evince the vast extent of the society's operations, and the high degree of success which they have had in promoting the circulation of the Scriptures both at home and abroad.

7. About six o'clock, a clergyman in embarrassed circumstances was closely beset in Fenchurch-street, by two sheriff's officers, named Herring and Leadbeater. The clergyman drew out a pistol, and threatened violent resistance. The officers retreated, and prevailed on a ticket porter to endeavour to deliver a message to the gentleman, informing him that some one wanted to speak with him. The ticket porter on going up to the clergyman was shot in the side. The officers then rushed forward, and a second shot was fired by the clergyman, which fortunately missed the officer. The former was then overpowered and secured. The wounded man was taken to the house of Mr. Hyslop, a surgeon of eminence, by whom the wound was dressed. The poor fellow was conveyed to an hospital, in great pain, but supposed to be in a fair way of recovery. The clergyman was lodged in the Poultry Compter.

A young man got over the rails in the Bird-cage Walk, St. James's park, and walked to the side of the Canal, when he plunged into the water. This act attracted several persons,

persons, but too late to prevent him from sinking; and no person appeared inclined to go into the water till a serjeant in the Guards observed, that two guineas was allowed by the Humane Society for getting a drowned person out of the water, which induced a young man to go in; he found the body, but had not strength to move it; another young man then went to his assistance, and they pulled the body to the shore. It was carried to a public-house in Queen-square, where two medical gentlemen tried to effect the recovery for several hours in vain. He is supposed to be one of the band of the 24th regiment. He was recognised by the son of the landlord of the Rose and Crown public-house in Chelsea, to have dined at his father's house about an hour previous to his committing the horrid deed: he then appeared much distressed in his mind, saying, he had absented himself three days from his regiment, and had committed a crime on Tuesday night, for which he should be hanged if he was discovered.

The following is the account given by Captain Gawler of the duel which took place between sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Paull.

"On Saturday morning, May 2, about half past four o'clock, sir Francis Burdett's servant came to me with a note from sir Francis, desiring me to come to him instantly to Wimbledon, with a pair of pistols, as he had been called upon, but did not say by whom. I could procure none, after trying in vain at two officers' of the guards, and at Manton's,—none that were thought fit for any purpose. It occurring to me that going thus from place to place for pistols might at last be the occasion of bringing on more notice than I wished, I determined to proceed to Kingston without them, thinking that those who had called upon him must have a pair at least, and that if it was necessary they might serve both parties. I arrived at sir Francis Burdett's house at Wimbledon about eight o'clock, having been obliged to wait more than two hours for a chaise. He was gone on to the King's Arms, Kingston, having left a note for me to follow him there in his carriage. On entering Kingston, I saw Mr. Paull in a coach accompanied by another person, and a servant on the coach seat. He called out to me on passing his carriage, and said something that I did not very distinctly hear, but I think he advised me not to proceed into the town, or the affair would be blown. I asked him where the inn was, and went on. As soon as I had entered the room where Burdett was sitting, a person appeared who had followed me. On his entrance, I asked Burdett who he was? He said it was Mr. Paull's second. I then said, "Whom have I the honour to address?" "My name is Cooper." "Do you know him, Burdett?" "No." "I have no doubt Mr. Paull has appointed a proper person to meet me." "Sir, sir, sir," was Mr. Cooper's answer. I then said (as Burdett desired) that we should immediately follow them, if they would proceed to Coombe Wood, which seemed to be a proper place for the meeting. After Burdett had given me some letters and memorandums for different friends, and explained to me the subject of Mr. Paull's demand, we proceeded to the place appointed, where ordering

dering the carriages to stop for us, we went into the wood for a considerable distance. I fixed on a proper spot. During our walk, Mr. Paull frequently addressed me on the subject of the quarrel. He said he was sure I had not heard it rightly stated, and wished me much to hear him. I always replied that I had heard the whole from my principal, and that I had placed implicit confidence in what he had said; for if I could not have done that, I should never have accompanied him there; and that from all I had heard and read concerning the matter, it was my decided opinion that Burdett was the person most entitled to consider himself ill used; but that at all events an apology from him was out of all question, and that I had rather see him shot than advise him to so disgraceful an act. As Mr. Paull did not seem to have at all placed his opinions or cause in the hands of his second, I found it in vain to talk to him on the subject of accommodation. After we had stopped, I asked for the pistols, which were produced by Mr. Cooper, who declared that he had not expected things would have taken this turn. I asked him if he expected that I should advise or that Burdett would consent to disgrace himself. I then told him that we had been unable to obtain pistols, and expected he would consent as well as Mr. Paull, that we should use one of theirs. To this they both agreed. He told me he did not know how to load them. I shewed him how, and directed him to load Burdett's, while I loaded Paull's. I then asked him what distance he proposed for them to stand at. He said he knew nothing about the matter, and left it to me. I measured out twelve paces, and placed the principals at the extremities of the space. I then directed him to give sir Francis a pistol, and I presented another to Mr. Paull; at the same time assuring him, as I had Mr. Cooper, that sir Francis came there without the slightest animosity against Mr. Paull, but that he would fire at him as a mode of self-defence. I said besides to Mr. Paull, that I hoped he was thoroughly convinced that the injury he had received was of a nature not to be satisfied with any thing short of attempting the life of my friend and risking his own. He replied he must do so, unless he had an apology. I then asked them if they would agree to fire by a signal I would make by dropping my handkerchief? They each did agree to it. I placed myself about four yards on one side of the centre of the space between them, while Mr. Cooper, on giving the pistol to sir Francis, retreated very precipitately behind a tree at some distance! On the signal being made they fired together, but without effect. I then took Mr. Paull's pistol from him, and said, "I hope, sir, you are now satisfied." He said no, he must have an apology or proceed. I said, to talk of an apology was absurd and quite out of all question. We then reloaded the pistols and gave them as before. I again addressed Mr. Paull as I had at first. He answered with warmth, he must have an apology or proceed, and called God to witness that he was the most injured man on earth! Mr. Cooper was then to make the signal, but he stood so far out of the way that sir Francis could not see him! although he had already called to him during his retreat, and begged him not to go so

far off, and to come forwards, or words to that effect. At last I saw sir Francis could not see Mr. Cooper, nor his signal, and upon his making it, I called out "Fire!" to sir Francis as soon as I saw Mr. Paull raise his pistol. They did so together, I believe, upon my uttering the word. I should observe, that while they were waiting for the signal, I observed that sir Francis held his arm raised and his pistol pointed towards Mr. Paull. Knowing this was not with the view of taking any unfair advantage, but the effect of accident, I said, "Burdett, don't take aim: I am sure you are not doing so: drop your arm, as you see Mr. Paull has his pistol pointed downwards." Mr. Paull then asked me why I advised sir Francis not to take aim? I said, any body might see that I could only mean for him not to take aim or prepare to do so before the signal, and from a desire to see that they were upon equal terms. The consequences of the second shots have been already described. After speaking to each of them, I set off for the carriages. Both were put into Mr. Paull's. I went on to sir Francis Burdett's house at Wimbledon, to lady Burdett and his brother, and also to procure a surgeon at Wimbledon. During the transaction, not one word passed between me and sir Francis, except what I had said about taking aim.

Mr. Cooper has constantly refused to sign any official account to say where he lives, or what is his situation, which also was repeatedly requested of him by me; nor do I at this moment know any thing concerning him.

JOHN BELLENDEN KER.

John Dignum, a young lad, about sixteen, was indicted for the murder of his master, Mr. Copland, on the 15th of April last, at his house in Goodman's-fields. It appeared, from the evidence of Mrs. Copland, that the deceased was a gunsmith, and the prisoner his apprentice, and they had been frequently in the habit of quarrelling about their work. On the day mentioned in the indictment, the master and servant were together in the workshop, and she heard very high words between them; soon after the deceased came out, with his head severely cut, and bleeding profusely, when he exclaimed that Dignum had murdered him. The quarrel originated, he said, on account of some work he had ordered the prisoner to do, which he had neglected; and when he asked him why it was not done, he gave some impertinent answer, which so provoked the master that he struck him on the back with the stock of a gun. This so incensed the prisoner, that he instantly turned round, and struck his master on the head with a saw which he had in his hand. The deceased languished for several days in the utmost torture, and expired. The prisoner in the mean time ran home to his father, and complained of the ill-treatment of his master. The father immediately accompanied him to a police office, and applied for a warrant to take the master up for the assault, but found that the wife of the deceased had been there before him, and lodged a charge of murder against his son;—he was immediately taken into custody.

This confession was corroborated by Mrs. Bacton, the mother-in-law of the deceased.

The friends of the prisoner proved,

ed, that when he came home he had a severe bruise on his back, and was ill for some days afterwards.

The jury found the prisoner guilty of manslaughter.

22.—A considerable disturbance occurred in the neighbourhood of Moorfields, which was occasioned by the following circumstance:—A young country girl passing through the fields, between twelve and one in the forenoon, was accosted by two men, who entered into conversation with her. She innocently told them that she had come to town in order to get into service, and that she wished very much to be engaged. They answered her that they knew a lady who wanted a servant from the country, that they had no doubt but that she would suit her, and that she would find it an excellent place. By representations of this kind the girl was persuaded to accompany them to Ropemaker-street, near Finsbury-square, where they took her into a house of bad fame. She had scarcely entered when she began to suspect their intentions, but they forced her up stairs. Her cries, however, alarmed the neighbourhood; a crowd soon collected, and those within barricaded the door; but it was quickly forced open, and the girl was set at liberty. The inhabitants and visitors retreated by a back door, and escaped from the indignation of the populace, but the house was almost entirely demolished. The furniture was torn to pieces, and not a door or window was left standing. A number of constables and city officers were collected to preserve the peace, but the mob was not dispersed until a late hour.

A few evenings since a coroner's inquest was held on Ann Davidson, wife of a journeyman tailor, and mother of seven children, at the Ship and Dolphin, New Gravel-lane, Wapping, who hung herself from a staple in a garret. It appeared, that previous to this rash action she caressed her infant, and put it into a cradle under the care of one of her boys; the child being unruly, the boy ran to the garret to call his mother, who by this time was dead. It appeared that she had been confined in a mad-house at Newcastle, and that she was always remarked for her sobriety and industry. The husband was from home when she committed the suicide.—*Lunacy.*

Execution.—On Wednesday, pursuant to sentence, the following criminals suffered death in front of Newgate:—John Fordham, John Harvey, John Harford, and William Bridge, for burglariously robbing the dwelling-house of Mr. Spencer, at Ponder's End, on the 17th of December last; also William Fisher, and William Freeman, the former for forging a bill of exchange for 40*l.* to defraud Messrs. Hammersley and Co., bankers, Pall-Mall; and the latter for uttering a bill for 120*l.* knowing the same to be forged. The particulars of the crimes committed by the delinquents have been already detailed. The most hardened among them was Harford, who, it will be remembered, attempted to pick the pocket of the turnkey while at the bar on his trial. The spectacle was peculiarly awful; the wretched culprits suffered with becoming resignation, and their last moments were occupied in fervent devotion. The curiosity, so strongly manifested on former occasions to witness these awful

scenes, appeared to have subsided, for very few persons attended this execution.

CHUDLEIGH DESTROYED BY FIRE.

22.—About twelve o'clock a fire broke out in a bakehouse in the town of Chudleigh, in Devonshire, which raged with increasing fury, and at length communicated to a house containing two barrels of gun-powder, (which belonged to a person employed in blowing up the rocks,) which soon took fire, and blew up with a terrible explosion. The wind being very high, and many houses on each side of the street covered with thatch, the whole town became a general conflagration. Only one fire-engine was kept in the town, and that was soon burnt. Exeter being the nearest place from which any assistance could be procured, and that being nine miles distant, there was nothing to stop the progress of the flames. The market-house, and all the houses, excepting about seven, at the ends of the town, were consumed. Fortunately no lives were lost:—the church, being a little to windward of the flames, was saved, and proved an asylum for the distressed inhabitants, whose situation was truly deplorable. At three o'clock on Saturday morning, when the mail coach with difficulty passed through the town, several houses continued burning, and many pigs and horses lay dead in the street. Mr. Weston, a respectable innkeeper, has lost all his property, which, in cash and notes to a large amount, together with his books, he entrusted to a female servant to take care of, but in her fright she could not recollect where she carried them, and they are most probably destroyed.

Exeter, Friday evening.—This city has been in the utmost consternation all this day, as one of the most destructive fires has happened that was ever witnessed in the West of England, viz. the town of Chudleigh, nine miles from hence, in the great Plymouth road, has been on fire ever since ten o'clock this morning, and the whole place is nearly consumed; the Clifford Arms and the King's Arms, with the three other inns, are all in ashes; the last coach (which arrived here just now) was obliged to go through a field, and with difficulty escaped, though the coachman was much burnt. Of the few houses that remained, most of them were on fire when the coach left the place, but we have not heard of any lives being lost: during the conflagration, several explosions of gun-powder took place, as a quantity was kept in the town for the purpose of blowing up rocks. It is said to have broke out in a baker's shop.

Saturday night.—The devastation that the devouring element has effected is beyond all power of description; there is no resemblance of what the town was before; the spectacle is affecting and distressing to the utmost degree. Nothing is left but a few detached houses at the entrance of the town. The whole body of the place presents to the eye nothing but chimneys and walls, that appear like antient ruins. The number of houses destroyed is computed at 175. Tents and various necessaries have been going all day from this city, for the accommodation of the sufferers. Several troops of the military have also marched to render their assistance.

assistance. The right worshipful the mayor of Exeter has called on the inhabitants to meet this evening to consider of the most effectual means of affording relief.

A meeting of the inhabitants of Plymouth has been called by the mayor, at the request of the grand jury, to take into consideration the best means of affording relief to the distressed inhabitants of Chudleigh.

On Tuesday last a party of soldiers belonging to the 43d regiment, whilst drinking at a public house near Brockman's Barn, in Romsey Marsh, challenged a young man, employed at a neighbouring Martello tower, who came into the house for refreshment, with being a deserter; the man accused denied the charge, but said, if they produced proper authority, he would go with them to prove his innocence; as he, however, on hearing the bell which summoned the labourers to their work after dinner, was going towards the place of his employ, one of the soldiers fired a pistol, and shot him dead. The fellow immediately ran off towards Hythe, but he was afterwards taken into custody, together with two other soldiers, his comrades, to answer for his offence.

Fifteenth day—Saturday, May 23.

FINAL STATE OF THE POLL AT WESTMINSTER.

Burdett	5134
Cochrane	3708
Sheridan	2645
Elliot	2137

On the poll closing at 3 o'clock, the mob began to demolish the hustings, without waiting the casting up of the poll, which was afterwards given out in the churchyard, and sir F. Burdett, baronet, and lord Cochrane were declared duly elected.

24.—On Sunday evening, about half past eight, as some gentlemen were walking in the fields near the city conduit, Bayswater, they heard at a distance a very confused noise, and could distinguish the words, "Help! drowned!" They immediately ran to the wooden bridge, on the Paddington canal, near the head, when they found that the Uxbridge packet-boat had upset a pleasure boat, in which were four young men, three of whom were got out, and the fourth was still in the water. Two boats immediately put off with boat-hocks, a landing net, and a drag, but it was near twenty minutes before he was found. He was immediately taken to a house in the neighbourhood, but all means taken to recover him proved ineffectual. He proves to be William Thompson, of Chapel-court, North-street, Grosvenor-square, about eighteen years of age, clerk to a notary public in the city.

MARLBOROUGH-STREET.

25.—About half past eleven o'clock, some villains attempted to rob a waggon as it was passing through Broad-street, St. Giles's; and in endeavouring to apprehend them, a watchman and two young men were wounded, so that two of their lives are despaired of. One of the church-wardens on the next day gave information to Mr. Read of the circumstance, who sent a clerk to take the wounded men's testimony. The following are the particulars:—J. Watkinson, of No. 184, High Holborn, said, that about half-past eleven o'clock, as

he was returning home, he saw a waggon standing in Holborn, and found the waggoner near it, with a great effusion of blood from his mouth, who said a man had attempted to rob his waggon; when two men were standing by, and the waggoner said he could swear that one of them was the man that knocked him down. Mr. Kettle, who was also standing by, advised the waggoner to charge the watch with him, when the watchman came up, and was about to take him, but his companion pushed him away, and he made off. Mr. Watkinson overtook him at a short distance, and got him against some shutters, when his companion came up, and stabbed Mr. W. just above his kidnies. Edward Watkins, of No. 183, High Holborn, said he was standing a few doors from the house where he lodges, in conversation with a friend; and, learning that Mr. Watkinson was securing a man, who had attempted to rob a waggon, he went to assist, when a man came behind him and cut him in the lower part of his belly, near four inches in length; in consequence of which he was taken to the Middlesex hospital. Michael Coleman, a watchman, was on duty when he heard the cry of "Stop thief!" and observed a man running towards him: he stopped him, but the man liberated himself by cutting him with a sharp instrument in the lower part of his belly. The watchman, however, knocked him down as he was running off; but the villain got up and stabbed him in his left ear, in his arm, and cut him severely on his breast, and then ran off. The watchman, notwithstanding his wounds, pursued him to the corner of Bow-street, Bloomsbury, when his bowels protruding, he was obliged to give up the pursuit, and he fell. He was conveyed to the Middlesex hospital, where he and Mr. Watkins lay, without any hopes of recovery.

COURT OF CHANCERY.

Longman and Co. v. *Murray, &c.*

26.—Sir Samuel Romilly moved this day for an injunction to prevent the defendant, Mr. Murray, bookseller, in London, from selling the periodical publication called The Edinburgh Review. He only applied for an injunction against this single defendant, as the others lived in Scotland, and consequently out of the jurisdiction of the court. The facts, as stated by the learned counsel, were shortly these: Mr. Archibald Constable carried on the business of a bookseller in Edinburgh, in the year 1802, upon his own account, but has since entered into partnership with Mr. Alexander Gibson Hunter. The plaintiffs are well-known and respectable booksellers in London. On the first of October, 1802, Mr. Constable commenced printing the Edinburgh Review, a work which was to be published quarterly. The first number was published in October, 1802, by Mr. Constable in Edinburgh, and by Mr. Mawman, a bookseller, in London. About that time Messrs. Longman and Co. received a letter from Mr. Constable, stating, that he had been desired by the editors of the Edinburgh Review to offer them that work, provided they agreed to pay half the paper, printing, &c. and to supply all new publications which the editors might have occasion for in carrying on the said work. It stated also, that the first number had been completely published, and 1250 copies of the second

second number, of the expense of which they (Longman and Co.) must needs bear a part. The learned counsel observed, that the defendants meant to allege that the plaintiffs were not proprietors; but what he was to shew was, that they were joint-proprietors along with Mr. Constable; the reviewers and editors being to be paid certain stated sums, while all the emoluments of it were, by the agreement which had taken place in consequence of the offer made by Mr. Constable, to belong to Mr. Constable, and also to Messrs. Longman and Co. In answer to the above letter, Messrs. Longman and Co. wrote to Mr. Constable, and expressed themselves flattered with the communication he had made, stating that they had conferred with Mr. Mawman upon the subject, but had not yet finally determined upon it. Mr. Constable again wrote in reply, that the plaintiffs were still at liberty to take a share in the work if they pleased; referred them again to Mr. Mawman, who agreed to give up all his interest in the work upon their paying all the expenses he had incurred. In consequence of this, Messrs. Longman and Co. informed Mr. Constable that they had no objection to take a share in the work as a stock book, that is, to share equally with the proprietors, whether the sale was greater in London than in Edinburgh. Mr. Constable agreed to this proposal, and likewise wished them to advertise it; and when they published a new work, to send a copy of it to him for the use of the proprietors and editors. Under such agreement the work has since been published regularly; and the plaintiffs have since regularly borne the expenses of the work, and furnished books to the reviewers down to the present time. The 19th number ought to have appeared on the 15th of April last. It did not, however, arrive; and Messrs. Longman and Co. wrote to Mr. Constable, inquiring why it was not sent, and were informed that he would not continue to send it in future. It has since been published by Mr. Constable, in Edinburgh, and by Mr. Murray, in London. By the agreement they had entered into, it was understood that Mr. Jeffreys was to receive 200*l.* as editor, and the reviewers were to be paid so much a sheet for what they supplied; so that the work belonged to the publishers, and to no other persons. This work has turned out extremely profitable, although at the time the plaintiffs engaged in it, it was very doubtful whether it would be successful or not. It was, therefore, a hazardous concern; and whatever loss might have arisen, would have been the loss of the plaintiffs as well as of Mr. Constable. The plaintiffs had to pay Mr. Mawman the loss he stated having incurred while it was in his hands. Under these circumstances, the learned counsel argued, that there was a partnership between Mr. Constable and the plaintiffs in regard to the work in question, which he was not entitled to do away by transferring it to any other person.

Lord chancellor.—"Was there an agreement to do this for any given time?"

Counsel.—"Yes, my lord, it was to be done quarterly, so that the publication was to proceed as periodically as any newspaper."

Lord chancellor.—"Does the new concern take the title of the old one?"

Counsel.—"Yes my Lord, it is exactly the same publication, and the title-page of the 19th number only differs from former numbers by having the number 19, and the name of Murray instead of Longman and Co."

Lord Chancellor.—"I think this case falls within the principles of the case of Kirby *v.* Hogg, where a work was sold as a continuation of an original concern. If I were right in granting an injunction in that case, I shall be equally right in doing so in this case."—Injunction granted.

Longtown, 27.—On Monday last, after a day unusually hot, came on at this place, between eight and nine in the evening, the most continued and alarming thunder-storm ever remembered by the oldest inhabitant. The flashes of the electric fluid were incessant, illuminating the whole atmosphere with their extreme effulgence, and accompanied with torrents of rain. From the commencement of the storm until near midnight the thunder seemed but one continued and tremendous peal, without the least intermission, which kept not only the windows, but even the walls of the houses, in constant vibration: awful indeed; but to him that could contemplate it with a philosophic mind, grand and magnificent. Considerably louder than the rest was one peal, which seemed to burst upon the very roofs of the houses, when a ball of fire entered the chimney of a labouring man, named Scott, which it threw down in every direction—broke a very strong lintel which was over the fire-place, (the extremities of which, where it was fractured, in the centre, were forced into a direction so as to point strait into the room, like a crane turned upon its pivot)—drove several bricks from the chimney upon a bed where the poor man's wife lay with an infant in her arms. The child for so metime appeared motionless, and the face of the mother was somewhat scorched; but, happily, they are both recovered. The electric fluid then appears to have directed its course between the wall and the cieling, forcing it outwards from its perpendicular, until it reached the door, where it most probably directed its course downwards, the door being split from the top to the bottom, as if cut with a saw. Every pane of glass was shivered to atoms, and the frame of the windows thrown into the street, and broken to pieces: scarcely one article of furniture was left in its place. A tin lamp, a candlestick, and a pewter pot, were all melted. An adjacent house also suffered, but not to so great an extent as the other. Part of the roof was torn off, and the walls and ceiling, with some furniture, considerably injured. A person who lives immediately under, (the injury being chiefly confined to the upper story) was struck to the ground, and for some time remained speechless; but he is since recovered. So great was the consternation of the three families, that they can give no distinct account of the matter. All they can say is, that their houses appeared enveloped in smoke, and that the smell of sulphur was so powerful, that they found the greatest difficulty of respiration for a considerable time after they had recovered their recollection. We hear of two or three persons having been struck down by the lightning, but, thank God! no lives have been lost in this place. On the same day, the inhabitants of Shap, Westmoreland, experienced the most dreadful thunder-storm that

that has happened for many years, accompanied with a heavy fall of hail-stones, many of which measured in circumference 3½ inches. In one house thirty-six panes of glass were broken by them. A like scene came on at Dumfries, about eight, *p. m.* which continued until one next morning,—the most tremendous storm of lightning and rain ever seen there, but without thunder.

27.—About two o'clock, as the dukes of York and Cambridge were coming out of the Queen's Palace, a woman, about forty-five years of age, decently dressed, presented a letter to the duke of York, at the door of the lodge: his royal highness was about to take the letter, but Sayers, who was in attendance, knowing her, and suspecting she was deranged, put her aside, and desired her to go home. She went a few yards from the house, but in a few minutes returned close to the railway of the Palace and remained there during the whole afternoon. About five o'clock, when the king's travelling-carriage entered by the iron gate before the Palace, to wait for his majesty, she rushed in after it, unperceived by the sentinels. She was, however, observed by Sayers and Mr. Baker, the gentleman-porter, who followed her with all possible speed, and stopped her before she got to the door of the Palace. Sayers secured her, and took the letter from her. It appeared to be directed "To the king and queen," with "God save the king" on it. There were five other letters inclosed in it. From their contents there was no doubt of her being deranged. Her name appears to be Margery Flett, and she resides in Star-court, East Smithfield. Those who recollect the appearance of Margaret Nicholson, when she attempted to stab the king, say she is a similar woman, and dressed exactly like her.

TURKEY.

Constantinople, May 31.—A sudden revolution in the government has occurred here. It is well known, that the janizaries have long been discontented with the Nizam Gedidd, or new military tactics. The first symptoms appeared on the 25th inst. at Cavac, a castle on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, in a quarrel between a janizary and a soldier of the Nizam Gedidd, about the new uniform worn by the latter. The janizary went so far as to reproach the grand seignior. The commandant of the castle, hearing of this, gave the janizary a severe reprimand: a bloody conflict immediately commenced, in which the commandant fell. The insurgents then turned their rage against Mahmud Effendi, who was Reis Effendi in 1805, and was lately inspector of the fortifications; they pursued him to the opposite shore, and massacred him at Bujukdere, together with his secretary and two domestics. On the 26th of May they made their appearance at Constantinople. The grand seignior not only granted them an amnesty, but also confirmed their choice of an Albanian as their chief. Cannon were immediately discharged, probably intended as a signal to their party. On the 28th, between two and three thousand men had assembled from various quarters, and made themselves masters of the barracks and artillery of Tophana. Other soldiers also joined them. The insurgents now applied to the mufti, in order to obtain his consent to the deposition of the sultan, against whom

they objected, That in consequence of the new measures adopted by him, the laws of Islaimism had been violated. They also urged the propriety of deposing him, as consistent with the laws of the Koran, because in the course of seven years he was without any direct issue. The mufti found himself obliged to comply with the demands of the insurgents; and in consequence of his footwa the insurrection became general all through Constantinople. The grand vizier sought to allay the storm by the adoption of moderate measures, and sent a very condescending letter to the janizaries; but it had no effect. He sent them the heads of the Bostange Balchi, and two of his ministers, against whom they were bitterly enraged; but even this was of no avail. The *ci-devant* Kiaja Bey Ibraham, against whom the public mind was most prejudiced, had disguised himself; but, being discovered, he was cut in pieces, and the parts of his body carried about as a spectacle. The treasurer of the Nizam Gedidd, and one of his secretaries, shared the same fate. On the 29th of May Selim abdicated the throne, and his cousin Mustapha, a son of Abdul Hamed, was brought out and proclaimed emperor. When he came to the mosque of Achmet, he was saluted by loud acclamations from the janizaries, Mustapha IV. The new emperor has given the ex-sultan Selim assurances of his care and protection. The kaimakan and the first dragoman are both reinstated in their offices: Aled effendi, the late ambassador at Paris, is appointed to succeed the present reis effendi, who is with the army. The captain pasha sailed some days since, against the Russian fleet, at Tenedos.

MILITARY INQUIRY.

Annexed to the fourth report of the commissioners of military inquiry are supplements to the first and third reports. The former relates to general de Lancey's balance, which was stated in the first report at 97,415*l.*, but which the commissioners now state at 104,985*l.* 9*s.* 7*d.*; they having since discovered that he had received from the army pay-office a sum of 7570*l.* 9*s.* 7*d.* on account of staff pay, as barrack-master-general, for which he was not debited in the barrack office books, in which he took credit for the whole of his pay as barrack-master-general, and also as a general officer on the staff. This sum of 104,985*l.* 9*s.* 7*d.* is exclusive of deductions for poundage, &c. yet to be made, amounting to upwards of 2000*l.* making the whole of general de Lancey's balance about 107,000*l.* The supplement to the third report contains some information since obtained from major-general Este, relative to the supply of coals in the island of Alderney, and from Mr. Hargraves, stated in that report to have supplied the barracks at Brighton. It states, that major-general Este, who had the military command in that island, bought, in the months of August and September, 1801, coals from Mr. Alexander Davison, at the rate of 57*s.* per chaldron, while Mr. Davison, for coals delivered to the barracks during the said two months, charged government at the rate of 72*s.* per chaldron for one lot, and from 75*s.* to 81*s.* per chaldron for another lot. Major-general Este further states, that on the 21st of October 1799, he paid Mr. Roubillard 72*s.* a chaldron for coals furnished to him at different times since the 1st of January, while Mr. Davison's prices

in that year are at no time less than 96*s.* per chaldron, and in the spring are as high as 150*s.* With respect to Mr. Hargraves, who was examined at his own special request, the commissioners see no reason to suspect him of collusion with Mr. Davison. They think, "That Mr. Hargraves's information justifies them in the remarks, that, owing to the false representation of the terms under which Mr. Davison was providing the barrack coals, the public has paid much higher for them than would have been the case had the real terms been known; and that in another view of the subject, the barrack coals might have been provided by Mr. Davison on commission, without such large contingent expenses as in his letter to the late barrack-master-general, of the 31st of March 1795, he stated would be necessary; and that thereby the public would have saved considerably in the price paid for the coals supplied to the barracks."

The supplement concludes with recommending, with the advice of Mr. Hargraves, that contracts for supply of coals should be for each respective barrack, and not, as in the present practice, for large districts, including generally many barracks.

CEREMONIAL AT THE FOUNDATION OF DOWNING COLLEGE.

Sir George Downing, bart. of Gamlingay Park, Cambridge, in 1717 devised all his valuable estates in the counties of Cambridge, Bedford, and Suffolk, to his nearest relations, being first cousins, &c. to each for life, with remainder to their issue in succession; and in case they all died without issue, he devised those estates to trustees, who, with the consent and approbation of the archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the masters of St. John's and Clare Hall, should found a college within the university of Cambridge, which should be called *Downing College*. Sir George died in 1749; and upon the death of sir Jacob Garrat Downing, in 1764, without issue, the rest of sir George's relations named in his will being also then dead without issue, the estates devised were claimed by the University for the intended college. The validity of the will, after many years' litigation, was at length established: and the charter for the incorporation of Downing College having been fully examined and considered by the lords of the privy council, and their recommendation of it being confirmed by his majesty's express approbation, the great seal was affixed to it by lord chancellor Loughborough on the 22d of September 1800.

Ceremonial observed on laying the foundation-stone of DOWNING COLLEGE, on Monday, May 18, 1807.

An excellent sermon upon the occasion was preached at St. Mary's church, by the Rev. Dr. Outram, public orator of the University, at 11 in the forenoon; after which the members of the University assembled at the Senate-house, where Mr. William Frere, fellow of Downing College, delivered a suitable speech in Latin.

At a quarter before one the procession left the Senate-house for the site of the college (a commodious piece of ground near the Botanic Garden) in the following order:

Esquire bedells;
The vice-chancellor in his robes;
High steward of the university;
Commissary

Commissary of the university;
Noblemen, in their robes, two and two;
Doctors in divinity, in robes, two and two;
Doctors of law and physic, in robes, two and two;
Public orator;
Professors of the university;
Proctors, in their congregation habits, followed by their men, with the university statutes;
Public registrar, & public librarians;
Textors, scrutators, and other officers of the university;
The master of Downing College;
Chaplain;
Professors of Downing College;
Architect;
Bachelors of divinity, and masters of arts, two and two;
Fellow-commoners, two and two;
Bachelors of arts;
Under graduates.

When the procession arrived at the site of Downing College, Dr. Annesley, the master of Downing, deposited the foundation-stone, and made an oration in Latin. Dr. Outram then pronounced a benediction. After this ceremony, the procession returned in the same order to the Senate-house, and then dispersed to their several colleges.

The stone contained the best collection of coins of the present reign that could be procured; with the first stereotype plate cast in the foundry of the university, on the improved principle of earl Stanhope.

The following is an exact copy of the inscription, which is very handsomely engraved on copper, and sunk in the foundation stone:

COLLEGIVM . DOWNINGENSE
IN . ACADEMIA . CANTABRIGIÆ
GEORGIVS . DOWNING . DE
GAMLINGAY . IN
EODEM . COMITATV
BARONETTVS
TESTAMENTO . DESIGNAVIT
OPIBVSQVE . MVNIFICE . INSTRVIT
ANNO . SALVTIS . M.DCC.XVII.
REGIA . TANDEM . CHARTA . STABILIVIT
GEORGIVS . TERTIVS . OPTIMVS . PRINCEPS
ANNO . M.D CCC
HÆC . VERO . ÆDIFICII . PRIMORDIA
XV . CALEND . IVN . ANNO . M.DCCC.VII
MAGISTER . PROFESSORES . ET . SOCII
REGIO . IVSSV . CONSTITVTI
POSVERVNT
QUOD . AD . RELIGIONIS . CVLTVM
IVRIS . ANGLICAN . ET
MEDICINÆ . SCIENTIAM
ET . AD . RECTAM . IVVENTVTIS
INGENVÆ
DISCIPLINAM . PROMOVENDAM
FELICITER . EVENIAT .

After the ceremony, the new master entertained the principal members of the university with a good dinner at the Red Lion Inn.

The present collegiate body, appointed by the charter of Downing College, are as follow:

Master;—Francis Annesley, LL.D. member of St. John's, and late M. P. for Reading in Berkshire. Appointed 1800.

Professor of the Laws of England;—Edward Christian, M. A. member of St. John's.

Professr of Medicine;—Busick Harwood, M. D. professor of anatomy, and member of Emanuel.

Fellows;—John Lens, M. A. member of St John's; Wm. Meek, M. A. of Emanuel; Wm. Freere, M. A. of Trinity.

Besides the above, a professor of medicine, 13 fellows, 6 scholars, at 50*l.* *per annum* for 4 years, 2 chaplains, a librarian, and other officers, will be appointed, with adequa e salaries.

A member of a Scotch university, with certain qualifications is eligible to be a professor of medicine at this college.

The annual salary of the master is 600*l.* of a professor 200*l.* of a fellow 100*l.* or in that proportion.

JUNE.

JUNE.

RIOT AT HALIFAX.

1. A great number of deluded people assembled opposite the White Swan Inn, in Halifax, where the two committees for Messrs. Wilberforce and Lascelles sat, but no apprehensions of a serious nature were entertained. On the following evening they assembled again, and increased in numbers prodigiously, so that before ten o'clock they formed a very large mob, and paraded the streets with an effigy. Before eleven, they began to commit acts of violence, broke the windows of several respectable gentlemen, and then dispersed. On Wednesday the officers of the police applied for further assistance: accordingly from 60 to 70 special constables were sworn-in, and an express sent to Leeds for military aid. This was immediately granted, and a detachment of the Inniskillings arrived about 1 o'clock on Thursday morning. A large assemblage of the populace took place also on Wednesday and Thursday evenings, principally young people, but without committing any riotous acts, except abuse; however, with the vigilance of the police, and the public notice given to the inhabitants not to be out of their houses after nine o'clock in the evening, together with the security afforded by the military, the peace of the town was restored.

A young woman, lady's maid in a family of distinction, and daughter of a reputable tradesman in Marylebone, stands charged with robbery to a considerable extent, in the house of her mistress. The circumstances attending the case are singular, and furnish another proof how persons are led away by their own credulity. The young woman in question had consulted a pretended fortune-teller on a question which engaged her attention, who by her artifices so highly gratified the credulous girl, that she repeated her visits, and at length suffered herself to be prevailed on to commit the offence with which she stands charged, in order to satisfy the demands of the vile impostor. Part of the stolen property, consisting of the lady's wardrobe, has been traced to the pretended prophetess, who is also in custody.

PRINTING.

The number of printing-offices in London is upwards of 200, and they employ 500 presses. In Edinburgh, there were in 1763 six printing-offices; in 1790, twenty-one; in 1800, thirty; in 1805, forty. In forty printing offices now in Edinburgh, are employed upwards of 120 printing presses. In Dublin there are about 40 printing-offices, which employ 90 presses, and upwards of 140 compositors and pressmen.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH.

Friday, 5.

The King v. *Abel Herne and Mary Cran.*

The defendants were convicted, at the last assizes at Chelmsford, of having been parties in an assault of a cruel description on a young woman, a passenger in the common stage waggon from London to Stowmarket. It is sufficient to state, that this day Mr. Justice le Blanc read over his notes of the trial, from which it appeared that the young woman, in the middle of the night,

complained to the waggoner of the rude behaviour of the defendants, who were passengers with her, and that she fell out of the waggon upon the road, where she was found, apparently dead, by the mail-coach, into which she was put and conveyed to Colchester. On inspecting her person, severe bruises and contusions were visible on various parts of her body. Besides these injuries, the poor girl was delirious for three weeks, and there could be no doubt of the defendants having been privy to and assisting in the assault.

Mr. Justice Grose, in passing sentence, told the defendants, that a more cruel and barbarous case had never come before the court. With regard to the defendant Cran, her sex ought to have roused and stimulated her to resist so gross an outrage on a defenceless and helpless traveller; and Herne, who was the waggoner, ought to have taken particular care of the girl, who was infirm, and who was committed to his protection. It was absolutely necessary, for the sake of example, that such conduct should not pass with impunity. The court, therefore, taking all the circumstances and the imprisonment the defendants had already undergone into consideration, ordered and adjudged them to be imprisoned in the gaol of Chelmsford; the woman for three calendar months, and Herne for twelve calendar months; and that during the three first months, they stand in and upon the pillory, on some market-day, in the town of Chelmsford, for one hour, between the hours of twelve and two o'clock.

POLICE.

Mansion-House.

On Friday, a youth about 17 years old, most respectably connected, and articled as an apprentice in a foreign mercantile house of the first repute in the city (Messrs. Cain and Co.), underwent a private examination before the lord-mayor, upon a charge of embezzling a sum of 400*l.* the property of his employers. About three weeks since, he had received from the managing clerk of the house 100*l.* in notes, and a banker's check for 300*l.* which he was instructed to pay to another merchant, who did business with the house; instead of which, he received payment for the check at the banker's, and immediately set out for Plymouth, accompanied by a girl of the town, by whom, it is conjectured, he was inveigled to so ruinous an act. As soon as the transaction was discovered, and the unfortunate youth missed, information was given to the lord mayor; and some track of his route having been discovered, he was pursued by Adkins, the officer, who apprehended him at Plymouth last Saturday, where he found that the woman, after having fleeced him of the last guinea of the 400*l.* deserted him and fled; and when he was taken into custody he had only a seven-shilling piece left. It appeared that the unfortunate youth was articled for five years to his employers, and at the end of that time was to have been received as a partner in the firm. Two years of the period had elapsed, during which his conduct had been irreproachable, until seduced to commit this unfortunate transaction, which, to say no worse of it, has ruined his character and prospects in life, and plunged his family in the most poignant affliction. He was remanded for further examination.

Queen-Square.

Female Swindler.—On Wednesday, Mary Gammon was charged with the commission of divers frauds and felonies. Her system was developed as follows: She, being a woman of a matronly appearance and persuasive manners, dived into the poor recesses of the wives of absent soldiers, journeymen tailors, &c. about the lower part of Westminster, and having contrived to learn their names and some little of their circumstances, introduced herself with an offer to get them children to nurse: the general terms she held out to them were, two guineas to be paid to them on the advance, and half a guinea *per* week, to be paid regularly every week, at a linen-draper's shop in Parliament-street. To this was to be added, half a bottle of wine per day, and as much broken victuals from the house as would maintain the rest of her family. This bait to the necessitous was easily nibbled at; the poor creatures would treat their generous friend with a drop of cordial for her friendship, and while they were gone to fetch the grateful draught, some of their habiliments or portable articles were sure to be purloined. Some lost gowns, shifts, under petticoats, child's linen, and some other articles; and a few who had money in their pockets were induced to part with it as far as their ability went. This was carried on, it is understood, to a considerable extent. Seven charges were made good against her for deception and robbery, and she was committed for trial.

ASTRONOMY.

Dr. Olbers has written to Dr. Young, foreign secretary to the Royal Society, announcing his discovery of another new planet, on the 29th and 30th of March last. This planet, which he calls Vesta, is apparently about the size of a star of the fifth or sixth magnitude, and was first seen in Virgo. On the 29th of March, at 8 hours 21 min. mean time, 184 deg. 8 min. N. declination, 11 deg. 17 min.; on the 30th, at 12 hours 33 min. mean time, 189 deg. 52 min. N. declination, 11 deg. 54 min. It has since been seen by Mr. Groombridge, at his observatory on Blackheath, who says, it appears like a star of the sixth magnitude, of a dusky colour, similar in appearance to the Herschel.

ITALY.

Naples, 5.—The following was the plan of the conspiracy which has been discovered here, and for which a number of persons have been tried by a military commission, and four of them already executed. The prince of Hesse Philipsthal, whose obstinate defence of Gaeta was considered as a proof of his military abilities, was to land with a corps of troops at Reggio; his name was more relied on than the force he could bring with him, and the conquest of Calabria and Basilicanto was considered as certain. General Broccard was to undertake a landing in the bay of Policastro, to fall on the rear of general Regnier, and cut off his retreat to Naples. Lastly, prince Canosa, who, for some time, like a worthy successor of Fra Diavolo (Brother Devil) has organized new hordes of banditti in Calabria, was to incite insurrection in the province of Terra di Lavoro. At the same time an English squadron from Sicily was to land troops near the city of Naples,

Naples, which, with the assistance of the conspirators, were to make themselves masters of the castle, fire the city in several places, and murder those persons whom they had previously proscribed. The government soon discovered the secret thread of the conspiracy, and became acquainted with its whole progress. The civilized world will be astonished, says the *Monitore Neapolitano*, when the correspondence carried on between Sicily and Naples, and the other legal documents, shall be published.

6. The fall of rain in the neighbourhood of Stamford, which continued almost without intermission from yesterday morning till this evening, occasioned the highest flood in the fens that has been experienced these eight years. On the levels of Croyland and Spalding the waters had for many square miles the appearance of a sea, and the inhabitants of isolated houses were obliged to betake themselves to their garrets for preservation. Even in the town of Croyland egress from their houses was for many hours denied to the inhabitants. The loss sustained by the fen farmers is very great; not so much in stock (of which we do not hear of many being lost, owing to timely removal,) as in the coming cropping, and in the fields laid for hay. Many persons have lost their second seed and labour to ensure a harvest, the flood a short time ago having made it necessary to re-sow the land which had been inundated. The roads in several different districts were completely impassable. Even on the great North road the waters were so much out that the Edinburgh mail coach was on Sunday morning detained six hours at Caxton. The water on the road near Kimbolton turnpike was so strong, that a person endeavouring to ride along it this afternoon was, with his horse, overpowered by the stream, and with difficulty saved, after hanging a long while by the bough of a tree, which he providentially caught hold of. At Great Slaughton, a village about four miles from Kimbolton, towards London, a man, belonging to a grocer at Godmanchester, who had been to Kimbolton with articles in that line, on his return in the evening, before dark, in attempting to pass the bridge, had his horse overpowered by the stream, and both were drowned. The town of Kimbolton was on Sunday morning nearly under water. Mr. Palmer, a tanner of that place, has sustained damage to the amount of 300*l*. At Elton House, the seat of the earl of Carysfort, the water was two feet eight inches deep in the servants' hall.

Buonaparte has addressed a letter to the archbishops and bishops of France, on the occasion of the reduction of Dantzic; in which he says, "We cannot but ascribe this success, so rapid and so signal, to that especial protection of which divine Providence has given us so many proofs. It is our pleasure that you assemble our people; and offer solemn thanksgiving to the God of armies, praying that he will continue to favour our arms, and to watch over the happiness of our country; that they may also pray, that that cabinet, which persecutes our holy religion, as much as it is the eternal enemy of our nation, may no longer influence the cabinets of the continent, to the end that a solid and glorious peace, worthy of the great nation, shall console humanity, and enable us to realise our intentions for the good

of

of religion, and the prosperity of our people."

Te Deum was accordingly performed in all the churches of Paris on the 14th.

Paris, June 11.—This day the arch-chancellor of the empire repaired to the senate, and delivered a message from his majesty, of which the following is an extract: "He who has given us the greatest assistance in this the commencement of our reign, and who, after having rendered the greatest services in all the events of his military career, has affixed his name to a memorable siege, in which he has displayed talents and striking bravery, appears to us to merit the highest distinction. We have also wished to consecrate an epoch so honourable to our arms; and by the letters patent which we have instructed our cousin the arch-chancellor to communicate to you, we have created our cousin, marshal and senator Lefebvre, duke of Dantzic." Here follow the letters patent creating Lefebvre duke of Dantzic, with territorial possessions in the interior of France.

12.—The bishop of London has erected and endowed a chapel at Ide hill, in the parish of Sundridge in Kent, at the distance of two miles from the parish church, for the convenience of the inhabitants of that hamlet to attend divine service; and has also built a house for the chaplain. The chapel and house are of stone, in a very neat and proper style, and commanding a very beautiful and extensive view of the country. The bishop has for some years past resided, in the autumn, at a little villa he has purchased in that parish; and frequently gratified and instructed the parishioners, by his eloquent and admirable discourses from the pulpit. The consecration of the chapel, by the archbishop of Canterbury, took place this day, and was a most solemn and interesting ceremony. It was witnessed by a great concourse of people assembled on the occasion, many more than the chapel would contain; notwithstanding which, every thing was conducted with the utmost decorum. At the usual time of morning service, the bishop of London's coach arrived at the chapel with the archbishop, his lordship, the rev. Dr. Vyse, rector, and the rev. Mr. Dicks, curate of the parish. In the next carriage followed the proper officers of the ecclesiastical courts of Canterbury and London, with their respective attendants on horseback; in the next were lord Frederick Campbell and his lady, from their seat at Coombank, in the parish of Sundridge; and in several other carriages the principal families of the neighbourhood. At the entrance of the chapel, after his grace was robed, the bishop, clergy, &c. standing uncovered, a petition was addressed to the archbishop, stating the want of a place of worship in that part of the parish, and praying him to consecrate the new-erected chapel; whereupon his grace proceeded up the chapel, repeating the 24th psalm: "The earth is the Lord's, and all that therein is; the compass of the world, and they that dwell therein;" the officiating ministers and people taking the alternate verses. Nothing can exceed the effect of this psalm when used on such an occasion, and particularly the repetition of those sublime verses: "Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the king of glory shall come in." "Who is the

king of glory? It is the Lord strong and mighty, even the Lord mighty in battle."

The archbishop being seated on one side of the altar, and the rector on the other, the deed of endowment, and other legal forms, were read; after which the prayers of consecration, and one for God's blessing on the founder, his family, and substance, were offered up by the archbishop, in the most devout and impressive manner. The morning service was then read by Mr. Dicks, the officiating chaplain, the first lesson being taken from the 8th chapter of the 1st book of Kings, and the communion service by the archbishop. The 84th and 100th psalms were also sung in the service: after which a very excellent, appropriate, and instructive sermon was delivered by Dr. Vyse; wherein the grateful mention made of the venerable founder was in such terms as it becomes the minister of God to speak the just praise of a fellow-creature in the more immediate presence of his maker. As soon as the sermon ended, the greater part of the congregation quitted the chapel, and the holy sacrament was administered to those who were prepared to receive it. The two great dignitaries of the church, with the rector and chaplain, returned in the same order to the bishop's house, and afterwards dined with a select party at lord Frederick Campbell's. A MS. poem on the subject of the day, with the title of "Consecration, in two Parts, inscribed to the Founder of the Chapel," was presented on his return from thence by Dr. Vyse, at the request of the author; which his lordship has since done him the honour to notice with great condescension and kindness.

Admiralty-Office, June 13.

Lark, at Sea, March 10.

Sir,—I have the honour to report to you the proceedings of his majesty's sloop I command, during her late cruize. On the 19th of January we fell in with and chased an enemy's schooner, which carrying a very heavy press of sail to escape from us, was overset in a squall, when the whole of her crew perished before the Lark reached the spot. On the 26th, late in the evening, we discovered two guarda costa schooners under the land; and by steering a suitable course to cut them off from Porto Bello, we, after 14 hours chasing, on the 27th captured them both; they were El Postillon, of one 12-pounder, two 6-pounders, and 76 men, and El Carmen, of one 12-pounder, four 6-pounders, and 72 men, both commanded by lieutenants of the Spanish navy, and were from Carthagena bound to Porto Bello. With these vessels in company, on the 1st of February, a convoy of market-boats, protected by two gunboats and an armed schooner, were fallen in with; the former were driven on shore, but the latter took refuge in a creek of Zispata bay, protected by a four-gun battery. I followed them into the bay, and in a short time silenced the fort; but not being able to get at the gunboats with the ship, the Lark was anchored at a convenient distance, and with the whole of our crew (20 men excepted, on board the prizes) I proceeded to attack them. The Spaniards rowed out to meet us, and keeping up a resolute fire, approached until we closed, when they fled; this moment was seized to board the sternmost of the enemy, carrying a long 24-pounder, and

and two 6-pounders; she ran on shore, but was carried after a desperate resistance, in which, of sixteen men, three were disabled, and myself wounded. But here our success ended; for in following the others up the creek, the pilot missed the channel, and ran the schooners on shore, without any prospect of getting them off; the action was therefore continued in this situation until five o'clock, when Mr. Pound (the purser) and two more men being added to the list of wounded, I gave up the attempt, directing lieutenant Bull to set the schooners on fire, and to cover the retreat. The Carmen blew up, and the Postillon was in flames, and otherwise so much disabled that she must be lost to the enemy. The good conduct of the Lark's officers and crew entitle them to my thanks, and I trust their exertions may be rewarded by better fortune on a future occasion.

R. Nicholas.

To vice-admiral Dacres, &c.

A supplement to this gazette contains a letter from major-general Fraser to gen. Fox, dated Alexandria, April 6. It states, that major Misset having represented that the inhabitants of Alexandria would run the risk of being starved, unless Rosetta and Rahminie were taken possession of, he detached the 31st regiment, with the chasseurs Britanniques, for that purpose; but, contrary to all expectation, the expedition did not succeed. He says, "Our troops took possession of the heights of Abourmandoul (which command the town) without any loss; but, from circumstances as yet unexplained, the general, instead of keeping his post there, unfortunately was tempted to go into the town with his whole force, without any previous examination of it, when the troops were so severely handled from the windows and tops of the houses, without ever seeing their enemy, that it was thought expedient to retire; more especially as major-general Wauchope was unfortunately killed, and the second in command, brigadier-general Meade, severely wounded. The troops, I understand, although certainly placed in a most trying and perilous situation, behaved extremely well; and after having suffered, I am sorry to say, very materially in killed and wounded, retired to Aboukir in good order, without molestation, from whence I directed them to return to Alexandria. This has certainly been a very heavy and unexpected stroke upon us, more especially as every information led me to conclude, that the opposition, if any, would be trifling; and every precaution was recommended that prudence could suggest. Finding, however, by the renewed representation of major Misset, corroborated by the personal application of the Sorbagi, or chief magistrate, in the name of the people at large, that a famine would be the certain and immediate consequence of our remaining at Alexandria, without the occupation of Rosetta, I have, with the concurrence, advice, and co-operation of rear-admiral sir T. Louis, detached another corps, under the command of the hon. brigadier-general Stewart and colonel Oswald (as per margin*), to effect this purpose, without which it appears im-

* Detachment of royal artillery, detachment of 20th light dragoons, detachment of seamen, light infantry battalion, 1st battalion of 35th regiment, 2d battalion of 78th regiment, regiment de Roll; amounting, in the whole, to about 2500 men.

possible that the keeping possession of Alexandria can be accomplished."

Another dispatch from major-gen. Fraser, to gen. Fox, dated Canopus, Aboukir bay, April 24, announces the failure of the second attempt against Rosetta, owing to a great reinforcement of the enemy being sent down the Nile from Cairo, which overpowered our troops, and obliged them to fall back, with the loss of nearly 1000 men, in killed, wounded, and missing. The details of this unfortunate affair were about to be dispatched by the Thunderer.

Killed and wounded, March 31, at Rosetta.

Killed.—Staff, 1 major-general. Royal artillery, 2 rank and file. 31st reg. 1 captain, 3 serjeants, 3 drummers, 69 rank and file. Chasseurs Britanniques, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 3 serjeants, 2 drummers, 99 rank and file.—Total, 1 major-general, 2 captains, 1 lieutenant, 6 serjeants, 5 drummers, 170 rank and file.

Wounded.—Staff, 1 brigadier-general, 1 brigade-major. Royal artillery, 10 rank and file. 31st reg. 1 captain, 6 subalterns, 7 serjeants, 1 drummer, 120 rank and file. Chasseurs Britanniques, 4 captains, 5 subalterns, 1 adjutant, 4 serjeants, 111 rank and file. Staff corps, 1 rank and file.—Total, 1 brigadier-general, 1 brigade-major, 5 captains, 10 lieutenants, 2 ensigns, 11 serjeants, 1 drummer, 251 rank and file.

Officers killed.—Major-general Wauchope. 31st reg. captain John Robertson. Chasseurs Britanniques, captain B. de Serecourt; lieutenant d'Amiel.

Officers wounded.—Brig. gen. hon. Robert Meade. 31st reg. captains Horsburgh (brigade-major) and Dowdall; lieutenants E. Knox, Fearon, Thornton, Sleddon, and Ryan; ensign Kirby. Chasseurs Britanniques, captains Duhautoy, de Combremont, de Calonne, and de Lasitte; lieutenants le Maitre, J. Spitz, de Sault, and Klinger; ensign Bonfingault, adjutant.

GEO. AIREY,

Acting deputy-adjutant-general.

N. B. Most of the wounded officers and men are recovering.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH.

Thursday, June 14.

The King v. *Ambrose Charles.*

Last Michaelmas term, Mr. Garrow had applied to the court for a rule to show cause why a criminal information should not be filed against the defendant, he having written a letter to lord Grenville, the then prime minister, describing lord Moira, one of that noble lord's colleagues in office, as having improperly disclosed state-secrets for stock-jobbing purposes. The court granted the rule, which had been served on the defendant, who had not shown cause against it. Judgement had therefore passed by default, and he was this day brought up to receive the judgement of the court.

The attorney-general stated, that he was authorised by lord Moira to inform their lordships, that he felt it impossible, in the first instance, to abstain from moving the court against the defendant. He had not done so from any personal hostility towards him, but for the purpose of vindicating the then administration of his majesty, of which he was member, from a charge of so gross and abominable a descrip-

a description. Lord Moira had also desired him further to state, that he had since been convinced the defendant had not been the original author of that calumny, and therefore his lordship had no objection to Mr. Charles being discharged, on his entering into a recognizance to come up again for judgement, should he be, at any time, called upon so to do. The court ordered the recognizance to be taken, and he was immediately discharged.

The King v. *Eliz. Powell.*

This defendant was brought up to plead to an indictment preferred against her by The society for the suppression of vice, for vending obscene books and prints. The defendant pleaded guilty.

Mr. Knapp stated, that from the contrition the defendant had all along exhibited since she had been charged with the fact stated in the indictment, and from the plea of guilty which she had now made, he was not inclined, according to his instructions, to go any further. He had, therefore, no objection to the defendant going at large on her recognizance.

Lord Ellenborough said, that before she could be discharged, there must not only be sureties for her coming up again to receive judgement, but also sureties for her good behaviour in the time to come. From a glance at the indictment, it appeared she was charged with offences of the most atrocious description, and such as, should they go on unchecked, would prove entirely subversive of every thing moral and decent.

Sureties accordingly gave bail, and the defendant was in consequence discharged.

On Sunday afternoon, as two or three Irish labourers were passing by St. James's market, to their lodgings in Market-lane, they were ridiculed by some butchers, who were sitting on their stalls in the market-place, with the following expressions: "Hurroo, Pat, when did you hear from Sheelah?"— "Which way did the bull run?"— "Go home to your potatoes!"— accompanied by some other foolish and aggravating expressions. The Irishmen, not willing to put up with such an unmerited insult, retorted the abuse, which in a little time came to blows. The butchers, being the most numerous, had, at the commencement of the affray, the best of it. The alarm flew to each end of Market-lane, which is nearly occupied by Irishmen. Men, women, and children, armed with bludgeons of every description, broom-handles, broken chairs, pokers, tongs, shovels, &c. ran to the assistance of their countrymen. The butchers likewise increased in number, when the contest was renewed with redoubled fury by both parties, and lasted about three quarters of an hour, at which time a great deal of blood was shed. The parish beadles and constables were unable to stop the riot, until the parties had beaten each other to that excess, that they were obliged to relinquish hostilities, at which time there were about nine or ten stretched in the street for dead. There were about twenty taken home very dangerously wounded; and eight with fractured skulls, and with broken legs and arms, carried to the Middlesex hospital.

A pretended foreign count and his lady have lately distinguished themselves by acts of deception which render them superior to any adventurers in the swindling line since the time of the Perreaus.

Their house was splendidly furnished; they kept a dashing chariot, and four servants in gorgeous liveries; and exhibited a profusion of plate and jewels. From what has already transpired, it appears, that they have taken in different tradesmen to the amount of 10,000*l.*

On Monday morning, a woman, residing in Kent-street, in the borough, going from home to buy something, locked her son, a boy about seven years of age, in a room on the second floor. On her return towards the house, the child, seeing his mother coming home, immediately opened the window, and jumped into the street. She ran with all the anxiety of a mother, expecting to find him killed on the spot; but the poor child got up, and ran to her, without having sustained the slightest apparent injury.

FROM THE AMERICAN PAPERS.

The following dreadful detail is from an American paper, dated Nashville (Ten) April 6:—"On the night of the 9th of February, a negro fellow, the property of Capt. Wilborn, went to the house of Philip Burrow, on Duck river; Mrs. Burrow seeing him loitering about, requested him to go away, which he did, but returned, saying he could not find the road. Mrs. Burrow having retired to bed with her children, and being much alarmed at his behaviour, determined to get up and go to the house of Freeman Burrow, about 300 yards off, and get some of the family to stay with her, or endeavour to get the negro away; she did not get more than fifty yards before he came out of the house and inquired where she was going: she replied, to get some dry cane to light him to the road: he then ran after her, knocked her down, and immediately loosed his belt, wrapped it around her neck, and nearly choked her until he had accomplished his brutal design; after which he again began to beat her; she fell on her knees, and in the most pathetic terms implored her life, promising him every thing she had if he would only suffer her to see her children once more; this he granted; but it was only for the purpose of getting them all in the house together in order to accomplish his end. He accompanied her to the house, and with savage ferocity took up an iron pan handle, smote her to the floor, and beat her till no signs of life could be observed. The noise occasioned by the shrieks and cries of Mrs. Burrow, by this time had awakened her children, who soon met the fate of their unfortunate mother. The eldest was a daughter, who arose with an infant in her arms; the child was crying for its mother, when, callous to every human feeling, this villain, with one blow, dispatched the little innocent, about eleven months old: not content with this, he then, with the same weapon, beat the girl who had before held the child in her arms until he supposed her dead: a little boy who was in the same room could not escape, and was also beaten in the same manner. There were two other children, smaller than those last named, who had covered themselves up in the bed and escaped his notice. Amidst this dreadful scene, the wretch betook himself to rob the house, at which time Mrs. Burrow began to recover; but conscious of the danger around her, she bore with the agony, and feigned death to prevent a second attack. The negro

negro then forced a chest; took from thence whatever suited him, as well as from every part of the house such articles as he could carry, and setting fire to the house, with a view to hide his guilt, supposing it would be conjectured that it took fire by accident and consumed the whole family, he made his escape. Mrs. Burrow, after laying for some time covered with blood, recovered so far as to be able to crawl to the woods, which she did: the two little children who had escaped following their dying mother. The little boy and girl who she supposed were dead from their wounds, also revived sufficiently to get out of the house; but the girl was unfortunately unable to get away before she had been burned considerably: the infant was burnt with the house. It is impossible to describe the misery of this wretched family, when, in addition to the wounds inflicted, they were obliged to remain all the night, which was very cold, without covering or clothing. The wretch was taken the next morning, with a large quantity of goods he had stolen. He confessed the whole, and said it was his intention to put them all to death on the 20th inst. The neighbours collected and formed themselves into a jury, when the negro was found guilty: they intended to burn him; but it was so excessively wet, that they were compelled to hang him. The citizens of Duck-river with regret assert, that they have no law-jurisdiction among them, and hope this act of justice will be commended by the citizens of Tenesse. The lives of the woman and children are at this time despaired of."

ST. HELENA.

Letters received from St. Helena, by his majesty's ship Theseus, which left that island the 15th of April, bring an account of the introduction of a dreadful species of measles among the inhabitants; a disorder which was never known before on that island, and which has now proved fatal to almost one-third of its population.

It appears to have been brought from the Cape of Good Hope, where it had occasioned similar ravages, by some persons of the fleet that touched at St. Helena in February last. It was known on the island that the disorder prevailed in the fleet, and every possible precaution was observed, by keeping the vessels as much in a state of quarantine as the nature of circumstances would permit; but, from the misconduct and love of gain of some of the lower classes, an intercourse took place between the ships and the shore, linen was received to be washed, and the disorder soon communicated itself to the inhabitants of St. James's valley, whence it spread over the whole island.

This contagion first appeared about the 5th or 6th of February, in the families of major Seale and of Mrs. Chamberlain. It was attended in almost all cases with acute febrile symptoms and considerable malignity; the diarrhœas were very frequent at the close of the disease, some of them obstinate, and many fatal. Although the destructive effects of this contagion were not to be wondered at, when considered as affecting the whole community at once, nor remarkable, when contrasted with its still greater mortality at the Cape; it occasioned a general de-

pression of spirits, and a general mourning at St. Helena; for scarcely any house on the island escaped the virulence of the disorder.

The calls for attendance on the sick were so incessant that it was quite out of the power of the medical gentlemen on the island to answer them all. Dr. Kay, the head surgeon, was therefore obliged to apply for professional assistance from the surgeons of one of the company's ships, which was detained on that account. At the end of March, it was hoped that the disorder had in a great degree exhausted itself; but the last accounts unfortunately prove, that the hope was fallacious, and that even when the Theseus came away, further mischief was apprehended. It appears, that in almost all cases where parties have survived the first attack of the disease, their lungs have suffered from the violence of its operation; and they are now so debilitated and consumptive that their recovery is doubtful.

The mortality has been greatest among the respectable inhabitants of the island; and more fatal in St. James's valley, than in the more thinly inhabited parts of the country.

GERMANY.

Vienna, June 21.—Our court has received a courier from Constantinople, with dispatches, announcing a revolution to have taken place in that capital; but nothing has yet been published in the gazette. The following are the contents of two private letters:—The emperor Selim is no more; the discontents occasioned among the people by the scarcity of provisions, and among the janissaries by the European exercise and discipline, furnished the enemies of government with an occasion to excite an insurrection, which cost the unhappy sultan his throne and life. On the 24th of May, the mufti, at the head of the malcontents, repaired with 300 janissaries to the seraglio, and read to him a list of his pretended offences, recited passages from the koran, which declared him, on account of those offences, unworthy of the throne, and ordered him to sign a renunciation of it. Selim, seeing no means of resistance, signed the deed of renunciation, and begged his life. The mufti promised to intercede for him. His person was then secured, and 14 of his principal ministers were put to death. Couriers were sent to the camp and the Dardanelles, to arrest and strangle the grand vizier and the captain pacha. On the 25th of May, a proclamation was published in Constantinople, to announce to the people that the sultan had been dethroned, and to make known his offences, and the passages of the koran which condemned those offences. The people were invited to remain tranquil and mind their affairs. On the 26th, Mustapha, the son of Achmet, was proclaimed grand seignior. On the 27th, he sent an order to Selim to take poison. Selim obeyed, and died in a short time. During the whole of this revolution, but few disorders were committed. The mass of the people took no part at all; so that we attribute this catastrophe to some chiefs of parties yet unknown, and to the janissaries. All foreigners have been ordered to be respected. We are assured that the grand vizier made no resistance to the order sent to him, and was strangled.

gled. Of the captain pacha we know nothing. The grand vizier had gained some successes before he died: he passed the Danube at Ismail, and forced general Michelson to retire from Wallachia to Foksany and Rimnick. The new administration is entirely composed of persons devoted to the janissaries: we know not what disposition it will show towards foreign powers; yet some think the revolution will have no influence upon our foreign politics, because the insurgents strongly censure the adherents of the Russian system.

WORSHIP STREET.

21. On Monday evening last, the well known major Semple Lisle was charged with defrauding two females, who reside near Fitzroy square, of broaches and ear-rings, under pretence of taking them to his jeweller, to be made in a more elegant style. On Sunday last, he ordered a dinner for himself and the ladies at a public-house in Islington, which amounted to near 2*l*. When it was over he went to the bar, saying, that he unfortunately, in changing his clothes at home, had left his money behind; but as a security for the payment of the bill, he would leave a diamond broach, value 22*l*. but in reality not worth 10*s*. As he was going to depart, a gentleman, who accidentally saw him, acquainted the landlady with the real character of her guest, when he was stopped and given in charge of a constable, and taken to this office. A solicitor appeared for him, and insisted that what was urged against him could only amount to a civil action. One of the ladies accused him of robbing her of a handkerchief; but this also failed of success: he was therefore discharged, not without strong marks of disapprobation from the magistrate who heard the case.

WHITECHAPEL.—Bryan and Carrick, the two men who were apprehended, on a charge of having robbed the Bristol waggon in High Holborn, and desperately wounding a watchman and several other persons who attempted to take them into custody, were again brought up for further examination on Monday, as were also two other prisoners named Finch and Jones, who were apprehended at their lodgings in Robert's-place, Commercial-road, Whitechapel, on Sunday morning last, as accomplices in the same felony, and in consequence of some discoveries made upon the examination of the former prisoners. The waggoner perfectly recognized each of the parties charged. The two last mentioned prisoners, Finch, and Jones, were not secured without a desperate resistance. In consequence of the private information received respecting their haunt, Griffiths, and a party of other police-officers, proceeded to Robert's place, on Saturday night, to reconnoitre, and remained upon the watch there the whole night. At half past ten, on Sunday morning, they made several attempts, first by stratagem and next by force, to enter the house; but were fired upon from the windows by one of the prisoners. The officers returned the fire, which was for some time mutually kept up, and Griffiths, the leader of the police party, had his cheek grazed by a ball. After several attempts to force the door, the police officers at length obtained admittance; and, after a very daring resistance, secured the prisoners, and brought them in custody to the strong room behind the police-office. They are

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old and notorious desperadoes, and Finch has lately returned from transportation, before the expiration of his sentence.

MANSION-HOUSE.—Wednesday, the rev. B. Garrens, formerly curate of St. Catherine Coleman's in Fenchurch-street, was charged before the lord mayor, with having, on the 6th of May, wilfully fired a pistol at, and wounded a person of the name of Jones, a porter, whose life was despaired of. The prisoner has been in confinement ever since, without being examined, till Jones was declared out of danger by the surgeons of Bartholomew's hospital. This affair was formerly mentioned, but very incorrectly. It was stated, that Mr. Garrens had wounded a sheriff's officer who was going to serve a writ against him. This, however, was not the fact. There was no writ against the prisoner; but James Barber, a sheriff's officer, had a writ against a Mr. Giraud, and had sent a porter with a letter to gain admission into the house. It likewise appeared, that the prisoner was disordered in his senses, and not indebted to any person a guinea. From the absence of a material witness, after a long private examination, the prisoner was remanded.

GUILDHALL.—A remarkable occurrence happened on Thursday, about ten o'clock, in Fleet-street. A man of respectable appearance, who had been observed for some time walking up and down Fleet-street, fired off a pistol as two ladies were passing by the shop of Mr. Davison, perfumer; one of the ladies immediately fell: she lay for some time without any signs of life, and her face covered with blood. On her being taken into a chemist's shop, surgical assistance was afforded, and it appeared that the ball had entered just below the under jaw, and had passed out at the cheek. Notwithstanding the wound, the lady's life is not apprehended to be in danger. After wounding the lady, the ball was found to have penetrated Mr. Davison's shop window and then fell on the floor, where it was picked up by the shopman. From the direction of the ball, it is evident that the pistol when fired, must have been held in a slanting position, and that it must have been the intention of the man to have shot himself, and not the lady; but, from his agitation, it is probable he had missed his aim. After committing the act, the culprit proceeded at his leisure up Fleet-street, and for some time it was unknown that he was the guilty person, as the only eye-witness to his firing was engaged in attentions of humanity to the suffering lady and her distressed companion. As soon as it transpired that no person was in pursuit of the offender, Mr. March of Fleet-street pursued and apprehended him near Chancery lane, and conveyed him to the Poultry compter. Mr. M. found upon him a pistol, with powder and balls.

At half-past twelve o'clock the culprit was brought before sir John Eamer, in order to be examined. To all questions put to him, he answered distinctly and with precision. He said his name was Alexander Munroe, that he was a merchant, and a native of Glasgow; that he had resided in London about three months with his sister, who lives in Mead's row, near the Stag's Head, Lambeth; that with respect to the rash deed he was charged with, he begged to say nothing at present. His sister, he said, who would attend his second examination, would best explain his

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mysterious conduct. The gentleman who witnessed the firing off the pistol from the opposite side of the way, attended to give evidence, but did not go into particulars, as it was unnecessary, until the next examination, when the friends of the lady would attend. It transpired, that there existed no acquaintance with the parties. The wounded lady proved to be the niece of Mr. Wyatt, a bookseller.

On Friday, Alexander Monroe was examined a second time, when his sister attended and disclosed the following particulars respecting her unfortunate relative: "My brother is a single man, and formerly kept a tobacconist's shop in Glasgow. On the 29th of January last he accompanied me to London, but before that period he was confined, not being considered by the magistrate as a proper person to be at large, as he had evinced symptoms of derangement, by purchasing pistols and demanding satisfaction from gentlemen he scarcely knew and who never offended him. He was liberated at my request, and I promised that proper care should be taken of him. I have in my possession his discharge, but forgot to bring it with me. I never considered him perfectly right in his senses, but as he was not prone to mischief, I thought I had sufficient influence to prevent his committing any. Since his arrival in London his general behaviour has been placid, except on one occasion, when I refused to furnish him with more money than I deemed proper, having a few days before given him a one pound note. I am inclined to think he purchased the pistol with the note, as from that time he kept his trunk locked to prevent my having access to it; but on my insisting that the trunk should be opened, on the following morning he complied with my request, and I examined its contents, but did not find any deadly weapon concealed therein, nor did I know that he had at any time a pistol concealed about his person."

Magistrate.—"The prisoner told me yesterday that you knew his intentions, and that you were the most proper person to relate them."

Prisoner's sister.—"I could not know what he meant to do with the pistol, because I did not know he had one. Finding him harmless, I suffered him to walk about the streets to amuse himself, for the purpose of driving away a melancholy gloom which hung about him, but he always returned without the walk having the wished-for effect."

On the magistrate asking if the circumstances of the prisoner were such as to enable his friends to engage, if the law surrendered him to them, that he should not be suffered to appear at large again, he was informed that the prisoner's property was very small, and that his sister was the only relation he had that could in the least render him any assistance. The prisoner was asked where he bought the pistol, powder, and ball, and for what purpose? He said, at a shop near Westminster-bridge, to settle a dispute with a gentleman at Glasgow; but being urged to account for firing the pistol in the street and wounding a lady he did not even know, he seemed confused, and his countenance indicated a vacancy not before observed, evidently occasioned by the question, and which visibly agitated his mind during the time he was at the bar.

The magistrate said, though he was convinced of the insanity of the prisoner, and that he was not

instigated to the firing of the pistol by malice, he thought it his duty to commit him for trial, because the law in that case would take care that a proper place should be allotted for him, and thereby a repetition of a similar act would be prevented; but as the fate of the unfortunate wounded lady cannot be accurately ascertained, the prisoner was ordered to be brought up again in ten days.

On Sunday afternoon, a miss Wilson and a miss Simpson were overturned in a curricle, on the Highgate road. There was a servant in a box behind, and miss Wilson was driving a spirited horse at a great rate. On the other side of Islington, the off rein unfortunately became unbuckled, and the situation of the ladies was then very perilous. The horse, in consequence of their shrieks, it is supposed, started off at a full speed towards Highgate, and the servant, with great difficulty alighted from behind, but he was unable to keep pace with the horses. Miss Wilson was severely bruised, and had her arm broken, and her head fractured. This young lady was from the north, and had come to London on a visit to some relations who lived near Moorfields. The other lady escaped without any serious injury.

A Mr. Pohl, a foreign gentleman, about 60 years of age (who for upwards of thirty years held a place of great trust, as a principal clerk in the Stamp-office, at Somerset-house,) put a period to his existence on Sunday morning by hanging himself at his lodgings in Duke-street, St. James's. An inquest was on Monday taken at the Unicorn, in Duke-street, when it appeared that he returned home on Saturday evening in his usual health and spirits, and at his usual hour retired to rest. On Sunday morning, a young lady, to whom he was guardian, finding he did not come down to breakfast, went to call him, but receiving no answer she alarmed the family. On entering the room, they found him lying on his back on the bed, with the cord with which he had suspended himself, broke a few inches from the noose, and from his not recovering, it was supposed it broke in his struggling. The jury, after a short deliberation, returned a verdict—Lunacy.

On Monday, an inquest was held on Mrs. Ann Black, of Hawkesbury-place, Walworth; when it appeared that between one and two o'clock on Friday, a groom, described as a tall slim lad, in a fustian stable jacket and trowsers, or overalls, on a dark chestnut or bay horse, and Peter Moore, servant to Mr. Hughes, butcher, of Walworth, were riding full gallop towards Camberwell, nearly opposite West-lane, the horse on which the groom rode struck the deceased: she never spoke, and died in about an hour. The groom rode through the turnpike towards Denmark-hill. The jury brought in their verdict—Accidental Death. Peter Moore, who had been apprehended and committed, was discharged. It is to be hoped that the groom will be apprehended.

POLAND.

Tilsit, June 25.—The conference of the two emperors of Russia and France took place yesterday, at one o'clock in the afternoon, on a raft in the Niemen, on which general Lareboissiere, commander of the artillery of the guards, had caused one pavilion to be erected for their imperial majesties, and another

another for their attendants. His majesty the emperor Napoleon, attended by the grand duke of Berg, prince of Neufchatel, marshal Bessieres, Duroc, grand marshal of the palace, and Coulaincourt, master of the horse, proceeded to the banks of the Niemen, and went on board the vessel which was to take him to the raft. At the same time, the emperor Alexander, with the grand duke Constantine, generals Bennigsen and Ouwaroff, prince Labanoff, and his first adjutant-general count Lichen, put off from the opposite banks. The two vessels reached the raft at the same time; the two emperors embraced each other on leaving the vessels, and entered the pavilion prepared for them. This conference lasted about two hours; and when it was closed, the attendants of the two emperors were admitted. The emperor Alexander paid many handsome compliments to the French officers who attended Napoleon, and the latter conversed for a long time with the grand duke Constantine and with general Bennigsen. Both emperors returned afterwards to their vessels.

Knight v. *Wolcott.*

27.—This was an action brought by the plaintiff to recover damages of the defendant, for criminal conversation with his wife.

The defendant, a man seventy years of age, known in his works by the title of Peter Pindar, resided in the second floor of a house kept by a Mrs. Dyke at Camden town, and Mrs. Knight, a sprightly playful woman of twenty-six years of age, resided in the first floor with her husband. According to the evidence adduced on the trial by Mrs. Dyke, and other witnesses, Mrs. Knight seemed to have formed an attachment to the *gallant gay Lothario*, which increased so much, that her habiliments were often noticed to have been disordered after she had left his room. This was positively sworn to by the witnesses, and to give weight to their testimony, they one and all declared that they had watched Mrs. Knight into the defendant's room, and she often came out with her habit-shirt rumpled; in one instance her bosom was entirely exposed. One of the witnesses swore that he heard Mrs. Knight in the defendant's bed-room one evening, and it was his full belief they were in bed together. They all knew Mrs. Knight was used to receive theatrical lessons from the defendant. There were several other farcical facts sworn to by these witnesses, which threw the court into bursts of laughter. Upon the whole, however, there was a good deal of inconsistency in the evidence.

Mr. Park, in addressing the jury for the defendant, said that he did so with more than ordinary zeal against so foul a conspiracy. The jury would have no hesitation in seeing through it, and finding their verdict accordingly. Dr. Wolcott, the learned counsel contended, was an infirm old man, and very poor; for his writings had never been productive to him. He was in a state of infirmity, and required a nurse to undress and put him to bed. Mrs. Knight had often assisted in undressing him, and in holding warm bottles to his feet after he was in bed, the servant of the house having at that time left. The doctor had his share of spirits, and he used to talk about half-instructed actors. Mrs. Knight had some notion of Thespian fame, and the doctor was invited to

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make use of her floor and instruct her in recitations. At the time of Mrs. Knight's bosom being exposed, the learned counsel said, she had just been acting Euphrasia in the Grecian Daughter. Mr. Park concluded by cautioning the jury not to give credit to the witnesses.

Lord Ellenborough shortly summed up the case, in which he observed there was a great deal of improbability; and the jury without hesitation returned a verdict for the defendant.

CHAIRING OF SIR F. BURDETT.

The orders given for this ceremony will be found below. Preparations have been making for some weeks, upon the most extensive and imposing scale. The electors will assemble under their respective flags by ten o'clock in the morning, at the under-mentioned houses:

1. St. Anne, King's-head, Compton-street, Soho;

2. St. Paul Covent-Garden, and St. Martin Le Grand, Salutation, Tavistock-street;

3. St. Clement Danes and St. Mary Le Strand, Amphitheatre Coffee-house, Newcastle-street, Strand;

4. St. Martin in the Fields, Hungerford Coffee-house, in the Strand;

5. St. James, Coach and Horses, Air-street, Piccadilly;

6. St. George, Hanover-square, Barley Mow, Park-street, Grosvenor-square;

7. St. Margaret and St. John, Red lion, Parliament-street;

When they will be met by one gentleman of the committee, who will conduct them to their appointed stations in Covent-Garden and its vicinity, as follows, and are expected to arrive by half past eleven o'clock.

St. Anne, in James-street, opposite Hart-street, leaving the upper end of the street for another part of the procession;

St. Paul and St. Martin Le Grand, the lower end of James-street, next the market;

St. Clement, St. Martin Le Grand, and St. Martin, in Covent-Garden, on the north side, the two former near the end of James-street, and the latter near the old Shakspear Tavern;

St. James, on the east side, from the Bedford Tavern to the corner of Russell-court;

St. George, on the east side, opposite the New Hummums;

St. Margaret and St. John, on the south side, between Tavistock-court and Southampton-street.

ORDER OF THE PROCESSION.

Marrow-bones and cleavers, four and four.—Four trumpets on horseback.—Two large flags, used during the election.—Three small flags.—Ditto, ditto, ditto.—High constable on horseback.—Nine assistants, three and three.—One large dark blue flag, motto—"Burdett and our country."—Band of music, three and three—Three bugle boys on horseback, with small blue flags,—the majority painted thereon.—Large white flag carried on horseback, motto,—"Purity of election."—I. Flag of St. Anne's parish.—Four beadles of St. Anne's.—Electors, four and four.—II. Flag of St. Paul Covent-Garden, and St. Martin Le Grand.—Four beadles.—Electors four and four.—III. Flag of St. Clement Danes and St. Mary Le Strand.—Four beadles.—Electors, four and four.—IV. Flag of St. Martin in the Fields.—Four beadles.—Electors, four and four.—V. Flag of St. James.—Four beadles.—Electors, four and four.—VI. Flag of St.

St. George, Hanover-square.—Four beadles.—Electors, four and four.—VII. Flag of St. Margaret and St. John.—Four beadles.—Electors, four and four.—Large dark blue flag, motto,—"Burdett the choice of the people."—Band of music, three and three.—Large dark blue flag, motto,—"Committee," on one side;—"Purity of election" on the other.—Committee, three and three.—Chairman to bring up the rear.—Large sky blue banner, motto,—"The constitution."—Mr. Jennings, supported by Messrs. Glossop and Adams.—Large dark blue banner, motto,—"The triumph of Westminster."—Sir Francis Burdett,—in a grand car, drawn by four horses abreast.—Small dark blue banner, motto,—"The sense of the people."—Horsemen, four and four.—Carriages to close.

The gentlemen on horseback will arrange themselves in Henrietta-street, and the carriages in Bedford-street, ready to follow the horsemen. The space between the end of Southampton-street and the east end of Henrietta street is to be occupied by another part of the procession.

The whole procession to be in motion when Covent-Garden church clock strikes twelve, which signal will be repeated by a trumpet from the upper window of the Britannia Coffee-house.

Gentlemen to come provided with their own dark blue favours.

The procession will proceed from Covent-Garden up James-street, Long-Acre, Little St. Martin's-lane, Litchfield-street, Greek-street, Soho-square, Charles-street, Oxford-street, Park-street, Chapel-street, South Audley-street, Curzon-street, Half Moon-street, Piccadilly, to the baronet's house; from the baronet's house, down Piccadilly, Haymarket, Cockspur-street, round the statue at Charing-cross, up St. Martin's-lane, through New-street, Bedford-street, Henrietta-street, turn to the left in front of the church, go round Covent-Garden to Southampton-street, down Southampton-street to the Crown and Anchor.

N. B. It is particularly requested, for the sake of avoiding confusion, that no person will attempt to join the procession after it is arranged in Covent-Garden. The committee particularly desires, that no person will attempt to take the horses from the car, as it is beneath the dignity of man to draw his fellow-creature.

JULY.

OLD BAILEY.

1. Richard Andrews, who has made so considerable a figure at the Police-offices, under innumerable charges of swindling, was put to the bar, charged with feloniously stealing a box, containing divers articles of plate, the property of Mr. Harris. The prosecutor was examined, and detailed the whole of his connection with the prisoner; concluding with his most solemn asseveration, that he never gave the prisoner authority to take the box of plate, nor employed him to pawn the contents.

Mr. Harris, jun. proved the plate to be his property; but, on being desired to produce it, he said he had not brought it with him, not conceiving it necessary, having already sworn to it at the Police-office. It was at his house, four miles in the country; and his wife was at present lying-in, and consequently unable to attend.

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The learned judge here interposed, and said, as the property was not produced and identified, the jury must acquit the prisoner, which they did accordingly. He was however detained to be tried at the Middlesex sessions for the misdemeanor, and Mr. H. bound over to prosecute. The prisoner was genteelly dressed in mourning, and his fetters were covered with black ribbon.

Charles Barnard, a young man from appearance of the first fashion, was indicted for embezzling six guineas, the moneys of Edward Fawkes, jun. esq. with whom the prisoner lived as groom. In support of this charge Mr. Fawkes was called, who deposed, that having mor horses than he was disposed to keep, he directed the prisoner to find a purchaser for one of them, saying he would sell the horse in question for eighty guineas. The prisoner, some time after, acquainted Mr. Fawkes he had found a purchaser in lord Craven, but that his lordship would not give more than seventy-four guineas for it. The prisoner brought Mr. F. the money in bank-notes, and Mr. F. thinking it extraordinary that the money should not have been paid in a check, he suspected some deceit. Upon inquiry he found that lord Craven had given eighty guineas for the horse, and that the prisoner had embezzled six. When Mr. F. taxed the prisoner with the fact, he said he hoped he might be permitted to make something in his service. The prosecutor replied, "Why, do not you get your wages?" The prisoner replied, "Yes, sir, but servants cannot live upon their wages; contingencies will arise, and they must be provided for!" In the progress of the cause it appeared, that the prisoner gave lord Craven's groom three guineas and a half out of six kept back. Lord Craven deposed to his having given eighty guineas for the horse, and produced the prisoner's receipt for the money.

Mr. Justice Lawrence, in summing up the evidence, said, he hoped the prisoner's justification, that all servants cheated their masters, and that they could not live upon their wages, was not true; for if so, society was in a most lamentable state.

The jury found the prisoner—*Guilty*.

3. Samuel Sandfield Still and William Hitchen were capitally indicted for forging and issuing, knowing them to be forged, promissory notes to a great amount, dated Ipswich and Suffolk bank, and signed Ralph Holden, for Holden, Sanders, and co. the notes being payable to the bearer on demand at Ipswich, or at Messrs. Winkley, Brothers, and co's., 6, St. Michael's alley, Cornhill. The indictment charged them with forging and uttering the said notes with intent to defraud James Page.

It appeared from the evidence, that the prisoners had opened a bank at Ipswich, and circulated a great quantity of bank-notes. An engraver proved 12,000 to have been printed, 5000 of which were for 5*l*. each. Some time after the notes were in circulation, the parties failed, and great loss was sustained by various persons into whose hands this paper had found its way. The charge of forgery arose from the names on the notes being fictitious, no such persons existing at the places referred to.

Messrs. Alley and Curwood contended, that issuing a note or bill with

with a fictitious name was not sufficient to constitute the crime of forgery, unless a fraudulent representation had been given. If putting names in a firm where the party did not exist, was to be considered a forgery, it would be difficult to foresee to what extent such a doctrine would lead in this mercantile country; for nothing was more common in the city of London. As a proof of this, in the house of Child and co. there had not been a partner of the name of Child for a number of years, though the old firm was still continued. The judge directed the jury to consider whether the notes were issued with a fraudulent intention. If they decided that question in the affirmative, they must find the prisoners guilty; but if, on the contrary, it appeared to them that they issued the notes in the ordinary course of trade, and with the expectation of being able to pay them, they must be acquitted. The jury found the prisoners—Not Guilty.

On Wednesday, just as his majesty's carriage arrived at the Queen's palace, a woman decently dressed, attempted to force her way into the palace after his majesty. Mackmanus, Townsend, and Sayers were in attendance; they seized her, and she proved to be the same woman whom Sayers apprehended a few weeks before under similar circumstances. She was extremely violent, and said she was sent by the Almighty to see the king, who was a very good sort of a man if they would let him alone. She had a petition and a pamphlet, which she wanted to give to the king. The officers took her to the secretary of state's office. Her name is Margery Flett, and she resides in Star-court, Nightingale-lane, Wapping.

On Friday, in the court of common pleas, the cause "*Gillet* v. *Mawman*" was decided. The question was, whether a printer was answerable to a bookseller for paper, &c. deposited in the warehouses of the former, in case such property was destroyed by fire, or otherwise. A number of witnesses stated the custom of the trade, and the jury, in delivering their verdict, observed, that they did not think printers were liable, unless they made themselves so by agreement; but in this case they conceived the plaintiff had so done, by giving the defendant to understand he had actually insured it, thereby preventing him from doing it himself. The plaintiff's claim was 1818*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.* The loss Mr. Mawman sustained was 1613*l.* 0*s.* 6*d.* leaving a balance due to Mr. Gillet of 145*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.* for which sum the jury gave him a verdict.

A few days since, the wife of a labourer, after being brought to bed and safely delivered, was seized with an insatiable appetite for food. Her husband being incapable of supporting her unnatural craving, obtained admission for her into St. Bartholomew's hospital, where she remains at present in a most dreadful situation. She eats incessantly, and is supplied daily with three pounds of beef, a quartern loaf, and a proportionable quantity of drink. On one occasion, the surgeons ordered her to be kept without eating one hour, and the consequence was, she raised the most shocking cries until her craving was satisfied. She retains her senses, and constantly requests those about her to bear with her unnatural behaviour, until she is

cured by medical assistance, or death puts an end to her sufferings. Previous to this singular propensity, the unfortunate woman was known to be a moderate eater.

SHERIFF'S COURT.

Campbell v. *T. Sheridan.*

7. This was a writ of inquiry to assess damages, the defendant having confessed himself to have been criminally connected with the plaintiff's wife, by suffering judgement to go by default.

Mr. Warren stated the case to the jury. He described the plaintiff as the son of a gentleman of large possessions in the West Indies, and the defendant to be a person of a captivating address and agreeable disposition, and the son of a gentleman generally admired for his eloquence and his talents. The lady was also described in high terms as possessing beauty and accomplishments, and it was said, their happiness for twelve years previous to their becoming acquainted with the defendant was uninterrupted. It appeared, that in 1802 the plaintiff was called to the West Indies; and on his return the same year, he found his wife had mixed in the dissipations of fashionable life, and every way different from what she was when he left her. In 1803 they went to Edinburgh, where they became acquainted with the defendant, who was then aid-de-camp to earl Moira, and in February 1804 the adultery took place, while the plaintiff was absent in London. The aggravating circumstances were, that the defendant was the bosom friend of the plaintiff, and Mrs. Campbell, up to the moment of her becoming acquainted with the defendant, was a virtuous wife and an affectionate mother. The plaintiff was not made acquainted with his wife's dishonour till the month of April in the present year, when he learnt the fact from a discarded servant of his wife's. There are two children (girls) who by the imprudence of their parent are left without protection, at least the protection of a mother.

The jury, after consulting some time, gave a verdict for the plaintiff—Damages 1500*l.*

Sir G. B. Brograve, bart. v. *Marsham Elwin, esq.*

9. This was an action to recover compensation in damages, the defendant having seduced and debauched the plaintiff's wife. It appeared from the statement of counsel, as also the evidence adduced, that the plaintiff, who is a young baronet of extensive fortune in the county of Norfolk, and lieutenant-colonel of the East Norfolk militia, was married to his present wife in the year 1800. She was the daughter of a Mr. Whitwell, of Bath, and the plaintiff had a fortune of 10,000*l.* with her. After the marriage, the plaintiff and his wife repaired to Worsted Hall, the seat of the baronet, where they lived in happiness and conjugal felicity till the early part of 1804. The plaintiff was then called from home, by reason of his regiment being ordered to another part of the kingdom. Lady Brograve accompanied her husband, and soon mixed in the gaieties of fashionable life. She was extremely young, being only eighteen when married, and was fond of dancing, hunting, and all the fashionable pursuits of the day. The defendant, who is not more than twenty-two, was a subal-

subaltern officer in the same regiment with the plaintiff, and was on terms of great intimacy and friendship with him. That and the following year passed away without any alteration in the plaintiff's happiness; and in the beginning of 1806 lady Brograve went to pay a visit to her sister, Mrs. Torree, at Cherry Burton in Yorkshire; and after staying six weeks, she returned to her husband sir George at Colchester. There the plaintiff first began to suspect his wife's conduct, from the fact of finding her in the bed-room of the defendant; but was convinced, however, that nothing improper had passed on that occasion. Still he remonstrated with her on the impropriety of it, and recommended a second journey to her sister, hoping to "right her mind," as he expressed himself. On her return the second time, he gained information which made him extremely unhappy, and which led him to make further inquiry. He did so, and he found that long before the affair at Colchester, his wife had been criminally connected with the defendant. In short, in her first journey to Yorkshire, he had slept with her at every place she stopped at in the road to and from Cherry Burton. At Cambridge and Stamford, in the route there, and at Newark Stamford, and Newmarket, in their way back; also at an hotel in Cork-street, London. At Newark in particular the evidence was peculiarly strong; and in addition to the fact of two persons having slept in her ladyship's bed, the waiter saw her upon the sofa, and the defendant standing by her, in a way that left no doubt of the fact. There were also intercepted letters which proved the adultery.

The defence attempted to be set up was, that sir George had been negligent of his wife, and had suffered the defendant to take indecent liberties with his wife in his presence; and in short, by his improvidence in permitting the defendant to be at all times in his wife's company, reading, riding, walking with her, dancing at assemblies, and reclining on verdant banks while he was courting the river deities from his boat on the sea-shore, he had produced his own dishonour and his wife's disgrace.

Lord Ellenborough said, he could find no mitigation of the defendant's conduct in any supposed remissness of the husband, but there might be in the lady's own unworthiness. She had disgraced herself by her more than shameful conduct at Newark. It was unworthy of her sex, and she might be the seducer of the young man; but still it was to be recollected, that the defendant had abused the hospitality and confidence of a brother officer, and had achieved his wife's ruin. To the sober judgement of the jury he should therefore confide the damages the plaintiff was entitled to.

The jury found for the plaintiff —Damages 2000*l.*

DOCTORS COMMONS.

Daniel Wakefield v. *Isabella Mackay, calling herself Isabella Wakefield.*

10. The libeller in this cause is a student in Lincoln's Inn; the defendant has undergone a tissue of vicissitudes as extraordinary as the ingenuity of fancy has invented of the heroines of romance. It appeared that she was born in St. Martin's-lane, in January 1786, of Catholic parents. She was baptized when she was supposed to be at the point of death, according

to the manner of the Papists, by the name of Isabella Jackson, being the maternal name, the father not being known. In 1793, she was put to boarding-school under the name of Isabella Mackay; John and Ann Mackay, formerly Jackson, who cohabited together, pretending to be her parents. In 1798, when she was with her mother, her person was violated by an Irish pauper of the name of Patrick Murphy, who was prosecuted, tried, and hanged for the offence. She subsequently went to a school at Hammersmith, as a parlour-boarder, where she passed under the name of Lascelles, John and Ann Mackay frequently coming to visit her to receive alms of her, as dependents upon her bounty. In the year 1803, she engaged in a theatrical expedition, and performed at Salisbury, Cheltenham, Gloucester, Birmingham, Warwick, and Bath. Returning to London, she engaged apartments in the neighbourhoood of Leicester-fields, in Pentonville, in St. James's-street, and various other situations, passing under the names of Lascelles, Thorpe, and various other appellations, as the caprice or purpose of the hour required. In these places she sometimes appeared with a retinue of servants, when her own mother, and her two half brothers, acted in the character of domestics of her establishment. She was now obstructed in the career of her adventures, and some circumstances led to her confinement in the king's bench. On the 6th of September 1804, she was married, according to the Catholic forms, to the libeller, and on the 29th of May 1805, according to the Protestant ceremonies, the union was solemnized. The object of this proceeding in the ecclesiastical court, was to set aside the marriage with the libeller.

Dr. Lawrence said, that this was the unhappy case of a young man pursuing his studies in a learned profession, connecting himself with this fascinating woman, whose tongue was supplied with falsehood to gratify the purposes of her ambition. By a fellow-student he was introduced to her, and was first led, by his compassion for her misfortunes, to inquire into the history of her distresses; and in the course of the examination he was told, that she was the daughter of a Mrs. Jackson, a lady of family: that she was also related to the honourable Mrs. Store, and to the marquis of Thomond. Thus seduced he married the syren, and on detecting her misrepresentations, he found himself ruined in his profession, and sought redress in this court. By the 26th George II. it was enacted, that to solemnize marriage in any church or chapel without due publication of banns, or licence from a proper authority, renders such marriage void. For this due publication, it was necessary that the parties to be united in this holy contract should be designated by their proper names. In the present instance, the defendant had been called Isabella Jackson, which was not either her name by descent, or by repute. By descent she had no name; for she was a bastard; by repute, she was any thing and every thing but Jackson. On the authority of lord Coke, of lord Raymond, and of Mr. justice Blackstone, the learned doctor supported the propositions he had advanced. On such a subject, the ingenuity of sophistry could alone be employed on the other side for the purposes of immorality. On the whole, the court would be anxious,

anxious, by its interposition, to prevent the disgrace and ruin consequent upon such an inauspicious connection, and feel the greatest moral satisfaction in discovering that the cause of justice and humanity was coincident with the principles of legal institution.

Doctors Arnold and Barnaby addressed the court on behalf of the defendant. They lamented, with their learned opponents, the misfortunes of the young gentleman; but, at the same time, the rights of the female ought to be attentively regarded. But the court was not to be influenced by feelings of commiseration: it was to decide between the parties agreeably to the acknowledged maxims of law and justice. The only question now was, if the defendant were married by her true name, according to the requisites of the statute. It was proved, that this young woman was the illegitimate daughter of Ann Jackson. The name of Isabella she obtained by baptism. If she could obtain any name by descent, it must be her maternal name, which was Jackson, and by the appellation of Isabella Jackson the banns were published. The argument on the other side would go to the extent, that she could have no real name to place her within the statute against clandestine marriages, and therefore, that she could form no legal nuptial engagement. It was alleged, that as a bastard, she could not obtain a name by descent; and that, therefore, she ought to have resorted to her appellative by repute. The fact was, that in this case, all names were indifferent to her; she passed by several designations that have been mentioned, and possibly by fifty others; none of which would have applied so correctly to her as Isabella Jackson, in which the banns had been published. Where the party had no name by reputation, the only safe expedient was, to resort to her real maternal name; and by this designation the requisites of the statute were most effectually satisfied.

Sir William Scott said, that he should take time to consider of the subject, and that he should give notice when the decree of the court would be pronounced.

Stephens v. *Ann May.*

We notice this case principally to disclose the opinion of the learned judge in the material question in the preceding cause. In this case, the counsel for the plaintiff contended, that the marriage was void to all intents and purposes, because the defendant being of the name of Ann May, the banns had been published under the name of Ann Maria Wright. The husband had continued to cohabit with her for a long time, and several children were born, the fruit of their connection. No motive of fraud was shown, for her having assumed the name of Wright; and when she was reproached with having abandoned her real distinction, she laughed, and intimated, that it was a matter of no consequence.

Sir William Scott, after stating the general nature and object of the proceedings, said, that the fact being proved, that the name of the defendant was Ann May, and that the publication of the banns was in the name of Ann Maria Wright, he had no hesitation in declaring, that the marriage was void, *ab initio*, and that the long interval which had elapsed had made no alteration in the applicability of the law to the situation of these

parties. He must therefore pronounce that they were not man and wife.

IRELAND.—On Wednesday se'nnight, Laurence English was murdered by three men armed with firearms, who came to his house at Ballynavin, near Clonmel. His mother lives in a cabin within 100 yards of the son's house, and hearing people passing, got up to speak to them, supposing them to be her own sons. On coming to the door of her son's house, they made her kneel and cover her face, whilst they were perpetrating the horrid deed. They rapped at the door, and demanded a bridle and saddle. The deceased half opened the door, and threw out the bridle; when the assassin fired through the door, the ball entered between the ribs, and passed out through the right shoulder. The poor man fell into his brother's arms, and never spoke after: a second shot was fired at the brother, which grazed his arm.—The assassins then compelled the surviving brother to take an oath that he would go to Dr. Green, and desire him to compel J. Barret to surrender to Miss Lonergan a few acres of ground which he holds from her. One Shea held about six acres, for two years, after which it was given to Barret, who has held it for four years, and who was twice attempted to be assassinated. Barret let the deceased the grass of half an acre of ground, and for so trivial a cause was so horrid a deed perpetrated, as it is supposed, *in terrorem* to Barret, that the ground should be surrendered, and given to the former occupier.

A riot, attended with some unpleasant circumstances, occurred at Manchester. The particulars are detailed in the following article, dated Manchester, July 13:—"Last Monday being the anniversary of several friendly societies in this town, the members of one, called the Orange Club, consisting of Irish protestants, attended divine service at the collegiate church; but in proceeding from thence, they imprudently, or with a malignant design struck up the tune "Croppies, lie down!" upon which they were violently attacked by a number of their countrymen, (Roman catholics,) armed with bludgeons, &c. near High-street; when a dreadful rencontre took place, wherein several were dangerously wounded, some of whom were sent to the infirmary. Seven or eight of the ringleaders were apprehended, and lodged in the New Bailey prison. A detachment of the military remained on duty all that night."

Extract of a letter from an officer on board his majesty's ship Canopus, dated off Alexandria:—

"Admiral sir T. Louis died of an inflammation in his bowels, after a short illness, but of very severe pain. On the 16th of May he was on shore walking, and complained to some of those around him of a little pain. On his return on board, he ate his dinner with his usual appetite, and went to bed in very good spirits, having felt much relieved during the evening, and expected a good night's sleep. Unfortunately he was again attacked about four in the morning of the 17th, and immediately medical advice, both from the army and navy, was sent for, his attendants being apprehensive of danger. The physicians and surgeons quitted the Canopus, and went on shore about noon, leaving the admiral, in their opinion, free from all dangerous symptoms, and without any apprehension of an inflammation taking place. About

three

three o'clock, however, a great alteration for the worse was perceived, and the faculty were again immediately sent for to repair on board the Canopus. On their arrival at four o'clock, they gave up all hopes of the admiral's recovery, as the mortification in his bowels had already taken place. He remained sensible, except a little wandering at times, to the last half-hour, and breathed his last at ten o'clock that night. His family and friends were perfectly satisfied that every possible attention was paid to the admiral during his short illness, and every means which human wisdom could suggest made use of for his recovery. His remains were sent by the Bittern sloop of war to Malta, to be interred near those of general Abercrombie."

A most extraordinary conspiracy has lately been discovered in the 28th regt. foot, quartered at Maldon, in Essex. It appears, that for some time back a great number of the privates have been afflicted with a disorder in the eyes, resembling the *ophthalmia*, and accordingly many had been discharged from the service, and received pensions: however, upon a close investigation by some medical men, one of the villains confessed that a pernicious ointment had been applied to the eyes, purposely to injure the sight. Several of them have been taken up; 28 are committed to Chelmsford gaol to take their trials; and several others are to be tried by a court martial. It appears, from the confession of one of the Irishmen, who became an evidence against the rest, that the blindness did not continue longer than three weeks, unless to continue the deception a repetition of the ointment was adopted. Every man using the ointment was bound by a particular oath, devised for the occasion, not to discover the secret. This man stated, that this strange and abominable scheme was engaged in for the purpose of procuring discharges or being sent to Chelsea, &c. The ointment was used by nearly 300 men, (chiefly Irishmen), some of them caused both eyes to be affected, and others thought it sufficient to become blind in the firelock eye only. The witness also stated that on a certain morning after one of his comrades had used the pernicious ointment, he met him, and said, "How do you do, Pat?" "By J—s, charmingly," said he, "for I am quite blind of one eye, and *devil a much* can I see with the other."

The expected trials of twenty-six soldiers of the 28th regiment of foot for a conspiracy, occasioned a greater number of visitors to Chelmsford than is usual at the assizes. The public curiosity, however, which had been excited by the extraordinary offence of these unhappy men, has been altogether disappointed; for an order was received there from London, on Friday morning, to discharge such of them from the custody of the civil power as would engage to be entered into regiments, on foreign service, for life. Not one refused; they were marched from the gaol under a military escort to the new garrison, where they remained prisoners, till they could be sent abroad.

Downing-street, July 17.

Dispatches, of which the following are copies and extracts, have been received by viscount Castlereagh, from major-general Fraser, commanding in Egypt.

Extract of a letter from gen. Stewart to gen. Fraser, dated Rosetta Lines, April 18.

From the great extent of the town (Rosetta), it was found impossible that our small army could invest more than one half. A line was accordingly taken up from the Nile to the front of the Alexandrian gate, thence retiring towards the plain, where our dragoons were posted. A mortar and some guns were brought into play early in the afternoon; these were answered by the shouts of the Albanians from their walls, and by incessant discharges of musketry through the loop-holes and crevices, which were innumerable. In conformity with your instructions, capt. Hallowell and I sent, on the 8th instant, a summons, and favourable terms, to the civil and to the military governor, accompanied by an address to the inhabitants. We were requested by the former, in their answer, to await their receiving instructions from Cairo; for which purpose a temporary suspension of hostilities was proposed. It not being expedient to accede to this, we continued to batter the town; and by the 10th had two mortars, two 12-pounders, a howitzer, and and a 6-pounder, in play; on the 12th, a work for five 6-pounders and 32-pound carronades was completed, immediately opposite the Alexandrian gate. Skirmishes on our left were in the mean time frequent. The summonses were repeated to the Albanian chiefs on the 12th. Our flag of truce was thrice fired at; and it was only by means of a great reward that a common Arab could be induced to be the bearer of any communication with such enemies. Having been informed by you of the cooperation which was likely to exist between us and the Mameluke Beys, I availed myself of this in our meffage to the enemy: he seemed, however, to be indifferent to it. Of either message or letter I have heard no more, and have reason to apprehend that the unfortunate Arab has been beheaded. From the 12th to the 13th nothing extraordinary occurred. Relying on the approach of the Mamelukes, every exertion was continued in getting up stores, ammunition, and provisions, from the Lake. On the 15th, the enemy gave our right flank considerable annoyance, by two guns in separate batteries on the opposite side of the river; of these it was necessary to dispossess them. Major McDonald, 78th regiment, was detached across the river, in front of Aboumandour Mosque, before daylight on the 16th, with 250 men. Lieut. Robinson, of the Tigre, accompanied the major with 40 seamen, whose services were particularly valuable. He made a circuitous march, and arrived in rear of the batteries by dawn of day; he captured and completely destroyed them, and fired several rounds into the town from their own guns; he then sent the guns, with 12 camels and a considerable number of tents, across the river. The enemy received reinforcements, the major retired, and effected this service in equally good style: although under fire from the enemy, he reembarked the whole of his detachment in the best order, and had only four men wounded. I have particularly to state, that much of the good fortune which attended this enterprise may be attributed to capt. Hallowell; by his exertions a sufficiency of small craft were discovered under water, were raised, and during the

the dark of the night of the 15th were so well prepared, that nearly the whole of the detachment was conveyed from shore to shore at one turn. Twenty-five armed fellahs, who formed part of a large body detached against us from Cairo, were yesterday captured near El Hamet. They had killed their own chief, and were wandering near our post more with a view to plunder than of hostility. We have done great damage to the town, and have not thrown less than 300 shells from mortars alone. The indifference, however, of the enemy to the miseries which are unavoidably caused to the inhabitants is manifest. Although his force be said not to exceed 300 cavalry, 800 Albanians, and 1000 armed inhabitants, yet, from the extent and the peculiar nature of his lines of defence, to attempt an assault is decidedly not an adviseable measure. Our success will depend on the arrival of the Mamelukes, in conjunction with whom a force may be immediately thrown on the opposite side of the Nile: the doing this at present is impossible. Our enemy is strong in cavalry—we have none; and the Delta is peculiarly calculated for that arm. In the mean time the post of Hamet becomes of greater value, as our friends are expected to approach; every art shall be made to retain it.

W. STEWART.

Total of killed, wounded, and missing, from the 6th to the 18th of April inclusive.—1 serjeant, 5 rank and file killed; 1 brigadier-general, 1 brigade-major, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 6 serjeants, 60 rank and file, 5 horses, wounded.

Officers wounded.—Brigadier-gen. Stewart, commanding; lieut. Richard Cust, of the 35th regt. brigade-maj.; capt. Jodderel, of 35th reg. since dead; lieut. Hemsworth, of the 31st light infantry battalion.

Extract of another letter, from the same to the same, dated Camp, Eastern Heights, Alexandria, April 25.

The events which have attended the service on which this army has been engaged, have been of a peculiar nature, and the result has been as peculiarly unfortunate.—The expectation of the junction of the Mamelukes had chiefly induced me to persevere in the attack of Rosetta. Every exertion was continued to be made, by such artillery as we could command, in reducing the enemy to surrender, but without effect: the mistaken ground upon which we were acting, respecting the Mamelukes, and the general deception of our informers, were now about to become manifest. On the 19th the enemy left his position opposite Hamet, and, crossing the river near Elfine, established himself there. He advanced from Dibet against Hamet on the same day, and, attacking major Vogelsang's position on the left, was repulsed with loss. A diversion was made at the same time at Rosetta, in a sortie against the left of our lines, by about 80 cavalry and 200 infantry. The 35th regiment and the dragoons were engaged; they repulsed the enemy with much spirit, and drove him as usual to his walls. The 35th had in this affair two killed, and 14 wounded. I this evening detached the light companies of the 35th, and of De Roll's, to the post of El Hamet, under the command of captain Tarleton of the former. His orders were to drive the enemy across the Nile, either during that night, or early next morning. On attempting to effect this service on the 20th, the enemy was found to be powerful in cavalry, and capt. Tarleton

Tarleton retired. As he retreated, he divided his detachment; he directed the march of his own company to the left position, and sent De Roll's reinforced to 100 rank and file, to Hamet village. While crossing the plain, the latter detachment, under captain Reinack's orders, was suddenly attacked by 200 cavalry, and, as it should appear, was with little opposition routed; two-thirds were cut in pieces. Report of this reaching me by 11 *a. m.* I detached lieut.-col. McLeod, with two companies of the 78th reg. one of the 35th, a picquet of dragoons under captain Delancy, and a six-pounder, to reinforce the post, and take the command. Two more companies followed in the afternoon, with a day's provision for his whole force, ammunition, &c.; all which arrived safely. On the arrival of the reinforcement, the enemy retired towards Dileg; and I received assurance from the lieutenant-colonel, before sun-set, of the perfect security of his post. He had detached three companies, the dragoons, and a three-pounder, under capt. Tarleton's orders, to the plains on the right, and had reinforced the centre post by a company of the 35th regiment: the average strength of these companies was 60 rank and file. During this day, the enemy made no movement against our lines at Rosetta, but sent reinforcements to Hamet from the town by the right bank of the Nile. I visited the post of Hamet during the night of the 20th, and confirmed my former instruction to lieut.-col. McLeod, that he should defend the post to the utmost. I at the same time concerted measures for a general retreat on the succeeding night, unless certain intelligence of the Mamelukes should arrive on the 21st. About seven on the morning of the 21st, I received the following express from major McLeod "The cavalry were not to be seen this morning; but, to my utter astonishment, from 60 to 70 large germs, and a large brig, are now coming down the Nile upon us.—I do not know what to say of this it appears, undoubtedly, a reinforcement to the enemy, and one of considerable magnitude. I take it for granted they have gun-boats among them. I must make preparation, and be ready to retire upon you. Let me know as soon as possible." My answer, immediately dispatched, was not received, the dragoon being unable to penetrate to the post. The reinforcement also, which had marched under the orders of your aid-de-camp captain A'Court, was obliged to return.—Not a moment was to be lost in breaking up from the position before Rosetta, and in supporting the Hamet detachment. The advance upon us of a strong body of cavalry in that direction, prevented my detaching single corps to their relief; and it was necessary that the whole army should move together. The field guns were first withdrawn from the batteries; all camels were laden with ammunition and indispensable stores; the carronades and mortars kept up their fire on the town to the last moment that could be spared, and were then destroyed and buried; all spare ammunition and stores were set fire to, and blown up. The picquets remained in their flêches until the field train, the wounded, and the stores, were assembled in the plains, under the charge of the 78th and De Roll's regiment, which formed a square round them. The brave 35th then retreated, followed by the picquets. The enemy, sallying from the town in

in all directions, surrounded our square; but the bold front which the 35th kept, under the command of capt. Riddle, and the flanking position of the light infantry battalion, under major O'Keefe, on the heights of Aboumandour, prevented him from making any impression. Nothing could surpass the steadiness of the troops you had intrusted to my command. The 35th regiment fired by its wings and platoons retiring; and the 78th with its front rank kneeling, as during the movements of a field-day. Under the direction of col. Oswald, who regulated proceedings in the rear, I felt confident of the good conduct of the whole. About ten our little army advanced across the sandy plain, in a direction for the lake Edgo, and the right of the Hamet position. We arrived there about one, under continual fire, and after a sultry march; our loss was not, however, considerable, the greater body of the enemy being kept at a distance by the fire of our artillery from the flanks of the square. To my surprise, not an individual of the Hamet detachment joined us in this march, nor could firing be heard in that direction: our last accounts of their proceedings left them warmly engaged near to the village of Hamet, on the Rosetta side. Failing to meet them on the shore of the lake, it was necessary, in some manner, to retrace our steps, and to look for them nearer to El Hamet. This could be effected by gaining some sand-hills, which were about a mile on our left. Our march was accordingly directed towards them; the light infantry now leading the front of the square advanced with activity, and the enemy who occupied them dispersed in all directions. From those hills, which completely commanded a view of the plain and Hamet position, the enemy were seen to be in possession of the latter, and not any appearance of our detachment in the former. It was apparent they had either effected a separate retreat to Edko, or been completely defeated: in either case it was adviseable, under all circumstances, that the army should continue its original retreat. This was resumed in the same good order as before. The left being flanked by the lake, the enemy ceased to pursue us. Our casualties during this retreat did not exceed 50 killed and wounded, and none were captured. The loss of our enemy was considerable, but we made no prisoners. By sun-set we arrived at the *depôt*. Lieut. Tilly, with his usual activity, had, in consequence of my express in the morning, safely embarked all provisions and stores. Having left our wounded and our 12-pounder on board germs here, and refreshed the army, we advanced to Edko, and took up our former position about two in the morning. On the 22d, the whole of the stores, which were at Edko, were safely embarked for the Caravansera, when the army marched for that post, and arrived in the afternoon without opposition. On the succeeding day the troops embarked for Aboukir's Wells. The Caravansera was blown up under the direction of captain Hallowell. No certain intelligence has reached me respecting the fate of the detachment under lieut.-col. McLeod. The general report confirms their defeat in the forenoon of the 21st, and states many of them to be prisoners. On this I will make no comment. Every step which a sense of duty could dictate was taken in order to secure the post of Hamet; and it will, I sincerely trust, appear to you that none, which prudence could suggest,

gest, were omitted, in order that a junction should be formed with the detachment. That our unfortunate comrades did their duty, must not be doubted; that all was lost, save honour, when they surrendered, must also not be doubted.

W. STEWART.

Killed, wounded, and missing, from the 19th to the 21st of April inclusive.—Total—5 rank and file, killed; 1 captain, 3 lieutenants, 10 serjeants, 85 rank and file, 7 horses, wounded; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 majors, 10 captains, 15 lieutenants, 4 ensigns, 2 staff, 30 serjeants, 15 drummers, 733 rank and file, 26 horses, missing.

Officers wounded.—Light infantry batt. lieut. Arthur, of the 35th. —35th reg. lieuts. Dally and Phillet.—78th reg. capt. R. H. Dick.

Officers missing.—Royal artillery, lieut. Dunn.—20th light dragoons, capt. John Delancey; assistant-surgeon Gibson.—Light infantry batt. capts. Tarleton (of 35th) and Reinach (of De Roll's reg.) Lieuts. Westerman (of 35th) and Rouissillon (of De Roll's reg.) —1st battalion 35th reg. capts. McAllister and Pike; lieuts. Wilkinson and Walker.—2d batt. 78th reg. lieut.-col. Patrick McLeod; capt. Colin C. Mackay; lieuts. W. M. Dick, John Matheison, Malcolm McGregor, Christ. McKae, Alex. Gallie, Phineas Ryrie, and Archibald Christie; ensign Joshua Gregory; assistant-surgeon Alex. Leslie.—De Roll's reg. major C. Vogelsang; brevet major Moher; capts. Ryhiner, Muhler, Barbier, and Tucks; lieuts. Gouguelberg, Frey, and Ledeguve; ensigns Stetter, Muller, and Sonnenberg.

General return of prisoners taken by the enemy, transmitted by major-gen. Fraser, May 20.

2 majors, 8 captains, 9 lieutenants, 3 ensigns, 3 assistant-surgeons, 25 serjeants, 8 drummers, 485 rank and file.

Officers, prisoners of war.—Capt. Delancey, of the 20th light dragoons; assistant-surgeon Gibson, of ditto; lieut. Dunn, of the royal artillery; capt. McAllister, of the 35th reg.; capt. Mackay, of the 78th reg. severely wounded; lieuts. Matheison, McGregor, Gullie, and Ryrie, of ditto; major Vogelsang, of De Roll's reg.; brevet-major Moher, of ditto; captains Reinach, Ryhiner, Barbier, and Tucks, of ditto; lieut. Rouissillon, of ditto; and lieuts. Gouguelberg and Frey, of ditto, both severely wounded.

Officers prisoners, but not at Cairo.—Lieut. Walker, of the 35th reg.; ensign Gregory, of the 78th reg. wounded; assistant-surgeon Leslie, of ditto; captain Muhler, of De Roll's reg. severely wounded; and ensigns Muller and Stetter, of ditto, both severely wounded.

N. B. There are also prisoners of war at Cairo lieut. Tynmore, lieut. Love, and three privates, of the royal marines, who were carried away from the Caravansera by the Bedouin Arabs; capt. Vicenzo Taberna, of the guides; and Mr. Forbes, of the commissariat department.

Letter from Sir S. Auchmuty to the Right Hon. W. Windham, dated Monte Video, April 26.

Sir,—Since closing my letter of this morning's date, I have received a dispatch from lieut.-col. Pack at Colonia, informing me that the enemy, 1000 strong, had made an attempt on his post, at one in the morning of the 22d instant.—The attack commenced on an advanced guard, and immediately after on the lines. The troops on duty supported the post until the corps got under arms, which they did

did with great alacrity, and instantly repelled the assailants, and pursued them to the village of Real, about three miles from the town. At day-light no enemy was to be seen for many miles. We had not a man killed in this affair. I am sorry to add, that major Trotter (commander of the light battalion) was wounded in the body, and capt. Willgress (of the artillery) has the bone of his arm shattered. The enemy's loss is unknown. Eight killed and as many wounded were left on the field.—As col. Pack reports that his works are in a respectable state of defence, and as the reinforcement would reach him immediately after the date of his letter, I am under no apprehension for the safety of his post.

S. Auchmuty.

18.—This evening a violent storm of thunder, lightning, and rain, took place at Hull, which continued for an hour. The rain fell in such torrents that some streets were rendered impassable, the water being nearly a foot deep. The lightning was so incessant, that the sky was enveloped in one continued and vivid expanse of flame; which, with the occasional rushing of the wind, and tremendous roar of the accompanying peals of thunder, formed a spectacle at once sublime and awful.

Hitchin, 19.—A terrible fire broke out at Stevenage, on Friday the 10th inst. about noon (said to be owing to the carelessness of a woman, in throwing out hot ashes into a yard where there was some straw), and burnt with such fury, that, by eight in the evening, when it was only got under by pulling down three cottages, it had totally destroyed 34 dwelling-houses, a number of barns and out-houses, 12 large ricks of hay, a quantity of corn and malt, household-furniture, clothes, tools, several fat hogs, and a great deal of poultry; leaving upwards of 30 families totally destitute of habitations, food, and even raiment, except what they had on their backs. The ruins continued smoking and burning through that night, Saturday, and part of Sunday, when, about 4 in the evening, a breeze springing up, the fire again broke out in a malting, near which were three large ricks of hay; these were entirely consumed, together with a malting, a quantity of malt, and a waggon which stood loaded with 20 quarters, the flames spreading so fast as to prevent them putting in the horses to draw it out. Fortunately this was the last effort of the devouring element; in the course of the night and the next day it was completely extinguished. The loss is valued at 10,500*l.* of which 7000*l.* is insured; to make up the remainder, the contributions of the humane and charitable were solicited. Mr. Cass, of the Swan, was a very great sufferer indeed; the whole of his rick-yard, containing nine large ricks of hay and two of straw, has been entirely consumed, and his furniture so damaged by being removed as to be almost spoiled: he is insured, but not to the amount of his loss. The Hitchin volunteers gained great credit for their steady behaviour in mounting guard over the property that was saved.

A letter from Gosport, dated July 22, seven o'clock *p. m.* states as follows:—"This afternoon, a fire broke out in the old buildings of the Forton Prison, near Gosport. These buildings are undergoing a thorough repair for the accommodation of French prisoners, and

and the fire is supposed to have been occasioned by the boiling over of a quantity of pitch in the workshop. Nearly the whole buildings are consumed, and the fire still continues to rage with great violence. A great number of prisoners have, within the last two or three days, been sent to the new buildings, adjoining these, many of whom have made their escape, and the rest are highly delighted with the idea of obtaining an opportunity of following their companions. The East Kent militia, together with the Gosport volunteers, were very active in guarding them, and in assisting to extinguish the fire as soon as they could arrive at the spot.—The wind, which blew strong, is very favourable for the houses contiguous, so that the fire has been confined to the prison. Fortunately, the tide has been up this afternoon, or the whole of the buildings must, ere now, have been entirely burnt down, as they are constructed of wood, and are at present very old and dry."

The fire continued to burn till late in the evening, when, by the great exertions of the military, it was fortunately extinguished; not, however, until the whole range of buildings on one side had been destroyed. From the great concourse of people assembled, and the gates having been thrown open, many of the prisoners who occupied the opposite buildings were generally believed to have effected their escape. On their being mustered on Friday, however, they all appeared. Two or three persons who voluntarily came forward to assist in extinguishing the flames, were unfortunately much bruised, but no lives were lost.

An alarming shock of an earthquake took place at Lisbon on the 6th *ult.* It began about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and lasted about twelve seconds. The shock was so severe, that several houses were much damaged, and the city thrown into the greatest confusion. It was not known that any lives were lost; but several had their arms and legs broken, &c. by jumping out of windows. The shock was also felt at St. Ube's, Oporto, and generally throughout Portugal. It was felt on board the Lively frigate, then about eight leagues off the Rock of Lisbon.

23.—A few days since, a lady who went with a large party to the Dargle, co. Wicklow, observing a child of about five years old running incautiously along one of the steep walls of that beautiful though dangerous place, sprung forward to rescue the child from destruction; when her foot slipped, and she fell from a precipice on a loose piece of stone, which struck her on the head, and occasioned so dreadful a fracture, that she died the same evening.

DUBLIN, 23.—It is impossible to describe the alarm in this city, occasioned by dreadful claps of thunder, succeeded by rain, which fell in such torrents from three till six this morning, that it was feared the roofs of the houses could not stand it; one house in Smithfield was completely dashed down, it is supposed, by a thunder-bolt that hit it. In the neighbourhood of Howth a ball of fire fell, the appearance of which created mixed sensations of wonder and alarm.

TRIAL OF CAPTAIN LAROCHE, FOR COWARDICE.

Portsmouth, 23.—On Monday, and the three following days, a court-martial was held on board the Gladiator, to try capt. Laroche, late

late commanding his majesty's ship Uranie, for not doing his utmost to bring the enemy to action on the 15th of May and the 22d of June last—

Capt. BRADLEY, president;
Lieut. MORRISON, first lieut. of the Uranie, prosecutor.

The admiralty order for the trial was read, and then a letter from lieut. Morrison and other officers of the Uranie, and also a letter from part of the petty officers and ship's crew of the Uranie, to the lords of the admiralty, stating the conduct of capt. Laroche, and the reports which prevailed to the disadvantage of the character of the Uranie, imputing cowardice to her on the above days, and demanding a court-martial on capt. Laroche, to clear their fame, were severally read.

The court being then sworn, they proceeded to the examination of witnesses.

The witnesses in behalf of the prosecution were the second lieutenant, master, master's mate, carpenter, pilot, surgeon, lieutenant of marines, and a seaman of the Uranie, who deposed, that four of the main-deck guns were in the hold when the enemy was first seen, (on the 5th of May, when a corvette came out of Cherbourg, and having looked at the Uranie, ran in again) that they were not mounted till the next day, after the enemy was seen a second time (on the 15th of May, when a corvette and a frigate came out, and after a few movements returned to port); that on the 22d of June the frigate and corvette came out, and stood towards the Uranie, and that the Uranie wore from the enemy for some time, and was an hour before she was ready for action; that there was great confusion on board the Uranie during that time; that capt. Laroche betrayed symptoms of agitation, fear, and (one witness swore to a question put by the prosecutor) of cowardice; that he frequently changed colour, and was agitated in a manner he never betrayed before or since; that the Uranie did not carry all the sail she could have done; that if she had, and captain Laroche had done his utmost to bring the enemy to action, he must have cut off the corvette, and must have brought the frigate to action if she did not abandon the corvette; and that he passed the enemy's frigate within gun-shot (giving a broadside) and wore, and must have been in close action within a few minutes, if he had chased the frigate and carried all sail.

The surgeon, on cross-examination, said, that capt. Laroche had been ill three or four days of a bilious fever, and had taken medicine that morning (calomel and salts); and others admitted that he had not dined with his officers, through indisposition, for three or four days. All the witnesses for the prosecution said, that capt. Laroche had lain at anchor close in the shore several times and for a long time together, and had, on one occasion, when the enemy's frigate was saluting the governor of Paris, stood close in to the works, hove to, hoisted his colours, and fired at the frigate by way of defiance. The witnesses admitted that capt. L. and his officers were on ill terms: one witness said that capt. L. was on ill terms with all at times, and with some at all times.

The case for the prosecution closed at ten o'clock on Tuesday, when captain Laroche requested a short time to prepare his defence. In about two hours the court again opened, and capt. Laroche's friend read a very able defence, which insisted

sisted that his prosecutors were in a combination against him, from personal prejudice; that he had watched the enemy at anchor, except when the weather would not permit, incessantly; had frequently defied him; and that when the enemy came out, he had endeavoured to decoy him further from under the batteries, and that the enemy's object was to decoy the Uranie under the batteries; that the enemy's frigate carried fifty 18-pounders, the Uranie only thirty-six 12-pounders; that the Uranie was foul in her bottom, and that the enemy's frigate was a faster sailer, and could bring him to action whenever she pleased, and avoid an action at pleasure; that he carried all the sail he could with safety to his majesty's ship, then on a lee-shore, and close in with it; that caution more behoved him, as during this war the Minerva frigate had been captured by running on shore at this very place. The defence paid a most elegant compliment to the bravery of his majesty's navy at this day; expressed a confidence that they would but lightly believe evidence to prove cowardice against an officer who had the honour to command one of his majesty's ships; it concluded by saying, that captain Laroche would call witnesses that could have no bias, to prove that he had done his utmost to bring the enemy to action, and had in no degree tarnished his majesty's flag or dishonoured the corps he was proud to belong to.

The witnesses for capt. Laroche were, the lieutenant commanding the gun-brig Defender (in company with the Uranie on this occasion) and the other officers of that brig, and several of the Uranie's seamen, among which last were captains of the tops and forecastle: they all deposed that capt. Laroche did his utmost to bring the enemy to action; that had the Uranie carried all the sail she could, and done every thing that could be suggested, it was impossible for her to bring the enemy to action while he avoided it, which he did; that the enemy could bring capt. Laroche to action when he pleased, and avoid it in like manner; that both forces were close in shore, and had capt. Laroche continued the pursuit when he fired and tacked, he might have fallen under the batteries, and greatly endangered the safety of the Uranie. Two military officers, who had been on a cruize with capt. Laroche, as visitors, deposed, that he had always displayed the most undaunted courage, and tried every means to provoke the enemy to try his strength. Admiral sir Isaac Coffin deposed, that capt. Laroche had, verbally and by letter, reported to him officially, that the Uranie's bottom was foul, and that she wanted to be docked. Mr. Diddams, builder in the dock-yard, deposed, that the Uranie stood in need of several repairs, and that her bottom was very foul.—The defence closed at ten o'clock on Thursday morning, and the court were in deliberation till past one o'clock.

The court being again opened, the judge advocate read the sentence, which was, that "the charge being in part proved, capt. Laroche is sentenced to be dismissed from the command of his majesty's ship Uranie."

The court was much crowded the whole four days; for the trial, from the serious nature of the charges, had excited very extensive interest. Two of the charges had the sentence of death affixed to them: the one upon which the captain was found guilty inflicts

death, or any other punishment a court martial shall choose to inflict.

24.—The following distressing accident occurred about dusk, in the evening, below Putney bridge. A party consisting of three persons, Mr. Maud, an artist residing in the Kent Road, his sister, a little girl eight years old, and a Mr. Seton, had been to Richmond on a call to a relation of the latter gentleman; and on their return in the evening, the little girl, who sat behind the other two persons at the stern of the boat, was amusing herself by puting one hand into the water, and at length fell overboard. The brother, a young man 22 years of age, instantly followed into the water, to save his sister; and after having dived twice for her, he went down a third time, to rise no more; and the body was not found for some time. The little girl was saved by the waterman, who picked her up floating at the stern of the boat. The deceased was a young man of promise in his profession, as a limner.

Suicide.—On the same evening, as some labourers were returning home through Hyde-park, they discovered a genteelly-dressed man lying under a tree, apparently sleeping; and on one of them attempting, as he supposed, to rouse him, he ascertained the body to be a corpse. On examining it, a ball appeared to have penetrated the side of the head, but very little blood had followed. A pistol was found loaded in a side-pocket. The body was yesterday owned by a foreigner, and the unfortunate man, whose name was Talliet, was a French teacher at a boarding school, a few miles to the westward of London. He was of the progeny of a French noble, who emigrated with his countrymen at the time of the French revolution. The deceased has left a good deal of property, and it is supposed that a temporary derangement led him to his sad fate.

By the last returns, the effective force of the volunteers in Great Britain amounted to 289,306 rank and file; 254,544 of which are infantry, 25,342 cavalry, and 9420 artillery; the trumpeters and drummers 1355, serjeants 15,524, staff officers 2586; field officers 1404, captains 4335, subalterns 8836; making a grand total of 329,346 men.

10.—Wisbech. There was only one prisoner for trial, viz. Richard Faulkner, who was capitally convicted of the wilful murder of George Burnham, a lad about twelve years of age, at Whittlesea, on the 15th of February last, by cruelly beating him to death, for no other cause than to revenge his (the deceased) mother's having thrown some dirty water upon him.—The prisoner himself was not sixteen; but so shockingly depraved and hardened, that after condemnation he repeatedly clenched his fist, and threatened to murder the clergyman who attended the gaol, or any one who dared to approach him.—Indeed he was so ferocious that the gaoler found it necessary to chain him hands and feet to his dungeon, where he uttered the most horrid oaths and imprecations on all who came near him; and from the Friday to Saturday night refused to listen to any religious advice or admonition.—At length, to prevent the termination of his existence in this depraved state, the expedient was devised of procuring a child about the size of the one murdered, and similar in feature and dress, whom two

clergymen unexpectedly led between them, by the hands, into the cell, where he laid sulkily chained to the ground; but on their approach he started and seemed so completely terrified, that he trembled every limb, cold drops of sweat profusely falling from him, and was almost momentarily in such a dreadful state of agitation, that he intreated the clergymen to continue with him, and from that instant became as contrite and penitent as he had before been callous and insensible. In this happy transition he remained till his execution on Monday morning the 13th ult. having fully confessed his crime, and implored by fervent prayer the forgiveness of his sins from a merciful God!

27.—The following remarkable instances of desperation have lately occurred in the royal marine corps at Chatham, among individuals who were desirous of procuring their discharge:—A man who was desirous of leaving the service, but who had no reasonable claims to urge in order to procure his dismissal, was so bent on accomplishing this point, that he took an opportunity of seizing a bill-hook and secreting himself in a private place, where he laid his right arm upon a block, and taking the bill-hook in his left hand made a chop at his arm just above the wrist; he repeated the blow three times before he severed the hand from the arm; and then going to the surgeon, urged his inability to continue his duty any longer. Shortly afterwards a foreigner formed the same resolution of maiming himself, in consequence of some pique he had conceived: for effecting his purpose, he took a hatchet, and at one blow divided his right arm above the elbow, after which he took up the severed limb and threw it among his comrades, exclaiming, at the same time, there was more meat for their broth. Another man, actuated as it is supposed by a woman to whom he had attached himself, had formed a similar resolution of cutting off his hand; but in making the blow his firmness failed him, and he drew back his hand, but not so rapidly as to escape entirely unhurt, the axe having cut off the top joint of the little finger.

A very heavy storm of rain on Wednesday evening last, which was attended with long continued peals of thunder, and most terrific vivid lightning, did considerable damage in several parts of the county of Salop. At Wesbury, most of the church windows, with about 450 of Mr. Burd's panes in the same village, were broken to pieces; and the roof of Mr. Geary's house, at the Lion, experienced such violent shocks as to throw it several inches aside. Hailstones were picked up near five inches in circumference; and a house on the Wellington road had the windows shattered to the appearance of a sieve.

MAIDSTONE ASSIZES,—28.

Spiller v. *Sherwood.*

This was an action to recover a penalty of 5*l.* for a breach of the game laws, by using a gun for the destruction of the game.

Mr. serjeant Best said, the defendant was a farmer residing near Sittingbourne, in this county, but not qualified to kill game. On the 6th of September last, he should prove, by a most respectable witness, that the defendant was out with dogs and a gun, beating the cover for game; and when he had proved

proved this fact, it would entitle him to the verdict of the jury.

The witness he called to prove the fact was the baron Hompesch, who appeared with a most enormous pair of mustachios. He stated, that the defendant used the lands of a Mr. Chambers, who was now a prisoner at Verdun, and whose manor he, the baron, rented. He saw Sherwood on the 6th of February last in a small cover near Sittingbourne, with a gun on his shoulder and a dog following; the dog was between a setter and a sheep-dog. He said to him, "Farmer Sherwood, you have been beating this cover;" he replied, "What if he had?" The baron answered, "Who gave you leave?" He replied, "he had taken leave, and what was it to the baron." The latter answered, "that it would appear hereafter what he had to do with it."

Upon cross-examination, the baron said, he should know the dog again if he saw it; it was something like a sheep-dog, but farmer Sherwood told him it was one of the best dogs in the county for a hare, and he had been offered a great deal of money for it. He admitted that formerly he and the defendant were upon very good terms; that the defendant came to him, and drank sometimes with him, and they played sixpenny whist together at the baron's house; until one evening the defendant's wife came, and gave him a good trimming. She boxed her husband's ears, and made him immediately go home. A few days afterwards, the baron admitted that he had sent the defendant a small present, consisting of a little wine, to refresh his spirits after the beating his wife gave him, and a very neat ornamented horsewhip, with ribbands, which he recommended him to use as a good alterative medicine for his wife. The dog was then produced in court, which the baron admitted to be his old acquaintance, as his evidence to prove that he was no lurcher.

Mr. Garrow, for the defendant, made a most animated address to the jury. He said, the cause had been supported by two witnesses, the baron and the dog, of which the last was certainly an honest witness: and with respect to the former, or, as he called himself, "his excellency the baron Hompesch," he supposed he had just and legal claim to the title; but he insisted that the jury ought not to convict the defendant on his evidence, because it was most clear that there were other motives in his mind, than the mere desire of enforcing the law. He adverted with great force to the conduct of his excellency the baron, in sending a horsewhip to a man for the purpose of chastising his wife. He then alluded to some other matters. He said, there was no evidence whatever that the defendant used his gun for the destruction of game. At these times every man ought to have his gun; and as well might you convict a professed duelist of a design to commit a footpad robbery, because he had a brace of dragoons hair-trigger pistols in his pocket. He animadverted with severity on the conduct of the baron in attempting to introduce discord into the family of the defendant, which he described as most harmonious before their acquaintance with the baron.

Baron Hompesch betrayed considerable impatience during the speech; and as soon as it ended, he addressed the court, observing, that

he did not think it regular to interrupt Mr. Garrow, but now he begged leave to say, that he had been uttering most foul and malignant lies.

Mr. Garrow.—"My lord, it is not for me to answer such language used in court. It is for your lordship to deal with it."

Sir J. Mansfield.—"Sir, that language must not be used in a court of justice."

His lordship then summed up the evidence: and the jury found for the plaintiff in one penalty for *5l.*

Sherwood v. *Benstead.*

29.—This case arose out of the one just mentioned, in which baron Hompesch gave evidence that he had sent the plaintiff a horsewhip as an alterative medicine for his wife.

Mr. Garrow stated that his learned friend, Mr. Espinasse, in opening the case, had merely told them that this was an action for a libel on the plaintiff; he had not even glanced at the contents of it, and he had done most wisely; for it was so foul and infamous in its nature, that, with that respect which ought to be preserved to the court, the jury, nay, even to the meanest person in the hearing of his voice, it could not be publicly stated. Those who heard the conduct of the cause in its earliest stages, had felt it was too obscene to have all parts of it inserted in the record; notwithstanding which, he was sure the jury would take the whole into their consideration when they came to measure out their damages; he did not accuse the defendant of being the author of the libel; nay more, he knew he was not the author of it; but that did not extenuate his crime. A great man had well described the conduct of the publisher of the libel of another. One scoundrel, said he, (alluding to certain writings which tended to unsettle the opinions of men in the most material points of faith) has charged the blunderbuss against religion and morality, but, being too great a coward to let it off, he has given as great a scoundrel as himself a crown to pull the trigger. —Such was the conduct of the present defendant. He was content to publish the foul and filthy libel written by another, and such a composition as no English gentleman would ever have condescended to have written. He had been offered repeatedly, that, if he would give up the author, all proceedings against himself should cease, and he now again publicly made the same offer—that if he would give up the author, whom they well knew, his client would now stay his proceedings, and pay all the costs already incurred, though they did not amount to a small sum, as his only wish to punish the malignant author. What, indeed, rendered it the most detestable was, that it contained a most base attack upon the wife of the plaintiff, and had invaded the peace of a family, where nothing but harmony existed, until the demon of an author made his appearance in the neighbourhood.

Here Mr. serjeant Best interposed; and after a short conference, in which we presume the author was disclosed,

Mr. Garrow turned round, and told the jury he would consent to their being discharged, without giving any verdict in this case, which was accordingly done.—More on this subject will be found in our next volume.

29.—Executed, at Norwich, pursuant to her sentence for the wilful

and shocking murder of her husband, Martha, wife of Samuel Alden, of Attleburgh, co. Norfolk. Before and during her trial, she appeared in a most hardened and depraved state; but after condemnation she confessed to have committed the crime in the following manner: "That, on the night of Saturday, July 18, she and her husband (who was at the time a good deal in liquor) quarreled, and he threatened to beat her. Alden soon after threw himself on the bed; and at that instant she formed the resolution of destroying him. Accordingly, she ran into the adjoining room, returned with a bill-hook, which she held in both hands, and, striking him on the forehead and throat with her utmost strength, instantly killed him." At the place of execution she behaved with becoming decency, and seemed conscious of the enormity of her crime. The Philanthropic Society have taken her infant orphan under their protection; the objection of his being under age was over-ruled, on account of the peculiarly dreadful circumstances of the case. The populace of Attleburgh, in a spirit of abhorrence at her crime and memory, have razed to the ground the house she lived in.

AUGUST.

1.—At Hanley, in the Potteries, three of the sons of Mr. Wilson, a respectable manufacturer in that place, for their amusement, and as a preparation for celebrating the wakes the succeeding week, had placed three pieces of small cannon in the garden of the elder brother, which they charged with powder and wadding, and disposed at a short distance from each other. When one of the brothers was in the act of firing the first piece, the elder, with his infant child in his arms, was in front of the third, and the priming communicated to the others, by which accident the father and child were literally blown to pieces, and in a moment rendered spectacles too shocking for humanity to contemplate, and that in the presence of their nearest and dearest ties—a wife, mother, and brothers. Their mangled remains, inclosed in the same coffin, were deposited in the family vault, in the presence of numerous spectators; and this distressing event has cast such a gloom on the surrounding neighbourhood, as all the hilarity attendant on the season was not able to dispel.

Strange circumstance.—During the last few days, the neighbourhood of the Middle Temple, Essex-court, &c. have been in a state of alarm, owing to the following circumstances:—On Wednesday it was discovered that a pistol bullet had been shot into the dressing-room window of Mr. Twining, the tea-dealer. The circumstance passed off without Mr. T. taking any particular notice of it. On Thursday morning, while Mr. Gordon, a barrister, was sitting in the Grecian coffee-house, in Essex-court, a pistol bullet entered the window, close to his head, and passed to the further side of the room, with great force, and bounded back again. No report was heard, nor could it be traced from whence it came, or how it was discharged. Mr. Gordon gave information at Bow-street, and Messrs. Graham and Nares accompanied him to the spot, but could not discover any thing. On Friday morning a bullet entered the window of Mr. Hammond's chambers, in New-court, Temple, without any report being heard.

There is no doubt but they must have been discharged from an air-gun, or a cross-bow. It is almost impossible that they can have been discharged from the same spot.

HOSTILITIES WITH AMERICA.

Dispatches have been received by the admiralty from admiral Berkeley, commanding on the American station, announcing that an action had been fought between the Leopard, a fifty-gun ship, and the Chesapeake, American frigate, of thirty-six guns, off Sandy Hook, in which the latter had been compelled to strike, after having experienced the loss of several men killed and wounded.

The following account is taken from the National Intelligencer, an American newspaper.

New York, June 30.—"British outrage.—We give the public the particulars of the following outrage on the American flag, under the influence of feelings, which we are certain are in unison with those entertained universally by our fellow-citizens, feelings which cannot be suppressed. We know not, indeed, that this savage outrage has a precedent in our naval annals:—On Monday the United States' frigate Chesapeake, of 38 guns, left the Capes, where there lay at anchor a British squadron. As she passed this squadron, the Leopard put off, and went to sea before the Chesapeake. When the latter came up with the Leopard, at the distance of about three leagues from the squadron, her commander, captain Humphries, hailed the Chesapeake, and said he had a dispatch to deliver from the British commander-in-chief (meaning admiral Berkeley, of the American station). Commodore Barron, supposing it was a dispatch from Europe, hove-to, when capt. Humphries sent on board a letter, covering an order from admiral Berkeley, to take from the Chesapeake three men, alleged to be deserters from the Melampus frigate, and designating them by name. Commodore Barron replied by letter, that no such men were on board; and added, that his crew could not be mustered for examination by any other officers than his own. This answer was couched in terms of politeness. It was no sooner received than a broadside was discharged from the Leopard. The crew of the Chesapeake were at this time not at quarters, considering the Leopard a friend, and commodore Barron not contemplating the possibility of danger so immediately after leaving the Capes. No other attempt was therefore made to fight her than to discharge a few straggling guns, while the Leopard repeated three or four broadsides; when the commodore struck her colours, after having three men killed and eighteen wounded. A boat was then sent off from the Leopard with an officer, who demanded four men. Commodore Barron said he considered the Chesapeake as a prize to the Leopard; the captain of which vessel said, No,—that his orders were to take out the men, which having executed, he had nothing further to do with her. Thus dismissed, he returned to Hampton Roads, where she now lies. She received in her hull twenty-two round shot, her foremast and mainmast were destroyed, her mizenmast greatly injured, and her standing rigging and sails very much cut. Out of the wounded, eight are considered dangerous, and two have lost an arm. Commodore Barron suffered a contusion, received from a splinter, which

which is not dangerous. No other officer wounded, except midshipman Broom, and he but slightly. Nothing evinces in more striking colours the insolence of capt. Humphries, than his immediate return after this outrage to the Capes, where he now lies with the other ships of the squadron."

In addition to the above statement, the American papers mention, that prior to the sailing of the Chesapeake, the men under suspicion of being deserters had, in consequence of an application made to the president of the United States, been examined in the presence of Mr. Erskine, our ambassador there, as was stated some days ago, and, at that examination, it was proved that they were American subjects.

The above intelligence being received at Hampton Roads, where the Melampus British frigate was then lying to take in provisions and water, occasioned a considerable interest. Public meetings have been held, in consequence, in several towns, and they attacked the crew of the Melampus, and forced them to embark precipitately. Two hundred water casks, belonging to her, which remained on the beach in order to be filled, were instantly burnt by the populace, who expressed their indignation in the most violent terms. Similar occurrences have taken place in other ports of the United States.

4.—*Lewes.* E. Ball was indicted for forging and uttering a 5*l.* bank of England note at East Bourne.

Mr. Bliss deposed, that he was an inspector of bank notes, he was sent into Sussex, in order to trace a 5*l.* note, to which he had got a clue. From information, he traced it to the hands of a Mr. Reed, who kept a public-house at East Bourne: by his direction he went to Lewes, to the office of Mr. Cooper, an attorney, with whom the prisoner lived as clerk. He there saw T. Cooper, the nephew of Mr. Cooper, and the prisoner. He asked Mr. T. Cooper where he had received the 5*l.* note which he paid to Mr. Reed. Cooper pointed to the prisoner, and said he had it of him. The prisoner admitted the fact, and said he had received it from his wife. That she had been in Town from the 3d to the 6th of June, and had brought it from London. The note was shown, and the prisoner said, he knew it to be the note, because there were the initials, J. G. in red ink on its face. The witness desired the prisoner to go to his wife, and learn from her where she had taken it in Town, and at what shops she had been, and to write her information, and bring it him back in an hour. The prisoner went away; but in half an hour he followed him to his lodgings. He had a short conversation with them. The wife said she had received two 10*l.* notes from her husband when she went to Town. He replied, No, you received but one. While they were talking, Mr. Bliss saw a small writing-desk in the room, upon which was lying a bit of silver paper, just half the size of a bank note: he took it up, and saw the faint impression of the word "one," such as is on the top of the one pound notes; and on it was written "G. Bacchus, Esq." He asked the prisoner if it was his handwriting, who said it was. [It afterwards appeared that another forged note for ten pounds had come into the bank, with the words G. Bacchus on it in the same handwriting.] The witness found in the same desk India ink, camel's

hair pencils, and other materials which would produce the water-mark.

T. Cooper stated, that on Sunday, June 7, the prisoner and he agreed to spend the day at East Bourne; they went in a gig, and it was agreed that the prisoner should pay the day's expenses, and they were to adjust the account when they came home at night. After dinner the bill was brought to him, as he sat nearest the door. The prisoner gave a *5l.* note to him, with which he paid the bill.

Mary Chapman, the servant, proved that she handed the note to her master; and Reed, the master, said he gave it to his daughter-in-law, who was going to London.

The daughter-in-law proved that she paid it to a Mr. Fenwick, a linen-draper in Oxford-street, by whom it was paid to the Bank, when it was discovered to be a forgery.

Garnet Terry, the engraver for the Bank, proved that the note was a forgery; that it was not engraved, but that the whole was written and drawn by a pen or camel's hair pencil. He also stated that the water-mark might be made with other materials found at the prisoner's lodgings, and produced a complete *fac simile* of the water-marks of a bank note, made by himself from the paper and liquid which Mr. Bliss had found at the prisoner's apartments.

Evidence was then given of two other notes uttered by the prisoner, one on the 20th of March before, and which were proved by Mr. Terry to be forged ones, and of the same lot.

Mr. justice Heath observed, that the evidence was carrying the principle further than it had ever yet been extended. Other utterings had been received as evidence *quo animo*. The note in the indictment was uttered, but it must form part of the same act. Thus, if a man went from London to York, uttering forged notes all the way, it was one continued act. But here was the insulated fact of an uttering no way connected with the fact charged in the indictment, either by time or circumstances. But if the counsel for the crown felt any confidence in the law, he would receive the evidence, and make a case as to the legality of such evidence — The evidence was accordingly received, subject to the opinion of the judges.

Twenty other forged notes were produced in evidence, all of which were proved to have passed through his hands.

The jury found him *Guilty*; but his sentence will be respited, in consequence of the above point of law. [The point of law has been given against him.]

8.—*Chatham* At a little past nine o'clock last night the inhabitants of this place and neighbourhood were alarmed by the notice of a fire in the dock-yard; a circumstance of such importance communicated an immediate and active interest to every individual —the bells in the shipping, and every public place, rung an alarm, and the drums beat to arms in every quarter. A multitude of persons was soon assembled, and a number of fire-engines and a good supply of water being on the spot, the most active exertions were made to stop the progress of the flames. The origin is supposed to have been that of too green flax having been packed close together, which, like green hay, will sometimes, by confinement, kindle into a flame.

His

His Majesty's Spanish Sheep.

11.—The breeders and gentlemen who were engaged in the rearing of Spanish sheep, began to assemble in the Paddock, south of the Pagoda, at Kew, and entered on the examination of the forty-two Merino sheep, in as many pens, which had been selected by the superintendants of his majesty's farming concern at Kew, for sale on this occasion.—These consisted of 14 four-toothed rams, 2 six-toothed rams, 17 full-mouthed ewes, 4 six-toothed ewes, and 4 aged or broken-mouthed ewes, all of the true Merino breed, without any mixture or cross of other breeds. In general it seemed, from this examination, that the sheep were considerably larger than those sold by his majesty four or five years ago, when this sale was first established, and were much improved in carcase, and were equal, if not superior, to any before sold, in the fineness of their wool.

ASSIZES.

Gregory v. *West.*

Cornwall.—This was an action of damages for the seduction of the plaintiff's daughter, who had become pregnant, *per quod servitium amicit.* The plaintiff is a respectable widow lady at Camelford; the defendant is a surgeon of the same place.

Mr. Jekyl, in opening the case, severely censured the profligacy of the defendant, who from his profession was admitted into the bosom of the family, and under that sanction had seduced this young lady, even under the very eye of her parent, and had then boasted that he would spend 1000*l.* in defending so disgraceful a case. Mr. Jekyl said, he should produce a respectable alderman of the borough of Camelford, who would prove in evidence, that he had questioned Mr. West as to his views in showing so much attention as he was publicly observed to do towards Miss Gregory, (attentions which were no doubt construed by the injured female as indicative of an honourable attachment.) The defendant admitted to the worthy alderman that Mrs. Gregory's daughters were respectable and fine girls, and that if any man were the cause of either of them becoming pregnant, he would be bound in honour to marry her; but for his part he certainly had no such intention. The learned counsel, after expatiating with his usual ability at some length, proceeded to call his first evidence, who was Miss Gregory. Her appearance highly interested the court in her favour, and she gave her evidence with great modesty and sensibility. She stated that she was 24 years of age, and that her mother, the plaintiff in this action, is a widow living in Camelford, independent of any business, and that she was of service to her mother in household affairs; that the defendant is a surgeon, who three or four years ago came to reside at Camelford to practise in his profession; that he had considerable business, and attended her mother's family as surgeon and apothecary. That he soon began to pay her particular attention, which continued till Feb. 1806, when upon a Sunday, her mother and elder sister went into the country, where they continued till the Tuesday following, leaving her with her younger sister at home. That her younger sister went to the methodist chapel about six in the evening, leaving her alone, as she was prevented by indisposition from going with her. That soon after her sister had gone, the

the defendant came into the parlour where she was sitting by the fire, and after some improper liberties, and "using her very ill," he completed his purpose. That she became pregnant, and had been delivered of a female child, which is since dead. (Here she burst into tears.) That her mother had paid every expense attendant on her unfortunate situation. On being cross-examined by Mr. Pell (who was assisted by three other counsel), she said she never informed the defendant that she should be at home the day the offence happened; knows one Lot, a hatter, and had known him from infancy, but he was gone away from Camelford; never had any criminal intercourse with him or any other person, except the defendant. Witness knows Mrs. Rosevear, of Camelford, who lives near her mother's house, and has three sons; but does not know that Mrs. R. ever objected to her sons coming to the plaintiff's house on account of its ill repute; that she never said "it was no wonder that Rosevear came so often and staid so long at her mother's house, since he had no peace at home on her (the witness's,) account." Mr. Dampier now called Miss Gregory, the younger sister, who corroborated the former part of her sister's testimony. A private conversation now took place between the counsel for both parties, when it was agreed, that twenty pounds damages should be taken, and the trial closed.

11.—PARIS. On Sunday last, the consistory of the protestant church being admitted to an audience, their president, M. Marron, addressed the emperor in the following speech:—

"Sire,—You have exhausted surprise by the performance of new wonders. What bounds can be prescribed to our gratitude when the benefits you have recently bestowed are contemplated? In spite of yourself, sire, the base spirit of discord involved you in a fresh contest; but, covered with laurels, how distinguished has been your victorious career, more honoured, if possible, by your moderation than by your success; by the noble sacrifices you have made to humanity, than by all the brilliancy of your triumphs. —Sire, with the return of peace, France, and all the nations of Europe, expect from you a reanimating prosperity—the happiness of the people shall bless you—the approbation and the wishes of religion will every where accompany you! It is religion, sire, which brings the consistory of the reformed church of the department of the Seine to the foot of your majesty's throne. Vouchsafe graciously to accept their respectful homage. The more they are already indebted to your protecting goodness, the more from you they venture to hope. Sire, it hath pleased the King of kings to shed in abundance his choicest blessings over you. The roofs of our temples resound, and ever shall resound, with those prayers and songs of praise, which, dictated by sentiments equally pure and unchangeable, we have consecrated to your imperial and royal majesty."

His majesty answered this speech in the most gracious manner, and the following expressions in reply have been recollected:

"I accept the blessing and the congratulation of the consistory. You owe me no obligation: I wish not men to think themselves indebted to me, because I have been merely just. Conscience is not within the jurisdiction of human laws. I guarantee to you, for myself

self and my successors, not only the independence, but also the perfect freedom and inviolability of your worship. The protestants have always proved themselves to be good citizens, and faithful subjects of the law. Though I do not profess their religion, tell them that I place them in the circle of my best friends."

16.—Yesterday, the day of the *fête*, his majesty having received successively her majesty the empress, and the homage of the princes and the princesses of his family, of the princes of the empire, of the ladies and officers of his household, as well as those of her majesty, and others of the princes, ministers, and great officers of the empire, the diplomatic body, and the members of the first corps of the state, proceeded to the metropolitan church, where the empress had arrived before him, with the foreign princes and the principal authorities. The houses in all the streets through which their majesties passed were decorated with colours, flowers, devices, &c. while a considerable confluence of citizens expressed their joy and affection by loud acclamations. The metropolitan church was ornamented with tapestry; the choir and the principal seats in the nave were occupied by the public bodies invited to the ceremony. Her majesty the empress, the princesses, the foreign princes, the diplomatic corps, the ladies and officers of their majesties' household, occupied the tribunes, which were richly decorated; a great number of persons of distinction filled the other part of the choir and the nave, while the body of the church below was filled by the immense crowd that assembled on the occasion. The *Te Deum* composed by M. Lesueur, director of his majesty's band, was executed in a masterly manner by the musicians of the chapel. When their majesties returned to the palace of the Thuilleries, they received the same testimonies of public joy and gratitude. The day was entirely occupied with public games and *fêtes*, while gaiety was displayed without any disorder. In the evening, there was an assembly at court, a general illumination, and a concert at the Thuilleries; and at nine o'clock a beautiful display of fire-works upon the Pont Neuf.—When their majesties appeared on the great balcony of the Thuilleries, to hear the concert and see the fire-works, the enthusiasm of the multitude was renewed, and the immense numbers that filled the garden of the palace made the air resound with the reiterated shouts of "Long live the emperor!" "Long live the empress!"

Admiralty-office, Aug. 15.

A letter from lord Gardner (in which he strongly recommends that meritorious officer captain Dilkes) introduces the following:

H. M. sloop Hazard, off the Pertuis, Breton, July 27.

Sir,—I have the satisfaction to inform you, that at day-light this morning sixteen of the enemy's vessels were discovered in the entrance of the Pertuis, making to the eastward. It being nearly calm, and no chance of the ships closing with them, I made a signal for boats to chase, which was obeyed with the greatest alacrity by the brigs you honoured me with placing under my command. The boats succeeded in capturing nine chasse-marees, two of them bearing pendants, and armed with two 4-pounders, and four swivels; the crews of the whole having taken

to

to their boats, and escaped to the shore with all their papers: the tenth vessel was scuttled by the enemy, and sunk just as the boats were taking possession; the remaining six were driven on shore, and a very heavy swell setting in, I have hopes they will all bulge. I feel additional pleasure in this service having been performed without any of the brave fellows employed in the boats being hurt, though under a heavy fire of musketry from troops on the beach.—I beg leave to inclose a list of the vessels captured this morning by the boats of the Hazard, Conflict, Growler, and Colpoys, with an account of the enemy's vessels that have been destroyed by the Hazard's and other boats in company, since the 1st of April last.

CHARLES DILKES.

French vessels taken on the morning of July 27.

Chasse-marees.—Les Deux Amis, armed with two 4-pounders—Les Trois Frere Horaces, armed with four swivels—La Veronique, laden with wheat—Le Sans Pareil, laden with wheat—La Marie Françoise, in ballast—La Marie Louise, in ballast—La Bonne Janton, in ballast—Le Pascal, in ballast—Le Galisle, in ballast—Name unknown, sunk by the enemy to prevent falling into our hands—Name unknown, armed with 6 guns, run on shore in the surf.

Vessels taken and destroyed between April 1 and June 10.

Sloops.—La Rosalie and Le Jeune Marie.

Chasse-marees.—La Petit Marie—Le Patriot—La Marianne—La Belle Louise Josephine—La Marie Françoise—Name unknown, sunk by the batteries after being taken possession of. C. DILKES.

15.—The finance report, which Mr. Giles was ready to present to the house of commons on the last day of the last session of parliament, when the usher of the black rod unexpectedly presented himself, and the session was closed by a prorogation, has been printed, and laid before the house of commons. The principal point and feature of it is as follows:

"The evidence received during the last session, contains an account of two transactions in the pay-office, of a most irregular and improper kind, which were disclosed on the examination of Mr. Thomas, accountant in that office; by whom it was stated that a draft for 7000*l.* payable to the right. hon. Thomas Steele, (at that time one of the joint pay-masters,) or bearer, had been drawn by the cashier on the 11th of May, 1799, under the head of extraordinaries of the army, and entered in the cash account of the office, with Mr. Steele's receipt as a voucher; and that another sum of 12,000*l.* was drawn for, precisely in the same manner, and receipt given in the same terms, on the 3d of July 1800. Of these two sums, the first was not repaid until the 3d of February, 1807; nor the latter until the 8th of April, with the interest upon both sums, from the date of their issue to that of their repayment, amounting to 7,390*l.* 13*s.*

"The correspondence between Mr. Steele and Mr. Thomas; letters of earl Temple, (one of the joint paymasters in 1807) addressed to lord Grenville, Mr. Steele, Mr. Rose, and lord Harrowby; three minutes of the lords of the treasury, directing what steps should be taken for securing the sum remaining due (for the first sum had been repaid previous to any proceedings

of

of the board of treasury); minutes of the paymaster-general entered in the book of the office; and several other papers, are inserted at length in the appendix, though not perhaps absolutely necessary for understanding the subject, that no circumstance which has reference to this business may be withheld from observation. But the part to which the committee think it most material to direct the attention of the house, is the account given by Mr. Steele himself, when he desired to attend the former committee on the 26th of March, 1807, and made his own statement of the circumstances relating to these transactions. He said, 'the two sums mentioned by Mr. Thomas were issued by my direction, and I have no hesitation in stating that they were not issued for the public service; I thought, as others did at the time, that I had full authority to direct the issues. I was urged to do so by private considerations of a very peculiar nature, which operated at that time upon my mind: and I thought that by directing them to be issued to myself, and making myself responsible for them, I could not by possibility incur the suspicion of concealment or fraud. It was my intention that they should have been replaced in a very short time, but it was not in my power to accomplish it: they remained charged against me in the pay-office book till the beginning of the present year, when the former of these two sums were repaid; and the whole subject having been brought lately under the consideration of the board of treasury, they have directed me to repay the remaining sum with the interest due upon both sums, by instalments, at stated periods, which I have engaged to do. I cannot take upon myself to defend my conduct in this instance, which I must admit to have been incorrect, but I console myself with thinking that the public will have suffered no loss.' And being asked, whether he knew of any other transaction of the same kind, during the time he was in the pay-office, he said, 'I do not.' And being asked, whether he knew of any arrear of the like nature arising from the transactions of any former paymaster, he said, 'I certainly do not:'—And being asked, whether any notice was taken of this transaction by the treasury, previous to the beginning of this year, he said, 'I apprehend it was not even known to the treasury, previous to this year.' And being asked, whether any notice was taken by any public office, he said, 'Not to my knowledge.'

The report then proceeds to state that Mr. Rose, being examined, said that the facts respecting Mr. Steele were not communicated to him until the 10th of February, 1806, at which time he considered himself as entirely out of office, and could not interfere officially, but he desired Mr. Thomas to write to Mr. Steele; he also had a conversation with that gentleman, and wrote a letter to him upon that subject, the answer to which led him to rest satisfied, that the whole matter would be communicated without delay to lord Grenville or the paymaster-general. The report then notices two sums of 110,000*l.* paid to Boyd and Co. for services which failed; the former of which was repaid, and the second was not, but is still in a course of legal proceeding, in consequence of the bankruptcy of that house.—

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The report concludes with suggesting regulations to prevent similar abuses.

19.—*Execution.* At a quarter past eight o'clock, the following convicts were executed, pursuant to their sentence, on a new machine, opposite Newgate:—George Finch and Wm. Tomlinson, for returning from transportation, and Wm. Pearce, for horse-stealing. Finch and Tomlinson ascended first on the scaffold, with firmness; and while the executioner was adjusting the ropes, they conversed, turned round to gaze on the surrounding crowd, and were launched into eternity while in the act of shaking hands. Pearce did not possess so much fortitude;—he could scarcely stand, his trembling limbs reluctantly performed their office, and he did not once even raise his head after he ascended the scaffold.—They were all very well dressed, and seemed to die penitent. A report has been circulated, that Finch and Tomlinson were the men who cut and mangled the watchman, &c. in Holborn, in attempting to rob a waggon; but it is false: the robbery took place in May, and one of the above unfortunate men did not escape from the hulks till June, so that both could not be implicated in that affair.

20.—A dreadful fire broke out a few minutes before twelve o'clock, in the premises of Messrs. Swan and Son, printers, in White Lion-court, Fleet street (a narrow court, near Crown-court.) The flames communicated to the premises of Messrs. Heney and Co. printers; Messrs. Birch and Son, paper-stainers; and the warehouse of Messrs. Crosby and Co. of Stationers'-court, all of which were parts of the same buildings; and to seven houses in Crown-court, the whole of which were destroyed. Several other houses were materially damaged. From the narrowness of the court where the fire broke out, and of Crown-court, great difficulty was experienced in rendering assistance, which was greatly increased by a scanty supply of water. Pipes were at length conveyed from the engines through some houses in Water-lane, and about half-past five in the morning the flames were got under. The houses consumed in Crown-court were inhabited by a great number of families, many of whom are by this accident reduced to great distress, having lost the greater part of their furniture and working tools, very little of which were insured. There are several remarkable circumstances relative to the premises in White Lion-court, that have been destroyed, which are worthy of notice.—In the time of Richardson, they were the king's printing-office, in which were printed all the acts of parliament, &c. as well as the first editions of the popular novels of that celebrated writer; some of which, through the improper conduct of the persons in the office, who purloined the printed sheets, were published in Ireland before they had appeared in England. The building in question was let on lease a few years ago to Messrs. Swan and Son, printers; Messrs. Heney and Co. of the same profession; and to Messrs. Birch and Son, paper-stainers; and all the ground floor, nearly 100 feet square, were the warehouses of Messrs. Crosby and co. of Stationers'-court, in which were deposited all their extensive stock of new quire books, which could not be contained in the premises where their business is carried on.

on. A considerable part of this property was insured at the Phœnix fire-office, as well as their interest in the lease in the two other offices; but Messrs. Crosby and Co. will nevertheless sustain a serious loss, in consequence of having, within a short time, removed books into the premises to the amount of some thousands of pounds; consisting of the various stock, cleared from their different printers a few days previous to the fire. The property of Messrs. Heney and Co. is insured; but we are sorry to say that the like precaution was not taken by Messrs. Swan and Son. No part of the stock in either of the printing-offices, or in Crosby and Co.'s warehouse were saved, owing to the buildings being in such a confined situation: and such was the quantity of paper destroyed, and the rapidity of the flames, that in the morning St. James's park and part of Westminster were found strewed with pieces of burnt paper, being a distance of nearly a mile and a half from the place of conflagration. The fire first commenced from a chimney in the house of Mr. Swan. No endeavour was made in the first instance to extinguish the fire, through an erroneous supposition, that the best way of clearing the chimney was to let it burn out. It was found, however, when too late for remedy, that the flames had communicated to some woodwork contiguous to the chimney; and in a house the interior divisions of which were of lath and plaster, dry deals, or old wainscot, and every room, more or less, filled with paper, plain or printed, when the fire got head, a general conflagration was scarcely avoidable.

POLICE.

21.—*Bow-street.* Evan Evans was charged on suspicion of stealing two gold seals, the property of Mr. Rogers, of Cockspur street, jeweller. On Wednesday the prisoner went to the prosecutor's shop, said he was a messenger belonging to the secretary-of-state's office, and was sent by a gentleman belonging to that office, who wished to purchase some gold seals, and he was to take him some to look at. The shopman sent a lad with him, with instructions either to bring back the seals or the money. The prisoner conducted the lad up the great staircase of the Treasury, towards the secretary-of-state's office; and when he got to the door, desired the lad to give him the seals, and he would bring them back to him, or the money, which the lad complied with. The prisoner returned to the lad in about a minute, and told him the gentleman was stepped out, and would return in about half an hour, when he would return the seals or the money, and the lad returned home. On Thursday the prisoner called at another shop belonging to Mr. Rogers, in the Strand, mounted on a very fine horse, and saw Mr. R. He mentioned the circumstance of his having got the seals from his other shop, on Wednesday, and apologised for not having returned them or the money; he assured him the seals were for Mr. Nepean, the son of sir Evan Nepean, who had gone out of town very unexpectedly.—Mr. Rogers, however, not satisfied with this tale, made inquiries, and found that the prisoner was not a messenger to the secretary-of-state, but that he had been a messenger to the Admiralty, but had been discharged

discharged about three years since. Mr. R. could not learn that Mr. Nepean, or any gentleman belonging to the secretary-of-state's office, had sent for any seals; he therefore gave information at this office.—On Friday, Taunton, the officer, observed the prisoner riding in the Park on a very handsome horse, and contrived to get to the Horse Guards before him, where he seized and conveyed him to the office.—The seals belonging to Mr. Rogers were hanging to the prisoner's watch. Prisoner said, he had been known to sir Evan Nepean twenty years, that he had got him appointed a messenger to the Admiralty, and persisted that Mr. Nepean sent him for the seals; he said the horse he rode was his own, that he kept it in his stable, with ten others, attached to his house in Pimlico, and that he was shortly to be brought into parliament. Mr. Nares told him he must commit him for further examination, till Mr. Nepean could attend.

23.—Died at her house at Brompton, in her 72d year, Maria duchess of Gloucester. Her death was unexpected, for it was preceded by only a short indisposition. She has survived the late duke almost 2 years, his royal highness having died Aug. 25, 1805; and was countess-dowager of Waldegrave when she married the duke of Gloucester, Sept. 6, 1766. The immediate occasion of her death was an effusion of water into the cavity of the chest.—Her grace had been incapable of much exertion lately, but did not complain of serious indisposition till the 19th, when her symptoms were such as to occasion some anxiety, but no alarm. On the morning of the 22d, however, after having slept nearly six hours, she was seized with great oppression and difficulty of breathing, which continued, with but little mitigation, throughout the day, and at length terminated her life. The duchess was, with the exception of earl Cholmondeley, the only surviving lineal descendant of that great ministerial character sir Robert Walpole, K. G. Her royal highness was, by the male line, the granddaughter,—the noble earl, in the female line, the great-grandson—of sir Robert.

Bow-street, 25.—Thomas Weston, proprietor and driver of a Turnham-Green stage-coach, was brought up on the charge of stealing in the dwelling-house of Mr. Lingard, of the Roebuck public-house, on Turnham Green, on Wednesday, bank-notes and money to the amount of near 60*l.*

Mrs. Lingard, in her testimony, alleged, that she had received from her husband, on Tuesday last, four bank-notes for 10*l.* each, and three for 5*l.* each, which she inclosed in a small round box, which she put into a drawer belonging to a chest of drawers in her bar; the prisoner was present at the time, and saw her lock the drawer. The next day, about two o'clock, she had occasion again to resort to the box, and to put into it 5*l.* in silver, at which time she saw the notes.—While she was closing the drawer, the prisoner drove up to the door on his coach-box, and came down, and went into the bar, and placed his back against the chest of drawers. Mrs. L. had forgotten the key in that drawer, where the notes and money were deposited, and she believed it was not even locked. Her attention was directed to serve some person at the bar-door; and while she was giving that person change,

change, her attention was arrested by a noise caused by the falling of some account-books and table-linen, which had been upon the drawers against which the prisoner placed his back. She said to him, "Walter, what are you about?" He made no answer, but immediately quitted the bar, mounted his seat, and drove off with extraordinary rapidity. She instantly examined the drawers, and missed the notes and money; and her suspicions naturally falling upon the prisoner, she took the necessary steps for his apprehension.

The prisoner, in his defence, asked Mrs. Lingard, if there were not other persons in the bar at the time; but she said positively, there were no other persons near the drawers at the time but the prisoner.

He was fully committed for trial, and the parties bound over to prosecute.

The prisoner is, we understand, the proprietor of three stage-coaches, that ply on the same road.

Evan Evans was brought up for re-examination, charged with stealing gold seals, to the value of nine guineas, from Mr. Rogers, under pretence that he was a messenger belonging to the secretary-of-state's office, and that he was sent by Mr. Nepean, son of sir Evan Nepean. Molyneux Hyde Nepean of Fig-tree-court, Temple, attended, and said he was sir Evan Nepean's son, and knew the prisoner; he positively swore he never sent the prisoner to the shop of Mr. Rogers for any seals, or directed him to come to the secretary-of-state's office with any, from Mr. Rogers or any other person; and further said, that he had not seen the prisoner for five or six years past.

The prisoner was committed for

further examination. It turns out that this fellow, since his dismissal from the Admiralty as a messenger, has worn his medal, and passed for a messenger in London, and various parts of the country, and obtained goods by this means. He travelled in post-chaises without paying, borrowed great coats, &c. frequently assuming the name of Mr. Shaw, and other respectable messengers. When he belonged to the Admiralty, his extravagant dress and mode of living were the subject of conversation. He was asked once, how he managed to afford so many new clothes? He very composedly answered, that he did not pay for them, and never intended it. His introduction to the employment of a spy upon the corresponding society, arose from his being a prisoner in the King's Bench, and a companion to Martin, the attorney, who drew up the resolutions passed at Chalk Farm, at a meeting of the corresponding society: at this time, the prisoner's wife went to sir E. Nepean, at the secretary-of-state's office, to give information of the political cabals held in the prison, and what passed at them; the prisoner pretending to be a zealous friend of what was passing in the corresponding society. He has been a bankrupt since he was dismissed from the Admiralty by earl Spencer.

28.—Evan Evans underwent another examination, when a new charge was made against him of uttering a forged bill of exchange, purporting to be accepted by the chevalier Ruspini, with intent to defraud Mr. Patmore, jeweller, of Ludgate-hill. Mr. Patmore said, that on the 5th instant the prisoner came to his shop, and looked out a gold watch, a seal, and key, and agreed to purchase them for ten

guineas; and in payment tendered a bill of exchange for 10*l.* 10*s.* purporting to be drawn upon, and accepted by, William Ruspini, of Pall-mall. The prisoner told him he was a king's messenger; and the bill being drawn on Mr. Ruspini, the dentist, of Pall-mall, and there being but one of that name in Pall-mall, he had no doubt it was the chevalier, and accordingly took the bill. R. Cripps, an apprentice to Mr. Patmore, confirmed the above, and said, that in about a week afterwards, the prisoner came to the shop, and said he had broke the main-spring of the watch he had purchased there; left it to be repaired, and requested the loan of another while that was repairing: he accordingly lent him a silver watch. Taunton, the officer, produced the watch he found upon the prisoner, when he apprehended him, which proved to be the same which Mr. Patmore's apprentice had lent him. The chevalier Ruspini said his Christian name was Bartholomew; he resided in Pall-mall; that he has a son whose name is William, but he does not reside in Pall-mall; and, after inspecting the bill and acceptance, he was convinced that it was not his son's writing. The acceptance being in red ink, and the prisoner having said he was present when his son accepted the bill in his house, he positively swore he never kept any red ink in his house, and that he never was present when his son accepted this, or any other bill. The prisoner was committed for further examination.

The suspicious circumstances under which the fire at the hemp warehouse in Chatham dock-yard happened, induced lord Hawkesbury to direct Mr. Read to go to Chatham to investigate the business in a very particular manner; and in consequence the magistrate and Mr. Stafford proceeded in their examination, on Thursday and Friday se'nnight, with the watchman, the warehouseman, and other persons who had any knowledge of the breaking out of the fire. They learned that no person had been in the warehouse for several days previous to the fire, nor had any door been opened. From all the information they could obtain, there is no doubt but that the warehouse was wilfully set on fire. In order more effectually to prevent the recurrence of a similar artempt, the guards have been doubled, a guard-boat rows from one end of the dock-yard to the other during the night, all egress from the lower gate of the dock-yard is denied to any person of whatever situation, and no person, not even those belonging to the yard, will be admitted into it after nine o'clock.

Admiralty-office, Aug. 29.

Clyde, off Fecamp, Aug. 25.

Sir,—I this morning observed a coasting sloop passing along the enemy's shore from the westward, with a very light breeze, and ordered lieut. Strong, with the boats of this sloop, to intercept her between Ypont and Fecamp. She ran on shore near the former place, the battery of which opened a fire on the boats on approaching: she was, besides, defended by two parties of men with musketry, one stationed on the beach, the other on the cliffs, as well as by a field-piece and mortar. The fire of musketry was silenced, and the men dispersed, by a few steady vollies from our boats; and though these were struck in several places, the sloop was towed off without a man on our side being hurt, notwithstanding

ing the tide forced them to cross with her the fire of the batteries of Fecamp at point-blank distance.—She is named Les Trois Sœurs, of Caen, laden with plaster of Paris, and bound, I believe, to Boulogne; but no papers were found on board her. I cannot praise too highly the conduct of lieut. Strong in this little affair; and I learn from him, with the greatest satisfaction, that every commendation is deserved by the other officers and men employed. I am, &c.

E. W. C. R. Owen.

SEPTEMBER.

FUNERAL OF THE DUCHESS OF GLOUCESTER.

1.—About half-past one o'clock, the mortal remains of the duchess of Gloucester were removed from the family residence at Brompton, for interment in St. George's chapel, Windsor. About six in the morning the volunteers of Brompton and Kensington beat to arms. After assembling, to a man, on parade, they proceeded to the court-yard of Gloucester lodge, with muffled drums, &c. About eleven arrived the hearse, and six mourning coaches and six. Soon after twelve appeared the dukes of York and Clarence's private coaches, with six horses to each; the duke of Gloucester's chariot and six; the dushess's (deceased) coach and six; and the princess Sophia's. About half-past twelve the attendants began to form the procession, and the cavalcade commenced, preceded by the volunteers with the usual insignia of respect observed on such melancholy occasions; the band playing, with muffled drums, "the Dead March in Saul." Ten horsemen preceded the hearse, and the usual mutes attended; behind the coach belonging to the deceased stood six footmen, and four behind that of the duke of Gloucester. The procession moved slowly to Brentford, where the volunteers where relieved by those of the latter district, including the Isleworth. It was not until the procession reached Staines that the feathers and escutcheons were placed on the hearse, &c. thus conforming to the etiquette observed at the funeral of the late duke. The procession reached Windsor about half-past eight o'clock. The funeral took place by torch light. It was received by all the clergy belonging to the chapel, and the gentlemen of the choir, who sang the funeral services. The duke of Gloucester was the chief mourner. His highness was followed by several of the duchess's relations and particular friends. The funeral service was performed by the dean of Windsor. In consequence of particular injunctions left by her highness, the ceremony of laying in state did not take place.

2.—A vessel, upon a new and curious construction, projected by lord Stanhope, has undergone the inspection of several gentlemen skilled in naval architecture. It some time since suggested itself to his lordship, that the damage resulting from a ship's missing stays, as it is termed, might be obviated, and that vessels might be navigated in a better way than they are at present. His lordship set about the investigation, and has produced a vessel that will at all times answer the helm; and while there is a plank standing will be perfectly manageable at sea. It is by a sort of leeboard, affixed on each side the ship's waist, which his lordship terms gills, and which are so managed as to give the required direction. The vessel is also built

without a keel, his lordship being of opinion that that part of a ship prevents its velocity through the water, from the increased resistance it produces.

10.—*Bow-street.* G. Palmer, a sorter of letters in the general post-office, was charged with stealing a 40*l.* bank note from a letter in the post-office, and Joseph Inman with receiving the same. It appeared that a letter was put into the post-office, with a 40*l.* bank note in it, directed to a person at Oakhampton, on the 5th of August, and ought to have arrived at that place on the 7th; but not coming to hand, information was given at the post-office, and the agents sent a description of the note to the bank, where it was discovered that it had been paid in on the 7th of August, and six 5*l.* and five 2*l.* notes given in exchange for it. On examining the indorsement and the hand-writing of the sorters on duty on the 5th of August, suspicion fell upon the prisoner; in consequence of which, Mr. Parkin, the solicitor to the post-office, and the officers, went to his lodging in Took's-court, Cursitor-street, and took him into custody. Inman was with him, whom they likewise took into custody; and it appeared that three of the 5*l.* notes which had been paid by the bank in exchange for the 40*l.* he paid to Mr. Steventon, in the Strand. Palmer declared his innocence in the most positive terms, and signed the account he gave with a deal of composure.—Inman stated, that on the 3d or 4th of August, as he was on his way to Covent-garden market to purchase vegetables, in Burlington-gardens he picked up a twisted piece of paper, which he supposed contained thread or tape, but on opening it he discovered four 5*l.* bank notes, three of which he paid to Mr. Steventon. He said he had known Palmer about a year and a half, and he was in Palmer's apartments for the purpose of taking up a green cloth to clean it. Mr. Parkin told him that it was impossible his account could be true, as he said he found the notes on the 3d or 4th of August, whereas they were not issued from the bank till the 7th: he however persisted in his statement, and signed it with firmness. He was committed for further examination to New Prison, and Palmer to the house of correction.

18.—*Dreadful Event.* In the morning, about ten minutes before eight, the corning mill, forming part of the royal powder works, near Faversham, blew up with a dreadful explosion; and six men who were at work in the mill at the time, and three horses, fell victims in consequence. By what accident the explosion took place is mere matter of conjecture. The ruin and devastation it occasioned is scarcely to be described; the building was levelled with the ground, the timbers splintered and dispersed in every direction to some rods distance, and the massive press and mill-wheels displaced and thrown many feet distant from their original position; the trees in the vicinity were much torn and disfigured, and a building called the Receiving House, separated from the mill only by a slight plantation, was also damaged; fortunately it was empty, or the consequences must have been dreadful. The quantity of composition contained in the mill was 810lb. the usual charge received twice a day from the grinding house; and the master worker had left the mill just a quarter of an hour prior to the explosion.

plosion. The names of the sufferers, were John Scott, William Elliott, John Sampson, who were married; Geo. Blunn and Daniel Tappenden, who were each married and had two children; and Andrew Shilling, unmarried, who has left considerable property in the funds.

OLD BAILEY.

21.—Edward Gilson stood capitally indicted for wilfully and feloniously setting fire to a certain house, then in his possession, with intent to defraud the corporation of the London Assurance Company, on the 5th of August last. The prisoner was also charged, in a third count of the same indictment, with having set fire to it with intent to injure the landlord and lessor of the said premises. After a trial of great length Mr. Justice Heath recapitulated the evidence to the jury, who found the prisoner guilty, on the two first counts in the indictment; but judgment was respited. The trial lasted five hours.

22.—James Bullock was indicted for that he, having been duly declared a bankrupt, under the great seal of England, and a commission of bankruptcy having been in consequence duly issued against his estate and effects, did feloniously conceal and embezzle property in his possession, to the amount of 800*l.* with intent to defraud the assignees under the statute of bankruptcy. The trial occupied the court from ten in the morning till four in the afternoon. The prisoner, in defence, entered into a long statement of his situation.—He argued that he had not become a bankrupt, nor had been made one according to the due and strict interpretation of the law.

Mr. Justice Heath observed, that he had seldom seen a case more apparent or more clearly made out. The fact of the prisoner lodging his money with Messrs. Farquhar and Herries, under the feigned name of Brown, was a thing that no honest bankrupt would have done. Besides, the prisoner had not disavowed the commission issued against him; and therefore, upon every ground that he could possibly suggest to his own mind in behalf of the prisoner, there appeared to him to be no pretence for the defence he had attempted to set up.

The jury retired for a few minutes, and returned with a verdict of Guilty—death.

24.—This day the sessions ended, when sentence of death was passed on J. Green, for stealing in a dwelling-house; A. Munro, for shooting at Emily Wyatt Dobbs; Mary Duffy and Robert Smith, *alias* Robert Utting Smith, for uttering counterfeit coin, having before been convicted of a similar offence; G. Hurst, for a highway robbery; Catherine Forrester for stealing goods privately in a shop; Eliza Kelly, for stealing goods from the person; J. Cotter, for stealing 47*l.* and upwards in a dwelling-house; and J. Bullock, for embezzling his effects to defraud his creditors.

Elizabeth Dudley and Richard Steinbank were ordered to be transported beyond the seas for 14 years; and 29 for seven years; seven to be imprisoned in the house of correction at Clerkenwell for one year; 28 in the same gaol for six months; nine in Newgate, for various periods; three to be privately and three publickly whipped; two judgment respited; and 40 were discharged by proclamation.

When the clerk of the arraigns asked the prisoners, what they had to say why judgment of death should not be passed upon them,

Bullock, the bankrupt, addressed the court in arrest of judgment, and presented a string of legal objections, which he wished to be submitted to the judges. The recorder told him these objections had been fully considered on his trial, and he must proceed to the performance of his painful duty. He then pronounced sentence; after which Bullock once more addressed the court. He said the judge's speech had sunk deep into his heart, and particularly that part of it which related to the distress and misery of those relatives and friends he and his unhappy fellows might leave behind them. It was a dreadful consideration; and urged him once more to solicit a merciful representation of his case to his sovereign. Life, he said, was of little consequence to himself—he could resign it with firmness—but a regard for his wife and friends made him anxious to preserve it, and to ask that mercy which otherwise he should be wholly indifferent about.

By the sixty-fourth annual conference of the society of methodists, it appears, from the returns, that an increase of 8499 members has been made to the society within these kingdoms in the course of the last year;—a number materially exceeding the increase in any former year. Thirty preachers have this year been admitted on trial. Upwards of 50 new chapels are to be built, and the funds of the society are in a very flourishing condition.

28.—The new sheriffs, attended by the heads of their respective companies, proceeded in state from Draper's Hall to the Mansion-house, and from thence, accompanied by the lord mayor, aldermen, and city officers, to Guildhall, where, after the usual formalities, Christopher Smith, esq. citizen and draper, and Richard Phillips, esq. citizen and stationer, were sworn in sheriffs of the city of London, and sheriffs of the county of Middlesex.

Tuesday being Michaelmas-day, there was a common hall assembled at Guildhall, for the purpose of electing a chief magistrate for the ensuing year, when John Ansley, esq. alderman and leather-seller, one of the candidates sent up by their choice, was elected to the office of lord mayor for the ensuing year. The lord mayor elect then came forward to express his thanks for the high honour, &c. which he did in the accustomed phrases.

30.—A comet made its appearance visible to the naked eye, in the neighbourhood of London.—Its place formed nearly a right angle with the bright star Arcturus, and the elegant constellation Corona, or the Northern Crown, and set almost due west about eight o'clock. Its appearance to the naked eye was that of a star of the first magnitude, having a very distinguishable beam of light or nebulosity, extending to the left or south of its body, of about a foot or 18 inches in length. The colour of the whole was very white. It continued visible about 2 months.

OCTOBER.

2.—A court martial was held on board the Salvador del Mundo, in Hamoaze, Plymouth, on charges exhibited by captain Dilkes, of his majesty's ship Hazard, against Wm. Berry, first-lieut. of the said ship, for a breach of the 2d and 29th articles; the former respecting uncleanness, and the latter the horrid crime which delicacy forbids us to mention. T. Gibbs, a boy belonging

belonging to the ship, proved the offence, as charged to have been committed Aug. 23, 1807. Several other witnesses were called in corroboration; among whom was Eliz. Bowden, the little female, who has been on board the Hazard these eight months. Curiosity had prompted her to look through the key-hole of the cabin door, and it was thus she became possessed of the evidence she gave. She was dressed in a long jacket and blue trowsers. The evidence being heard in support of the charges, and the prisoner not being prepared to enter upon his defence, he begged time, which the court granted, until ten o'clock on Saturday, at which hour the court assembled again; and having heard what the prisoner had to offer in his defence, and maturely and deliberately weighed and considered the same, the court were of opinion that the charges had been fully proved, and did adjudge the said Wm. Berry to be hanged at the yard-arm of such one of his majesty's ships, and at such time, as the right hon. the commissioners of the admiralty shall direct. Sir. J. T. Duckworth was the president. The prisoner was executed Nov. 1.

7.—At six o'clock in the morning, a fire was discovered at Mr. Whitbread's brewery, in Chiswell-street. From the vast extent of the premises, and the great quantity of wood which it contains, the greatest alarm was spread among the neighbours. But fortunately the flames were subdued before they had done any very material damage. A number of engines were on the spot in a very short time after the discovery of the fire; but it is rather singular that the flames contributed in a great degree to the extinguishing of themselves; for they burned down the pillars on which a vat containing 2071 barrels of beer stood; the vat fell, and the flames were extinguished by the torrent of beer which flowed from the vat.

15.—Near the close of the performance at Sadlers Wells, some persons in liquor, quarreling, exclaimed "a fight! a fight!"—This was mistaken for a cry of "fire!" and in an instant the whole house was thrown into confusion. The people in the gallery, pit, and boxes, all thronged to the doors, and in their eagerness to escape, fell over one another: but the principal pressure was on the gallery staircase, where 30 persons were either killed or wounded.—Indeed no one was killed in any other part of the house. It was in vain the performers and the managers assured the audience that they had nothing to fear;—that the alarm was a false one, and that there was no fire. The managers even attempted to address the audience through a speaking-trumpet, but in vain, the tumult continued; a horrible discord of screams, oaths, and exclamations reigned throughout, and the people still hurried to get clear of the theatre. Some, finding the avenues completely choked up, dropped from the gallery into the pit, and not one of those who so made their escape was injured; others forced their way through the private passages into the theatre, and descended the stage. The managers were alike active on the outside of the theatre, and stationed persons at the several doors to take care of those who might be found fainting in the crowd, or should need assistance. Near thirty persons were presently brought into the proprietors' room, eighteen of whom were wholly deprived of life, and the

remainder in a state of apparent death. By the timely arrival, however, of medical assistance, many were saved; and among the number was an athletic man, who had been laid out among the dead, but, being let blood, and suddenly reviving, looked round him, and the first object that struck him was his wife, lying dead beside him. The poor fellow became frantic, and was carried away in a state of desperation.—Two women were removed with fractured limbs, one of whom could just articulate that she lived at the Temple coffee-house. Many others were sent off to the London hospital, and the neighbourhood was thrown into the greatest alarm. The friends of the individuals killed or wounded, continued coming during the whole of the night. On the first cry of fire, though they knew the alarm to be false, the managers ordered the doors to be thrown open, and used every precaution to facilitate the egress of the audience. It was a benefit night, and the house was supposed to have had near 2000 persons in it.

The Clerkenwell volunteers attended on Friday morning, to keep the mob from entering the theatre; and at ten o'clock, George Hodgson, esq. the coroner for the district, attended with his jury, in the proprietors' room, who having first inspected the theatre, and found that no fire had taken place, nor any part of the building given way, proceeded to take a view of the following bodies, which lay dead in the house:—

1. John Labdon, aged 20, of No. 7, Bell-yard, Temple Bar.
2. Rebecca Ling, Bridge-court, Cannon-row, Westminster.
3. Edw. Bland, aged 28, No. 13, Bear-st. Leicester-fields.
4. John Greenwood, King-street, Hoxton-square.
5. Sarah Chalkeldy, of No. 24, Oxford Road.
6. Roda Wall, aged 16, of the Crooked Bill, Hoxton.
7. Mary Evans, Market-street, Shoreditch.
8. Caroline Terrill, Plough-st. Whitechapel.
9. William Pincks, aged 17, of Hoxton-market.
10. James Phelliston, aged 30, White-Lion str. Pentonville.
11. Edw. Clements, aged 13, Paradise-court, Battle-bridge.
12. J. Groves, a servant with Mr. Taylor, Hoxton-square.
13. Benjamin Price, a lad about 12 years old, of No. 33, Lime-street, Leadenhall-st.
14. Eliz. Margaret Ward, No. 20, Plum-street, Bloomsbury.
15. Lydia Carr, No. 23. Peerless Pool, City Road.
16. J. Ward, aged 16, Glass-house yard, Goswell street.
17. Charles Judd, aged 20, Artillery-lane, Bishopsgate-st.
18. Rebecca Saunders, 9 years old, No. 12, Draper's-buildings, London Wall.

The persons who had caused the alarm, and who it was proved were very riotous were afterwards tried, for the same and convicted. They were sentenced to imprisonment.

20.—*Dreadful murder.* Mr. Boreham, a respectable member of the society of Friends, has been many years a resident at Hoddesdon: his house is on the declivity of the hill beyond that town, about 200 yards from the market-house. He had four daughters, one of whom was the wife of Mr. Warner, brass-founder, of the Crescent, Kingsland-road, and also of the Crescent, Jewin-street. Mrs. Warner had been on a visit to her parents for several days; and

and on Tuesday evening, a Mrs. Hummerstone, who superintended, as housekeeper, the business of the Black Lion at Hoddesdon, was at Mr. Boreham's house, in consequence of an invitation to spend the evening with the family. The company assembled in the parlour were, Mr. Boreham, a very old gentleman, affected by the palsy; his wife, four daughters, Anne, Elizabeth, Sarah, and Mrs. Warner.—About a quarter past nine, they were alarmed by a very loud noise at the back of the house. It proceeded from some person in dispute with the servant-woman, Elizabeth Harris, and who was insisting to get into the house. He proved to be Thomas Simmons, a young man, about twenty, who had been servant in the family of Mr. Boreham for about two years last past, but from which he had been very recently dismissed, and was employed in the brewery of Messrs. Christie and Co. at Hoddesdon. This young man, it seems, had, while in the family, paid his addresses to the servant, Elizabeth Harris, who was many years older than himself; but the symptoms of a ferocious and ungovernable temper, which he had frequently displayed, had induced his mistress to dissuade the woman from any connection with him; and this violent disposition had led also to his dismissal from the family. He had been heard to vow vengeance against Elizabeth Harris and the eldest Miss Boreham; and on Tuesday night, at the hour already stated, he made his way into the farm-yard, and from thence into an interior court called the stone-yard. Elizabeth Harris, on seeing his approach, retired within a scullery, and shut the door against him. He demanded admittance, which she refused; high words accordingly arose; and he plunged his hand, armed with a knife, through a window-lattice, at her; but missed his aim. This noise alarmed the company in the parlour, or keeping-room, as it is called. Mrs. Hummerstone was the first to come forth, in hope of being able to intimidate and send away the disturber; but just as she reached the back door, leading from the parlour to the stone-yard, Simmons, who was proceeding to enter the house that way, met her, and with his knife stabbed her in the jugular artery, and, pulling the knife forward, laid open the throat on the left side. She ran forward, as is supposed, for the purpose of alarming the neighbourhood, but fell and rose no more. The murderer pursued his sanguinary purpose, and, rushing into the parlour, raised and brandished his bloody knife, swearing a dreadful oath, that "he would give it to them all." Mrs. Warner was the person next him; and, without giving her time to rise from her chair, he gave her so many stabs in the jugular vein, and about her neck and breast, that she fell from her chair, covered with streams of blood, and expired. Fortunately Miss Anne Boreham had been up stairs, immediately previous to the commencement of this horrid business; and her sisters, Elizabeth and Sarah, terrified at the horrors they saw, ran up stairs too for safety. The villain next attacked the aged Mrs. Boreham, by a similar aim at her jugular artery, but missed the point, and wounded her deep in the neck, though not mortally. The poor old gentleman was making his way towards the kitchen, where the servant-maid was, and the miscreant,

creant, in endeavouring to reach the same place, overset him, and then endeavoured to stab the servant in the throat; she struggled with him, caught at the knife, and was wounded severely in the hand and arm. The knife fell in the struggle. She, however, got out at the back door, and made her way into the street, where, by her screams of murder, she alarmed the neighbourhood. Simmons was secured, and committed to Hertford goal, to abide his trial; and being interrogated by the clergyman of the place, he persisted in denying his previous intention to murder Mrs. Hummerstone, or any of Mr. Boreham's family; but he said, that after he had stabbed those whom he had murdered, and was in pursuit of Elizabeth Harris, he heard something, as it were, fluttering behind him, and follow him in his pursuit; and when he overtook her, he felt himself unable to strike as he intended, and the knife fell from his hand.

23.—Captain William Chapman, commander of a Guinea trader, sent by admiral Cochrane from the West Indies, on board the Northumberland of 74 guns, was charged on oath with having committed wilful murder on the body of Henry Johnson, boatswain, in the Middle Passage from Guinea to Montserrat. The cruelty exercised towards the deceased was stated to have made him jump overboard in despair; and the prisoner was also charged with having inflicted a severe wound on the deceased. The surgeon of the ship stated, that he had sewed up the wound; and five of the ship's crew confirmed his testimony, and enumerated other acts of severity. The prisoner was committed for re-examination. This person has been since tried and acquitted. The principal evidence was a surgeon, who had given in upon oath in the West Indies, a certificate that the lad had died by over-eating, particularly meat. At the trial he swore among other things that he had been starved to death by the captain. The evidence was in many respects completely contradictory, so that it was impossible for a jury on oath to bring in a different verdict.

NOVEMBER.

4.—Evan Evans [See p. 191.] who was employed as a spy in 1794, was tried on an indictment charging him with having committed a fraud at common law, in having obtained by false pretences, on the 18th of August last, two gold seals, value 9*l.* 9*s.* the property of Mr. John Rogers, of No. 63, Charing Cross. The prisoner obtained possession of the seals under the alleged intention of showing them to a gentleman in the service of government; that the prisoner got them at the foot of the Treasury stairs, from a shop-boy who was sent with them, under pretence of showing them to a gentleman in lord Hawkesbury's office; and that on the 21st, when the prisoner was apprehended, he had the two seals hanging to his watch. For this offence he was tried as a felon at the Old Bailey, and acquitted on the ground that the crime did not appear to the court to amount to a felony at law. The facts were again sworn to in this court, in order to support the charge of fraud. He was still favoured by an objection; upon which the chairman observed, that the court was always extremely sorry when justice was eluded by means of the niceties of the law.

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He had no doubt that the prisoner would, when he quitted that court, be as great an offender as when he entered the silversmith's shop. But when the prisoner was indicted as a cheat at common law, he was afraid the charge was such as would not be supported at law. He therefore recommended the jury to acquit the prisoner.

5.—About half past 11 o'clock at night a fire was discovered in a ware-room belonging to Mr. Bensley, printer, of Bolt-court, Fleet-street. From the confined situation in which the premises stood, the engines had much difficulty in getting to the premises; but having a plentiful supply of water, in about an hour the flames were considerably abated, and by two o'clock it was entirely subdued, with the exception of an immense body of smoke arising from the burnt paper. The inside of the warehouse was completely destroyed; but, by the skill and exertions of the firemen, there was not much damage done to the adjoining premises. The utmost exertion was made by those who conducted Mr. Bensley's business to save what property they could, insured and not insured, without distinction. But, though some thousand valuable copies were saved from the ravages of the destructive element, the greater part of them were destroyed by the very act of rescuing them from that species of destruction.

8.—A most desperate and daring robber for some time infested the country round Havant, Chichester, and Arundel; his conduct was so alarming that the inhabitants of the above towns and neighbourhood were in the greatest dread. On Friday se'nnight, about two o'clock, the villain stopped a gentleman on horseback, near Arundel, who having a good horse, put spurs to him and rode off with all possible speed; the robber discharged a pistol, which, however, providentially missed him. On Sunday morning, about eleven o'clock, he stopped and robbed Mr. Rhodes, of Chichester, between Arundel and Midhurst. In consequence of this daring robbery being made known, a number of gentlemen and others, of that part of the country, went in different directions, armed, in pursuit of the robber; among them were Mr. Poyntz of Cowdray Park near Midhurst, and Mr. George Sarjeant, son of Mr. Sarjeant of Lavington. These gentlemen had not proceeded far from Lavington when they observed a man answering the description of the robber, and they supposed he was making towards them, to rob them; they accordingly put themselves in a state of defence, by showing their pistols: the man went into a wood close by, and the gentlemen pursued him. Mr. Sarjeant called on him to surrender; but he refused, and made use of most horrid oaths and threats. Mr. Sarjeant ordered him to surrender again, or he would shoot him. He still refused, and Mr. Sarjeant presented a pistol at him, but at the same time desired the man to surrender, as he could not bear the thought of taking the life of a fellow-creature. At this instant the man discharged a pistol at him, and killed him on the spot. The villain immediately threw off his shoes, hat and gloves, great coat, leather-case, used by dragoons to guard the locks of their carbines, and made his escape from Mr. Poyntz. It was supposed he concealed himself in the wood. The villain was supposed to be a native of Graffham,

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and had deserted from the navy and several regiments.

On Monday afternoon, in consequence of the murder of Mr. Sarjeant, a party of dragoons proceeded in search of the murderer: they arrived at the coppice where he had concealed himself, which is near Petworth, and some surrounded it, while others dismounted, and entered by every avenue. After a strict search they discovered him, and drove him out, without any frock, hat, or shoes, on: he then ran swiftly some distance, but finding his pursuers to be close at his heels, he ran into a pond, when they immediately fired at him, and shot him dead. He was taken out of the pond, searched, and the watch, of which he had robbed Mr. Rhodes the day before, found on him. On examination of the body, he proved to be a labourer, living at a village called Graffham, near Petworth; his name is James Allen: he had two loaded pistols about him, but from the close pursuit of the dragoons, he had no power to use them. Mr. Sarjeant was, we understand, the second son of Mr. Sarjeant, formerly secretary to the Treasury, and now one of the auditors of public accounts.

DR. MOSELEY'S ACCOUNT OF AN EXTRAORDINARY CASE OF HYDROPHOBIA.

Chelsea Hospital, Nov. 9.

This afternoon, at three o'clock, Mrs. Metcalfe, No. 25, Compton-street, brought her son, Mr. Frederic Michael Metcalfe, to me for advice, at my house in Albany, Piccadilly.

He informed me, that he was attacked about four o'clock yesterday morning with a difficulty in swallowing any liquid, which he first perceived when he attempted to drink some porter, the remains of half a pint, which he had on the preceding evening. He said, when he put the pot to his mouth, something rose in his throat, and choked him. He swallowed, as he thought, about a tea spoonful, and then was seized with a trembling, and cramp in his arms and legs, and a sensation of pricking, as if pins or needles were run into his flesh. His appetite failed him on Saturday last. Yesterday he ate a small piece of mutton, which made him sick at his stomach. He has eaten nothing this day; though he said he could swallow anything, except it were in a liquid form; but has no desire for food. He said he was attacked on Thursday last with a violent pain in his right arm, from his shoulder to the ends of his fingers. This pain left him on Saturday night. He rubbed the arm with hartshorn and oil, and wrapped it up with flannel, on Saturday. Mrs. Metcalfe informed me, that on his seeing any liquid poured out for him to drink, even before he takes hold of the pot, or cup, he begins to tremble, and the choking seizes him. She said, in attempting to drink, he becomes convulsed, his eyes look glassy, and he stares in an unusual and frightful manner. The case thus clearly demonstrated, I desired Mrs. Metcalfe to go with me into another room. I did this that I might not alarm her son, by questions necessary for further information. Neither Mrs. Metcalfe nor her son had the slightest suspicion of the cause, or the nature, of this dreadful calamity.

I asked Mrs. Metcalfe, whether her son had been lately bitten by any dog? The very question so much alarmed her, that she was

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for a few minutes in a state of distraction. When she was able to speak, she exclaimed, with a loud shriek, that he had been bitten in the hand by a dog in the summer. As soon as she became calm and composed, we returned to her son.

On interrogating him, he informed me, that in the beginning of July last, there were two dogs fighting desperately in the street opposite his mother's house; and he, observing one of them had one of his eyes torn out, and the other dog likely to kill him, endeavoured to part them; but on taking hold of the dog he wished to rescue from the fury of the other, he received a bite from him on his right hand. Two of the dog's teeth penetrated the outside of the hand, but the palm of the hand was considerably wounded. This wound was dressed with Friar's balsam and poulticed, and was cured in a week or ten days.

I examined his hand. There was a small degree of redness remaining, but no heat or pain where the wound had been in the palm of his hand, and no vestige whatever on the outside where the teeth had been.—There was nothing observable in his throat, differing from its natural state; nor any increase of saliva. Pulse 88, rather feeble, and not quite regular. He had no thirst. He told me that his choking seemed to him as arising from wind; and that he had always discharged a great deal from his throat whenever he attempted to swallow. He said he took some dillseed water last night, and thought it relieved him; but never could get down more than a tea-spoon-full at a time, and that with great difficulty. In one attempt to swallow some of this water, he was so choked and convulsed, that he would have fallen into the fire, his mother told me, if she had not saved him. I gave him some water in a pint pot twice; each time he swallowed about a tea-spoon-full, and both times was choked and convulsed, with a wild staring in his eyes, and a trembling all over him; and immediately after the effort of swallowing, he made a hideous noise. The second time I gave him the water I was much alarmed; I thought it would have occasioned a fatal convulsion. It is impossible to describe the sound; and I can compare the noise he made, which was from repeated spasmodic contractions of the organs of respiration, to nothing but to that sort of stifled barking which dogs sometimes make, when disturbed in their sleep; or to the hoarse short barking of a drover's dog. When he took the pot in his hand, he fell into a tremor, held down his head, and was in great distress; he kept the pot in his hand a few seconds before he could summon courage to lift it to his mouth; after which, I took it from him, as from his agony he could not hold it. He bore the sight of the water in the pot, while it was in my hand, when it was not offered him to drink; but when I brought a large bason filled with water, and put it before his eyes, he seemed frightened; and when I agitated the water near him, he was instantly attacked with what he called "the wind rising in his throat," trembling, and that hoarse faucial noise before-mentioned. He entreated me not to order any medicine for him in a liquid form, as he said he could not take it; and the attempt, he was certain, would kill him. He said he could swallow any solid substance. I put this to the proof; and as he had

had been costive for several days, I gave him four aperient pills, which he swallowed one at a time, but with some difficulty. He had now been with me three quarters of an hour, when he and Mrs. Metcalfe left Albany, with the best advice I could give, and walked back to Compton-street. From his appearance and conversation, no person would have thought there was any indisposition about him. His voice and speech had suffered no alteration. He was in the 18th year of his age; a very fine youth in mind, as well as in person. His humanity here was his misfortune. With what grief did I see him depart from Albany with his poor mother, knowing, as I did, that he had but a few hours to live! I visited him at eight o'clock in the evening. Pulse 110, and very feeble. I gave him some water. In attempting to drink, the usual consequences—choking, wildness in the eyes, and the noise in the throat, followed. The pills operated about nine o'clock, several times. About ten o'clock he became so violently convulsed, that four young men, his brothers, could scarcely keep him in bed; but he made no attempt to bite any person. He began also to foam at the mouth with white froth. The quantity of this froth was so great, as to require many towels and handkerchiefs in wiping it from his mouth. At this period he likewise became delirious at intervals, but at times in his perfect senses; and complained, though in a very warm room, of being cold, and begged to be kept warm. In this condition he continued until one o'clock on the following morning, when, from his violent convulsive exertions and struggling, he was entirely exhausted, and remained calm and quiet afterwards. He expired at a quarter before two, 18 weeks from the time of the accident; 46 hours from the commencement of the *hydrophobia*; and ten hours after I first saw him.

DECEMBER.

Admiralty Office, Dec. 3.

Letter from capt. Stanfell, of the Scorpion sloop, to adm. Young, dated *Dec.* 3.

Sir,—Availing myself of information gained by the capture of La Glaneuse, relative to the celebrated ketch privateer out of St. Maloes, it is with infinite satisfaction I inform you that I fell in with her, and, after a chase of twelve hours, captured Le Glaneur, of 10 guns and 60 men, M. Jacquel Fabre, commander, six days from Brest. She has been repeatedly chased, and escaped by superiority of sailing, and is well known at Lloyd's to have done more mischief than all the privateers out of St. Maloes, having run two years with uninterrupted luck. I beg to subjoin the names of two vessels taken by her.

I am, &c. FRANCIS STANFELL.

Horatio big, David Mill, master, from London to Mogadore. La Gloria, Portuguese ship, from Oporto to London.

4.—In Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Lancashire, and Westmorland, the weather has been for the last week particularly severe, with deep snow, and dreadful hurricanes from the North-east. On Blackstone hedge, the Clayton heights, on Monday last, the snow lay in drifts 20 feet deep; and by Leek and Buxton travelling was almost prevented. Notwithstanding men were employed in cutting through the drifts, yet the after heavy falls so choked

choked up the road, as almost to prevent carriages from proceeding any distance. In many parts the stage-coaches could not be got on, though drawn by six or eight horses. The Carlisle mail-coach, on Monday last, met with great difficulty in getting over Stainmoor, though drawn by six horses.

This evening, between 7 and 8, a fire broke out in the house of lady Clermont in Berkeley-square, supposed to have arisen from some collection of combustible matter in the flue of a chimney. Her ladyship was at dinner with some of her own relations, and removed to the house of a friend, being seriously affected by the accident. Her ladyship's house is much damaged; but most of the more valuable furniture had been saved. Sir John Harrington's house adjoining has suffered considerably.

5.—We are sorry to announce the loss of the Boreas frigate, of 32 guns, capt. Scott, on the Jersey station. The ship struck upon the Hanaway rocks, and, in spite of the utmost exertions of the crew at the pumps, was very soon full of water; and, though her masts were cut away by the board, she remained immovable upon the rock. Of 140 persons who were on-board when the accident happened, 90 are supposed to have perished: among whom are, captain Scott and his lady; first lieut. Hawkes; Mr. Davy, purser; Mr. Wright, surgeon; Mr. Ausleck, Carpenter; Messrs. Barnes, Dunstell, Luttrell, midshipmen.

8.—By the late snow-storms, there has been more destruction on the sheepfarms in the North of England than has been ever remembered. Mr. Oliver and another farmer at Kielder, at the head of North Tyne, have lost no less than 1400 sheep; Mr. S. Brown, at the Deadwater, 400 ewes; Mr. Dodds, of Clintburn, 12 score of sheep; besides numerous losses among other farmers. The snow was in many instances 16 yards in depth.—The destruction amongst the sheep in Scotland, in consequence of the late severe weather, has been enormous. In the parish of Ewes alone, one man lost 100 at one farm, and 200 at another; a second farmer has lost 300, and about 250 more were lost at Hartsgarth. Those farmers who keep shepherds' dogs have avoided the calamity; as these animals have the singular power of directing their masters where to search for the sheep in the snow, though they may be buried under it to the depth of 12 or 14 feet. A gentleman breeder in Northumberland has lost the enormous number of 700 sheep on one farm, by the cause above mentioned.

Admiralty-Office, Dec. 12.

Letter from captain Honyman, to adm. Montague, &c.

Leda, Dec. 4.

Sir,—At eight this morning, Cape de Caux bearing S. S. W. distance four leagues, we discerned a lugger and a brig standing for the French coast; and, conceiving the lugger to be a privateer with her prize, I stood towards them, when the brig ran for Havre de Grace, and the lugger stood E. by S., when I instantly gave chase to her; and, after a run of six hours, we came up with her, and found her to be L'Adolphe French privateer, Mons. Nicholas Famenter, commander, eight days from Boulogne. She is a remarkably fine vessel, is entirely new, sails uncommonly well, and mounts ten 18-pound carronades, four long 4-pounders, two 2-pounders, and two swivels; had 70 men on-

on-board when she sailed, but has now only 25; the others having been sent away in prizes she has captured. I am, &c.

ROB. HONYMAN.

18.—A fire broke out on the premises of Messrs. Reads and Lucas, refiners, at Attercliffe near Sheffield, which began in the laboratory, and entirely destroyed 23 retorts and 18 receivers, containing oil of vitriol, and much damaged the building.

19.—A fire broke out in the dwelling-house of James Heir, esq. at Hill Top near Wednesbury, which raged with great fury, and nearly destroyed the whole of those valuable and elegant premises, with great part of the furniture.

19.—*Admiralty-office.* Capt. Yeo, of his majesty's sloop Confiance, arrived this afternoon at this office, with dispatches from rear-admiral sir William Sidney Smith, dated 6th December, stating that the prince regent of Portugal, with the whole of the royal family, consisting of fifteen persons, had emigrated for the Brazils, with seven sail of the line, five frigates, three armed brigs, and upwards of thirty Brazil merchant-vessels. The Portuguese fleet is attended by his majesty's ships Marlborough, London, Monarch, and Bedford, under the command of capt. Moore. One Portuguese line of battle ship is on its way to Plymouth. Only one serviceable Portuguese line of battle ship and three hulks had been left in the Tagus. Eight Russian line of battle ships remained in the Tagus, only three of which were in a condition for sea. Rear-adm. sir Sidney Smith has resumed the blockade of the port of Lisbon with five sail of the line, and will probably by this time have been joined by an additional squadron of line of battle ships. Lord Strangford, his majesty's minister to the court of Lisbon, is arrived in the Confiance.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, DEC. 22.

19. *Foreign-office.*

The following dispatch has been this day received from lord Strangford, his majesty's minister plenipotentiary at the court of Lisbon.

Hibernia, off the Tagus, Nov. 29.

Sir,—I have the honour of announcing to you, that the prince regent of Portugal has effected this wise and magnanimous purpose of retiring from a kingdom which he could no longer retain, except as the vassal of France; and that his royal highness and family, accompanied by most of his ships of war, and by a multitude of his faithfull subjects and adherents, have this day departed from Lisbon, and are now on their way to the Brazils, under the escort of a British fleet. This grand and memorable event is not to be attributed only to the sudden alarm excited by the appearance of a French army within the frontiers of Portugal; it has been the genuine result of the system of persevering confidence and moderation adopted by his majesty towards that country; for the ultimate success of which I had in a manner rendered myself responsible; and which, in obedience to your instructions, I had uniformly continued to support, even under appearances of the most discouraging nature. I had frequently and distinctly stated to the cabinet of Lisbon, that, in agreeing not to resent the exclusion of British commerce from the ports of Portugal, his majesty had exhausted the means of forbearance; that, in making that concession to the

peculiar circumstances of the prince regent's situation, his majesty had done all that friendship and the remembrance of antient alliance could justly require; but that a single step beyond the line of modified hostility, thus most reluctantly consented to, must necessarily lead to the extremity of actual war. The prince regent, however, suffered himself for a moment to forget that, in the present state of Europe, no country could be permitted to be an enemy to England with impunity; and that, however much his majesty might be disposed to make allowance for the deficiency of the means possessed by Portugal of resistance to the power of France, neither his own dignity, nor the interests of his people, would permit his majesty to accept that excuse for a compliance with the full extent of her unprincipled demands. On the 8th inst. his royal highness was induced to sign an order for the detention of the few British subjects, and of the inconsiderable portion of British property, which yet remained at Lisbon. On the publication of this order, I caused the arms of England to be removed from the gates of my residence, demanded my passports, presented a final remonstrance against the recent conduct of the court of Lisbon, and proceeded to the squadron commanded by sir Sidney Smith, which arrived off the coast of Portugal some days after I had received my passports, and which I joined on the 17th inst. I immediately suggested to sir Sidney Smith the expediency of establishing the most rigorous blockade at the mouth of the Tagus; and I had the high satisfaction of afterwards finding, that I had thus anticipated the intentions of his majesty; your dispatches (which I received by the messenger Silvester on the 23d) directing me to authorize that measure, in case the Portuguese government should pass the bounds which his majesty had thought fit to set to his forbearance, and attempt to take any further step injurious to the honour or interests of Great Britain. Those dispatches were drawn up under the idea that I was still resident at Lisbon; and though I did not receive them until I had actually taken my departure from that court, still, upon a careful consideration of the tenor of your instructions, I thought that it would be right to act as if that case had not occurred. I resolved, therefore, to proceed forthwith to ascertain the effect produced by the blockade of Lisbon, and to propose to the Portuguese government, as the only condition upon which that blockade could cease, the alternative, stated by you, either of surrendering the fleet to his majesty, or of immediately employing it to remove the prince regent and his family to the Brazils. I took upon myself this responsibility in renewing negotiations after my public functions had actually ceased, convinced that, although it was the fixed determination of his majesty not to suffer the fleet of Portugal to fall into the possession of the enemy, still his majesty's first object continued to be the application of that fleet to the original purpose of saving the royal family of Braganza from the tyranny of France. I accordingly requested an audience of the prince regent, together with due assurances of protection and security; and, upon receiving his royal highness's answer, I proceeded to Lisbon on the 27th, in his majesty's

ship Confiance, bearing a flag of truce. I had immediately most interesting communications with the court of Lisbon, the particulars of which shall be fully detailed in a future dispatch. It suffices to mention in this place, that the prince regent wisely directed all his apprehensions to a French army, and all his hopes to an English fleet; that he received the most explicit assurances from me, that his majesty would generously overlook those acts of unwilling and momentary hostility to which his royal highness's consent had been extorted; and that I promised to his royal highness, on the faith of my sovereign, that the British squadron before the Tagus should be employed to protect his retreat from Lisbon, and his voyage to the Brazils. A decree was published yesterday, in which the prince regent announced his intention of retiring to the city of Rio de Janeiro until the conclusion of a general peace, and of appointing a regency to transact the administration of government at Lisbon during his royal highness's absence from Europe. This morning the Portuguese fleet left the Tagus; I had the honour to accompany the prince in his passage over the Bar. The fleet consisted of eight sail of the line, four large frigates, several armed brigs, sloops, and corvettes, and a number of Brazil ships, amounting, I believe, to about 36 sail in all. They passed through the British squadron, and his majesty's ships fired a salute of 21 guns, which was returned with an equal number. A more interesting spectacle than that afforded by the junction of the two fleets has been rarely beheld. On quitting the prince regent's ship, I repaired on-board the Hibernia, but returned immediately, accompanied by sir Sidney Smith, whom I presented to the prince, and who was received by his royal highness with the most marked and gracious condescension. I have the honour to inclose lists of the ships of war which were known to have left Lisbon this morning, and which were in sight a few hours ago. There remain at Lisbon four ships of the line, and the same number of frigates, but only one of each sort is serviceable. I have thought it expedient to lose no time in communicating to his majesty's government the important intelligence contained in this dispatch. I have therefore to apologize for the hasty and imperfect manner in which it is written.

STRANGFORD.

Admiralty-office, Dec. 21.

The following were received by capt. Yeo, of the Confiance, from sir S. Smith.

Hibernia, 22 leagues W. of the Tagus, Dec. 1.

Sir,—in a former dispatch, dated the 22d November, with a postscript of the 26th, I conveyed to you, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, the proofs, contained in various documents, of the Portuguese government being so much influenced by terror of the French arms, as to have acquiesced to certain demands of France, operating against Great Britain. The distribution of the Portuguese force was made wholly on the coast, while the land side was left totally unguarded. British subjects of all descriptions were detained; and it therefore became necessary to inform the Portuguese government, that the case had arisen which required, in obedience

to

to my instructions, that I should declare the Tagus in a state of blockade; and lord Strangford agreeing with me that hostility should be met by hostility, the blockade was instituted, and the instructions we had received were acted upon to their full extent; still, however, bearing in recollection the first object adopted by his majesty's government of opening a refuge for the head of the Portuguese government, menaced as it was by the powerful arm and baneful influence of the enemy, I thought it my duty to adopt the means open to us, of endeavouring to induce the prince regent of Portugal to reconsider his decision "to unite himself with the continent of Europe," and to recollect, that he had possessions on that of America affording an ample balance for any sacrifice he might make here, and from which he would be cut off by the nature of maritime warfare, the termination of which could not be dictated by the combination of the continental powers of Europe. In this view, lord Strangford having received an acquiescence to the proposition which had been made by us, for his lordship to land and confer with the prince regent under the guarantee of a flag of truce, I furnished his lordship with that conveyance and security, in order that he might give to the prince the confidence which his word of honour as the king's minister plenipotentiary, united with that of a British admiral, could not fail to inspire towards inducing his royal highness to throw himself and his fleet into the arms of Great Britain, in perfect reliance on the king's overlooking a forced act of apparent hostility against his flag and subjects, and establishing his royal highness's government in his ultramarine possessions, as originally promised. I have now the heartfelt satisfaction of announcing to you, that our hopes and expectations have been realized to the utmost extent. On the morning of the 29th the Portuguese fleet (as per list annexed) came out of the Tagus with his royal highness the prince of Brazil and the whole of the royal family of Braganza onboard, together with many of his faithful counsellors and adherents, as well as other persons attached to his present fortunes. This fleet of eight sail of the line, four frigates, two brigs, and one schooner, with a crowd of large armed merchant-ships, arranged itself under the protection of that of his majesty; while the firing of a reciprocal salute of 21 guns announced the friendly meeting of those who but the day before were on terms of hostility; the scene impressing every beholder (except the French army on the hills) with the most lively emotions of gratitude to Providence, that there yet existed a power in the world able, as well as willing, to protect the oppressed. I am yours, &c.

W. Sidney Smith.

List of the Portuguese Fleet that came out of the Tagus, Nov. 29.

Principe Real, 84 guns; Rainha de Portugal, 74; Condé Henrique, 74; Meduza, 74; Alfonzo de Albiquerque, 64; D. Joao de Castro, 64; Principe de Brazil, 74; Martino de Freitas, 64.—Frigates: Minerva, 44 guns; Golfinho, 36; Uriana, 32; and one other, name as yet unknown.—Brigs: Voador, 22 guns; Vingança, 20; Lebre, 22.—Schooner: Curioza, 12 guns.

J. J. M. Torres, major-general.
W. Sidney Smith.

Hibernia, 22 leagues W. of the Tagus, Dec. 1.

Sir,—In another dispatch of this day's date, I have transmitted a list of the Portuguese fleet that came out of the Tagus on the 29th ultimo, which I received that day from the hands of the admiral commanding it, when I went on-board the Principe Reale, to pay my visit of respect and congratulation to his royal highness the prince of Brazil, who was embarked in that ship. I here inclose the list of those left behind. The absence of but one of the four ships is regretted by the Portuguese (the Vasco de Gama), she being under repair: her guns have been employed to arm the Freitas, 64, a new ship, and one of those which came out with the prince. The other three are mere hulks; and there is also one ship on the stocks; the Principe Regente, but she is only in frame. The prince said every thing that the most cordial feelings of gratitude towards, and confidence in, his majesty and the British nation might be supposed to dictate. I have by signal, for we have no other mode of communicating in this weather, directed captain Moore in the Marlborough, with the London, Monarch, and Bedford, to stay by the body of the Portuguese fleet, and render it every assistance. I keep in the Hibernia, close to the prince's ship. I cannot as yet send the Foudroyant, Plantagenet, and Conqueror, on to admiral Purvis, according to their lordships' order of the 14th, which, I trust, will be the less felt as an inconvenience off Cadiz, as they appear to have been ordered thither, with reference to the Russians being within the Straits, before it was known the were on my station.

W. Sidney Smith

List of the Portuguese Ships that remained in Lisbon.

S. Sebastiao, of 64 guns, unser viceable without a thorough repair Maria Prima, 74, unserviceable ordered to be made into a floating battery, but not yet fitted. Vasco de Gama, 74, under repair and nearly ready. Princesa de Beira 64, condemned; ordered to be fitted out as a floating battery.

Frigates: Phœnix, of 44 guns in need of thorough repair. Amazona, 44, in need of ditto. Perola 44, in need of ditto. Tritao, 40 past repair. Veney, 30, past re pair.

W. Sidney Smith

[In another letter, dated Dec. 6 sir Sidney states, that he succeeded in collecting the whole of the Portuguese fleet, except a brig, after the gale, and that the weather was such as to allow the necessary repairs, and such distribution of supernumeraries and resources to be made, as to enable vice-admiral Don Manuel d'A. Sottomayer to report all the ships capable of performing the voyage to Rio Janeiro except one line of battle ship, which he requested might be conducted to an English port. The Diana merchant vessel, having on-board about sixty British subjects, who had been detained in consequence of the embargo, came out of the Tagus in company with the Portuguese fleet; and it is supposed that she bore up for England at the commencement of the gale.]

21.—The duke of Marlborough has presented the university of Oxford with his set of fine copies of the Cartoons of Raphael, by sir James Thornhill; and for which magnificent

magnificent present that learned body has voted him their thanks in full convocation.

21.—This night a fire broke out at Tottenham, which was attended with melancholy circumstances. A Mrs. Maccaughey kept a seminary for young ladies, and had gone to town on business. The nursery-maid put to bed, as usual, Mrs. M.'s two children (one about five, and the other seven years of age); and left burning by their bed-side a candle, which soon set fire to the bed-curtains. When the cries of the suffering children were heard, it was too late to afford them any relief, and they perished. The houses and premises adjoining were burnt to the ground. This lady's life presents a singular series of misfortunes. Her husband failed in a mercantile speculation; and, going abroad to improve his affairs, was drowned at sea. On his death, he left eight children to deplore his loss. One of these subsequently lost his life, by falling into a pond in his mother's garden, while she was gone to church. She had still seven children: the two younger perished by the fire above mentioned. A subscription was opened for Mrs. M. at Tottenham, and at Lloyd's coffee-house, and we believe something handsome was raised.

Admiralty-office, Dec. 22.

Copy of a letter to admiral Young, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels at Plymouth.

H. M. hired armed brig Anne, Plymouth Sound, Dec. 16.

Sir,—In execution of your order of the 14th, I have to acquaint you, on the 20th November, at noon, being in lat. 41. 41. N. and long. 10. 30. W. of my falling in with and capturing the Spanish lugger privateer Vansigo, pierced for 14 guns, but only six 4-pounders and one long brass 12-pounder mounted, with 45 men, out eight days from Ferrol, had not made any captures: also, on my entering the Straits of Gibraltar, on the morning of the 24th, with a fresh breeze from W. N. W. (the lugger in company), about half-past 9 A. M. falling little wind, the island of Terriffa N E. by N. observed ten of the enemy's gun-boats rowing towards me. At ten, the headmost fired a shot, and hoisted a red flag. Finding it impossible to escape, I shortened sail to receive them. At a quarter past 10 the three headmost closed, and commenced action. At half-past 10, seven more closing, the lugger struck, having hailed to inform me she had three men killed. At 11 dismasted one of the enemy's gun-boats, and two more having struck, discontinued the action, but did not think it prudent to attempt to take possession, having on-board 42 prisoners, and charged with dispatches (my complement being only 39, nine of which were on-board the lugger). At 10 minutes past 11 got the vessel round by the assistance of the sweeps, and opened my fire on five who had taken possession of the lugger, and again closing on my starboard quarter, with an intention to board; but finding my guns so well supplied with round and grape, and ready to receive them in case of boarding, at one o'clock P. M. they sweeped out of gun-shot, carrying off my prize. I am happy in having the pleasure to add, that although six of the largest were within pistol-shot for nearly one hour and a half, I have not one man hurt. It would be needless for me to attempt to say any thing in favour of Mr. Olden the master, and each of the crew, only my

great satisfaction on beholding the high flow of spirits which is generally manifested in the countenance of every British sailor, although opposed to so superior a force, and their regret at not being able to sink the two which had struck. I am, &c. (Signed) J. McKenzie.

Admiralty-office, Dec. 26.

Inclosures to sir A. Cochrane, K. B. commander in chief at the Leeward islands.

H. M. brig Superieure, Barbadoes bearing W. 120 Lagues, Oct. 17.

Sir,—The unfortunate death of capt. Buller imposes the duty on me to inform you of the capture of the French schooner privateer La Jopo l'Œil, after an action of an hour and a quarter; in the early part of which capt. Buller received a musket-ball through the head, while in the act of attempting to board, and expired immediately. His majesty's brig Hawke was in sight during the chase, and joined an hour after the action had ceased. To the officers and crew of the Superieure I feel much indebted for their support, particularly Mr. Hawkey, the master, and Mr. Gummage, midshipman. La Jopo l'Œil is a remarkably fine vessel, pierced for 14 guns; had only six 18-pounders mounted, and one on a travefsing carriage; manned with 95 men; out thirty-two days from Point à Petre, Guadaloupe, and had not made any capture. I subjoin a list of killed and wounded.

J. G. Bird, lieut.

Superieure, 4 killed, and 8 wounded.—La Jopo l'Œil, 15 killed, and 19 wounded.

[This Gazette also announces the following captures by the vessels under the command of sir A. Cochrane; L'Hirondelle French privateer schooner, of 8 guns and 84 men; the Duquesne French privateer brig, late his majesty's schooner Netley, of 16 24-pounder carronades, one long 26-pounder, four swivels and 120 men; and that dangerous privateer the Alert of 20 guns, and 140 men, all by the Blonde, capt. V. V. Ballard;—La Mara and El Rosario Spanish privaters, by H. M. S. D'Espagne, capt. J. P. Stuart; and Lee Rhone French letter of marque, of 6 long six-pounders and 26 men, by the Laura, lieut. Rob. Yetts.—A letter from sir S. Smith states the capture of Estrella de Nostee Spanish privateer, of two 6-pounders and 35 men, by the Solebay frigate, capt. Sproule.—This Gazette likewise contains the instructions of his majesty, for the detention and capture of Russian vessels.]

Windsor-Castle Packet, Oct. 3. Carlisle Bay.

Sir,—having, on my passage from England in the Windsor-Castle packet, with the mails for Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, been attacked by a French privateer within the limits of your station, I take the liberty of acquainting you, that we were fortunate enough to capture her after a severe action, and arrived with her safe in this bay. She was seen on the morning of the 1st of October, in lat. 13. 53. N. and long. 58. 1. W: and about half past eight made all sail in chase of the packet, when every exertion was made to get away from her; but finding it impossible, preparations were made to make the best resistance we could, and arrangements to sink the mails if necessary. At noon the schooner got within gun-shot, hoisted French colours, and began her fire,

fire, which was returned from the stern-chase guns; this was continued until she came near, when we were hailed in very opprobrious terms, and desired to strike the colours. On refusing to do so she ran alongside, grappled the packet, and attempted to board, which we repulsed by the pikes, with the loss of 8 or 10 men on the part of the enemy, when the schooner attempted to get clear by cutting the grapplings, but the mainyard being locked in her rigging, she was prevented. Great exertions were continued on both sides: and I had occasion to station a part of the crew in charge of the mails, to shift them as circumstances required, or to cut them away in case of our failure. About three we got one of our six-pounder carronades to bear upon the schooner, loaded with double grape, cannister, and 100 musket-balls, which was fired at the moment the enemy was making a second desperate attempt to board, and killed and wounded a great number. Soon after this I embraced the opportunity, in turn, with 5 men, and succeeded in driving the enemy from his quarters, and about 4 o'clock the schooner was completely in our possession. She is named the Jeune Richard, mounting 6 6-pounders, and 1 long 18-pounder, having on board at the commencement of the action 92 men, of which 21 were found dead on the decks, and 33 wounded. From the very superior numbers of the enemy still remaining, it was necessary to use every precaution in securing the prisoners. I was obliged to order them up from below one by one, and place them in their own irons as they came up, as three of our little crew were killed, and 10 severely wounded, the mizen-mast and main-yard carried away, and the rigging fore and aft much damaged. It is my duty to mention to you, sir, that the crew of the packet, amounting at first to only 28 men and boys, supported me with the greatest gallantry during the whole of this arduous contest. I have the honour to be, &c.

W. Rogers, acting captain.

National Debt, &c.—An account showing what has been redeemed of the national debt, the land tax, and imperial loan, to the 1st of November, 1807.

	£.
Redeemed by annual millions, &c. - -	66,968,178
Do. by 11 per cent. per ann. on loans	61,622,815
Do. by land-tax -	22,942,813
Do. by 11 per cent. per ann. imp. loan -	814,723
Total - - -	152,348,529

The sum to be expended in the ensuing quarter is 2,529,224*l.* 15*s.* 5*d.*

30.—The earl of Stanhope's model of a ship of war was launched into the Thames, and an experiment made as to her powers of sailing. The noble earl, accompanied by sir Roger Curtis and capt. Hamilton, went on board the vessel at 12 o'clock, and she was steered by Mr. Warren. She sailed up the river under one sprit-sail, until she came to Chelsea Reach. Another sail of the same description and a jib were then hoisted, and she was worked about on several tacks close to the wind; then with the wind upon the beam; after that upon the quarter; and, lastly, before the wind. She did not appear entirely to answer the expectation of the noble inventor, and the design may be capable of further improvement. But a number of row-boats crowded round,

for the purpose of gazing at the stranger; this prevented the free operation of the wind and water upon the newly-invented vessel; and, in fact, it might be said, that owing to this circumstance she had not altogether a fair trial. This vessel is sharper than the former one. She measures 21 feet from stem to stern, and six across the beam: the straight lines in the side of this are extended to a greater length than those in the other, and turn off in what seamen term a very clean manner, both fore and aft; each end is as sharp as a wedge. But, from the circumstance of her bow at each end, as it may be called (for she is calculated to sail with either end foremost), having too great a shoulder, instead of turning off round as others do, she will be liable, in case of a strong current of sea coming on her weather-bow, to make more leeway than even a Dutch galliot would do. That, however, may be readily altered in the construction of others of the same general design.

31.—Between five and six o'clock in the morning a house, in Frederick-street, Hampstead-road, was heard to give way by a person living in the lower part of it: he immediately gave the alarm to the other lodgers, who had scarcely time to escape into the street, with their clothes in their hands, before the house fell to the ground.

The LONDON GENERAL BILL *of*

CHRISTENINGS *and* BURIALS *from* December 16, 1806, to December 15, 1807.

Christened	Males 9812 / Females 9604	In all, 19416	Buried	Males 9296 / Females 9038	In all, 18334	Increased in Burials	396

Died under 2 years	5443	20 and 30 -	1160	60 and 70 -	1507	100 - 0	104 - 0
Between 2 and 5	2010	30 and 40 -	1883	70 and 80 -	1158	101 - 1	105 - 0
5 and 10	737	40 and 50 -	1677	80 and 90 -	462	102 - 1	110 - 0
10 and 20	581	50 and 60 -	1665	90 and 100 -	49	103 - 0	115 - 0

DISEASES,							
Abortive, Still born	481	Dropsy	790	Mortification	210	Worms	5
Abscess	50	Evil	4	Palsy	106	CASUALTIES.	
Aged	1424	Fevers of all kinds	1033	Palpitation of the Heart	1	Bit by Mad Dogs	2
Ague	1	Fistula	3	Pleurisy	32	Broken Limbs	2
Apoplexy & sudden	242	Flux	8	Purples	1	Bruised	1
Asthma & Phthisic	523	French Pox	26	Quinsy	4	Burnt	36
Bedridden	2	Gout	32	Rheumatism	5	Drowned	111
Bile	3	Gravel, Stone, and Strangury	10	Rising of the Lights	1	Excessive Drinking	9
Bleeding	22	Grief	10	Small Pox	1297	Executed *	5
Bursten & Rupture	13	Headmouldshot, Horse-shoe-head, and Water in the Head	209	Sore Throat	4	Found Dead	13
Cancer	83	Jaundice	29	Sores and Ulcers	12	Fractured	1
Canker	2	Jaw Locked	5	St. Anthony's Fire	3	Frighted	4
Chicken Pox	3	Impasthume	2	Spasm	12	Killed by Falls and several other Accidents	101
Childbed	164	Inflammation	632	St. Vitus's Dance	1	Killed themselves	45
Colds	10	Lethargy	5	Stoppage in the Stomach	14	Murdered	2
Colick, Gripes, &c.	14	Livergrown	19	Swelling	3	Poisoned	1
Consumption	4964	Lunatic	135	Teeth	322	Scalded	8
Convulsions	3994	Measles	452	Thrush	43	Suffocated	11
Cough, and Hooping-Cough	489	Miscarriage	8	Tumour	1		
Croup	57			Vomiting and Loosenes	3	Total	352
Diabetes	1						

* There have been executed in the city of London and County of Surry 13; of which number 5 only have been reported to be buried (as such) within the bills of mortality.

BIRTHS

BIRTHS *in the year* 1807.

Jan. 3. The lady of viscount Anson, a daughter.

16. The lady of Charles Watkin Williams Wynne, esq. M. P. a daughter.

—. The marchioness Cornwallis, of her fifth daughter.

23. The lady of rear admiral Sotheby, a daughter.

25. Mrs. Ellis, of two sons and a daughter.

29. Lady Grey, a son.

Feb. 2. Duchess of Montrose, a son.

3. The lady of sir Arthur Wellesley, a son and heir.

10. Duchess of Bedford, a son.

13. Countess of Moira, a son.

14. The hon. Mrs. G. Mundy, a daughter.

March 10. Lady Amherst, a son.

—. Viscountess Bantry, a son.

—. Mrs. Gurney, a son.

20. Mrs. Jordan, a daughter.

April 3. Viscountess Andover, a daughter.

—. Lady Dunboyne, a son.

20. Lady of J. F. Simpson, esq. a daughter.

27. Lady Gertrude Sloane, a son.

30. Countess Berkeley, a daughter.

May 2. Lady Stanley, a daughter.

5. Lady A. A. Cooper, a son.

7. Lady J. Buchanan, a son.

10. Lady C. Forester, a son.

17. The lady of the right hon. S. Perceval, a son.

21. The duchess of Castries, a son.

26. Lady Kenyon, a daughter.

—. Lady of sir George Barlow, a son.

28. Mrs. D. Cameron, two daughters and a son.

June 16. Countess Banbury, a son.

21. Countess Barde, a son.

25. The lady of Arnold Wainewright, a son.

26. The duchess of Rutland, a son and heir.

July 4. The hon. Mrs. Ramsay, a daughter.

12. Lady Milton, a daughter.

18. The countess of Mansfield, a daughter.

—. Viscountess Marsham, a daughter.

Aug. 5. Lady Le Despenser, a son.

9. Viscountess Arbuthnot, a daughter.

11. Lady C. Lamb, a son.

22. Lady Caroline Wrottesley, a son.

Sept. 3. The lady of sir Walter Brisco, a son.

11. The lady of lord viscount Stuart, a son and heir.

—. Lady Charlotte Hope, a son.

—. The countess of Shannon, a daughter.

23. The lady of sir S. R. Glynne, a son.

Oct. 4. Hon. Mrs. Buchanan, a daughter.

24. Lady Foley, a daughter.

29. Lady Frances Bentinck, a son.

Nov. 4. The lady of sir Christopher Baynes, a son.

6. Lady Caroline Douglas, a daughter.

16. Lady C. Duncombe, a daughter.

25. The lady of sir William Fraser, a daughter, her sixteenth child.

—. Viscountess Hereford, a son and heir.

Dec. 1. The lady of sir Wm. Call, bart. a daughter.

5. The lady of sir G. Nugent, a son.

9. The lady of sir James Duff, a daughter.

13. The

13. The lady of sir T. S. M. Stanley, a daughter.

23. The countess of Galloway, a son.

27. The lady of William Henry Hoare, esq. a son.

30. The lady of Rowland Bardon, esq. a daughter.

MARRIAGES *in the year* 1807.

Jan. 1. Dr. Paley, to miss Paley.

8. Marmaduke Constable, esq. to miss Hale.

20. The hon. col. Ponsonby, to the hon. miss Fitzroy.

—. Henry Hallam, esq. to miss Elton.

24. G. L. Hollinsworth, esq. to miss Stokes.

Feb. 3. Robert Inglis, esq. to miss Biscoe.

4. Sir Daniel Fleming, to miss Fleming.

10. W. H. Hoare, esq. to miss Noel.

17. Lord Bagot, to lady Louisa Legge.

18. Thomas Paget, esq. to miss Pares.

March 9. E. B. Lusada, esq. to miss Goldsmid.

10. Charles Combe, esq. to miss P. Georges.

17. Capt. Stuart, to miss Anson.

18. Philip Gibbs, esq. to miss Knipe.

30. S. T. Galton, esq. to miss Darwin.

April 4. William Phillimore, esq. to miss Thornton.

13. Major Fraser, to miss Roland.

17. The hon. G. Ponsonby, to miss Gledstanes.

23. R. Stephenson, esq. to miss Stephenson.

April 29. E. D. Temple, esq. to miss Honeywood.

May 5. The hon. colonel Crewe, to miss Hungerford.

8. Robert Fraser, esq. to lady Maitland.

10. Lord Chartley, to miss Gardner.

19. Rev. J. Bayland, to miss Clarke.

22. D. R. Remington, esq. to miss Copland.

23. Robert Townley, esq. to miss Newing.

June 1. Lord Robert Tottenham, bishop of Killaloe, to the hon. Alicia Maude.

4. Richard Chambers, esq. to miss Harriet Newman.

9. Col. Aylmer, to miss Harrison.

11. John Thornton, esq. to miss Eliza Parry.

16. Rev. Alexander Cotton, to miss Houblon.

23. Henry Drummond, esq. to lady Henrietta Hay.

July 1. Rev. Herbert Marsh, to miss M. E. C. Lecarriere.

9. Hon. F. G. Upton, to miss Howard.

13. Hon. L. M. Burrel, to miss Daniell.

16. Hon. D. G. Hallyburton, to miss Leslie.

18. The duke of Newcastle, to miss Munday.

—. William Cavendish, esq. to the hon. miss O'Callagan.

29. Rev. Robert Cox, to miss Leycester.

Aug. 11. Hon. J. W. Grinstone, to lady C. Jenkinson.

27. Wm. Tooke, esq. to miss Amelia Sheen.

Sept. 15. Wm. Domville, esq. to miss Maria Solly.

24. Capt. Bettesworth, to lady Hannah Grey.

Oct. 12. Hon. James Wandesford Buster, to the hon. miss Staples.

15. Hon.

15. Hon. and rev. Frederick Powis, to miss Gould.

—. Lord Rancliffe, to lady Elizabeth Mary Forbes.

19. Robert Shaw, esq. to Alice, the fifth daughter of Jonathan Eade, esq.

20. Hon. Peter Robert Burrell, to the hon. miss Drummond.

30. Lord Monson, to lady Sarah Saville.

Nov. 12. John Harrison, esq. to Lucy Henrietta, second daughter of sir Charles Price.

14. John Brent, esq. to Susannah, third daughter of the rev. Sampson Kingsford.

25. Edward Sampson, esq. to Joanna, youngest daughter of the late George Daubenny.

—. The earl of Selkirk, to miss Wedderburn.

26. George Moore, esq. to miss Brown.

Dec. 1. George Halimand, esq. to miss Princess.

12. The earl of Craven, to miss Louisa Brunton.

17. Rev. George Shepherd, to miss Wetheral, daughter of the dean of Hereford.

31. Rev. T. G. Clare, to Harriet, youngest daughter of the rev. A. Daniell.

DEATHS *in the year* 1807.

Dec. 29, 1806. His grace the duke of Richmond.

31. Mrs. Percy, wife of the bishop of Dromore.

—. Jeremiah Curtis, esq.

Jan. 5. 1807. Samuel Solly, esq. F.R.S. and S.A.

6. William Newdick, esq.

7. Lady Head.

10. Alderman Price.

—. Lord Miltown.

12. Sir Stephen Lushington.

14. The earl of Gosford.

15. Hollis Edward, esq.

—. Lady Hesketh.

20. Sir Richard Hetley, knt.

22. James Simmons, esq. M. P.

24. William Chivers, esq. (murdered by his gardener.)

Feb. 5. Gen. Pascal Paoli.

6. Lady Ashhurst.

8. The baroness Dufferin and Chaneboye.

—. John Symmonds, LL. D.

21. Marchioness of Ely.

26. Rev. Thomas Urwick.

—. Viscount Hawarden.

March 4. Lord Carbery.

7. Countess of Wicklow.

17. Mr. John Pridden.

—. Countess of Mayo.

26. Viscountess Lifford.

—. Dr. Hulme, F.R.S.

28. Rev. William Disney, D. D.

31. Mrs. Vassall.

April 2. Rev. Robert Burnaby.

3. Earl Cadogan.

9. John Opie, esq. R. A.

12. Rev. Joseph Thistlethwaite.

16. Edward King, esq. F. R. S. and S. A.

25. Sir James W. Lake.

—. The earl of Ross.

—. The rev. George Walker, F.R.S.

26. Lady E. A. Magenis.

29. Sir H. D. Massey, bart.

May 6. J. P. Hankey, esq.

15. Lady Charlotte Wingfield.

17. Sir Thos. Louis, admiral of the white.

18. Duke Montpensier.

—. The rt. hon. lady Walpole.

20. The earl of Shannon.

26. Nicholas Bond, esq.

31. Lady A. M. Pelham Cotton.

June 2. Randolph Marriott, esq.

5. Sir Boyle Roche, bart.

11. John Walrad, count de Welderen.

July 6. Timothy Lane, esq.

11. George Atwood, esq.

13. Lady Southampton.

18. Rev.

18. Rev. Thomas Jones.
24, Lady Frederick Campbell.
30. Lord Bolton.
Aug. 4. Sarah baroness Waterpark.
8. Hon. Mrs. Barrington.
15. Catherine baroness Howard.
23. Maria duchess of Gloucester.
Sept. 5. The earl of Scarborough.
11. Sir William Staines, knt. alderman of London.
12. Ed. Miller, Mus. D.
14. The most noble marquis of Townshend.
19. Rear admiral John Robinson.
26. Sir Wharton Amcotts.
Oct. 2. Rev. John Sturges, D. D.
—. Sir Brook Watson.
12. Thomas Wynn, lord Newborough.
17. The rev. Edw. Thymewell Brydges, late claimant to the barony of Chandos.
23. Wm. Mackrett, esq.
Nov. 3. Dr. Markham, lord archbishop of York.
5. Sir Wm. H. Ashhurst, knt. late one of the justices of the court of King's Bench.
13. Sir John Smith, bart. F.R.S. and S. A.
14. Right hon. Charles, earl Grey.
20. Viscountess Irwin.
21. Abraham Newland, esq.
Dec. 2. Tryphena, dowager countess Bathurst.
3. Miss Clara Reeve.
4. John Bourmaster, rear admiral of the blue.
5. Dr. Willis, the celebrated physician in cases of insanity.
7. Rev. G. H. Drummond, drowned in a voyage to Greenock.
18. Lady Frances Tollemache.
19. Rev. Dr. Richards, vice chancellor of Oxford.
20. Francis Stephens, esq.
25. Brownlow, lord Brownlow.
26. Emma countess dowager of Mount Edgecombe.

PROMOTIONS *in the year* 1807.

Queen's palace. Jan. 14. His grace Charles duke of Norfolk sworn lord lieutenant of the county of Sussex, *vice* the duke of Richmond, dec.

Downing-street, Jan. 14. Alexander Straton, esq. appointed his majesty's envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary at the court of Stockholm.——William Wellesley Pole, esq. to be his majesty's secretary of embassy at the sublime Ottoman Porte.

Whitehall, Jan. 14. Rev. Charles Moss, D.D. one of the canons-residentiary of St. Paul's cathedral, recommended, by *congé d'elire*, to be elected bishop of Oxford, *vice* Dr. John Randolph, translated to the see of Bangor.

Whitehall, Jan. 10. Gen. Hugh duke of Northumberland, appointed colonel of the royal regiment of horse-guards, *vice* the duke of Richmond, dec.

Whitehall, Jan. 27. Rev. John Chappel Woodhouse, M. A. recommended by his majesty to be chosen dean of Litchfield cathedral *vice* Dr. Baptist Proby, dec.——Thomas Tod, esq. advocate, appointed one of the four commissaries of Edinburgh, *vice* Andrew Balfour, esq. resigned.—Andrew Duncan, jun. esq. appointed professor of medical jurisprudence and medical police to the university of Ediburgh.

Whitehall, Feb. 7. Rev. Thomas Hughes, M. A. recommended by the king to be elected a canon-residentiary of the cathedral church of St. Paul, London, *vice* Dr. Charles Moss, promoted to the see of Oxford.—James Moncrief, esq. advocate, appointed sheriff-depute of

of the shires of Clackmannan and Kinross, *vice* David Moneypenny and David Williamson, esqrs. resigned; the former on being appointed sheriff-depute of the shire of Fife, and the latter to be sheriff-depute of Stirling.

Whitehall Feb. 14. Rev. Charles Henry Hall, D. D. appointed regius professor of divinity in the university of Oxford, and canon of Christ Church, in the said university, properly belonging to the regius professor of the said university, both *vice* Dr. John Randolph, bishop of Bangor, resigned.—Rev. Samuel Smith, appointed canon of the said church, *vice* Hall, resigned.—Rev. William Douglas, M.A. appointed prebendary of St. Peter, Westminster, *vice* rev. Thomas Hughes, resigned.

Whitehall, March 5. Harford Jones, esq. resident of the East India company at Bagdad, and member of the Ottoman order of the crescent, of the second class, permitted to receive and wear the ensigns of the superior class of the said order, lately conferred on him by the Grand Signior, as a mark of his further favour.

Whitehall, March 7. Right hon. Char. Arbuthnot, ambassador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary at the Sublime Porte, permitted to accept and wear the insignia of the Ottoman imperial order of the crescent, conferred on him by the Grand Signior.

Whitehall, March 14. Sir Edmund Stanley, appointed recorder of his majesty's court of judicature in Prince of Wales's island, in the East Indies.—Right hon. Thomas earl of Elgin and Kincardine, to be his majesty's lieutenant and sheriff-principal of Fifeshire.

Downing-street, March 14. Francis Kienitz, esq. to be his majesty's consul in the duchy of Courland.

Whitehall, March 20. James Wylie, esq. counsellor of state, and first surgeon to his imperial majesty the emperor of Russia, and inspector-general of his armies and military hospitals for the medical department, permitted to receive and bear the insignia of the order of St. Wolodemir; and also Hen. Fanshawe, esq. knight of the Russian military order of St. George, and holding a distinguished command in the Russian army.

Whitehall, March 21. John Paterson, esq. appointed treasurer to the governors of the bounty of queen Anne.

Queen's palace, March 25. John earl of Westmorland, K. G. sworn keeper of the privy seal.—Right hon. Robert Banks lord Hawkesbury, the right hon. Robert Stewart (commonly called viscount Castlereagh), and the right hon. George Canning, sworn his majesty's principal secretaries of state.

Queen's palace, March 26. John Jefferies earl Camden, K. G. declared lord president of the privy council.—Right hon. Spencer Perceval, chancellor and under-treasurer of his majesty's exchequer, and the right hon. Robert Dundas, sworn of the privy council.—Henry earl Bathurst, appointed president of the committee of privy council appointed for the consideration of all matters relating to trade and to foreign plantations.

Whitehall, March 27. Philip d'Auvergne prince de Bouillon, rear-admiral of the blue, permitted to receive and wear the ensigns of knight grand commander of the equestrian, secular, and capitular order of St. Joachim, of Erlangen.

Whitehall, March 28. Archibald Colquhoun, esq. advocate, appointed his majesty's advocate in Scotland.—George earl of Galloway,

to be lieutenant and sheriff-principal of the shire of Wigtown; and Thomas earl of Selkirk, of the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, in Scotland.

Queen's palace, March 30. Right hon. sir James Pulteney, bart. sworn of the privy council.—Right hon. Spencer Perceval, sworn chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster.—Right hon. George Rose, in the absence of earl Bathurst, to be president of the committee of privy council appointed for the consideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations.

Whitehall, March 31. His grace William Henry duke of Portland, K. G. the right hon. Spencer Perceval, William Henry Cavendish Scott Bentinck, esq. (commonly called marquis of Tichfield), the hon. William Eliot, and William Sturges Bourne, esq. appointed commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of his majesty's exchequer.—Right hon. Spencer Perceval, to be chancellor and under treasurer of his majesty's exchequer.—Lieut.-gen. John earl of Chatham, K. G. appointed master-general of his majesty's ordnance of the united kingdom.—The hon. William Wellesley Pole to be clerk, Mark Singleton, esq. storekeeper, and the hon. Cropley Ashley to be clerk of the deliveries, of the ordnance of the united kingdom.—Right hon. lieut.-gen. sir James Pulteney, bart. appointed his majesty's secretary at war.

Whitehall, March 31. William Smyth, esq. of Peter-house college, Cambridge, appointed professor of Modern History in that university *vice* Symonds, dec.

Queen's palace, April 1. Right hon. John lord Eldon, sworn lord high chancellor of Great Britain.—His grace Charles duke of Richmond, sworn of the privy council, and declared lieutenant-general and general-governor of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland.

Whitehall, April 3. Joseph Hunt, esq. appointed treasurer of the ordnance.

Whitehall, April 4. Rt. hon. William viscount Lowther, created earl of Lonsdale, co. Westmoreland.—His grace James duke of Montrose, K. T. appointed master of the horse to his majesty.—Right hon. Henry baron Mulgrave; James Gambier, esq. admiral of the blue; sir Richard Bickerton, bart. vice-admiral of the white; William-Johnstone Hope, and Robert Ward, esqrs.; the right hon. Henry-John viscount Palmerston; and James Buller, esq.; appointed his majesty's commissioners for executing the office of high admiral of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the dominions, islands, and territories thereunto belonging.—Right hon. Robert Dundas; right hon. John Jefferies earl Camden, K. G. president of his majesty's council; right hon. Robert Banks lord Hawkesbury; right hon. Henry Robert Stewart (commonly called viscount Castlereagh;) and the right hon. George Canning, his majesty's three principal secretaries of state; his grace William Henry-Cavendish duke of Portland, K. G. first commissioner of his majesty's treasury; right hon. Spencer Perceval, chancellor and under-treasurer of his majesty's exchequer; George Percy, esq. (commonly called lord Lovaine); right hon. John baron Teignmouth; right hon. Thomas Wallace; and George Johnstone, esq.; to be his majesty's commissioners for the management of the affairs of India.

Whitehall, April 7. Charles Brisbane, esq. captain in the royal navy,

navy, knighted by letters patent under the great seal.

Queen's palace, April 8. Right hon. Henry viscount Melville, right hon. John lord Teignmouth, and right hon. major-general sir Arthur Wellesley, K. B. sworn of his majesty's privy council.

Downing-street, April 10. Hugh Elliot, esq. appointed captain-general and governor in chief of the island of Barbadoes, in America; William Lukin, esq. captain-general and governor in chief of the island of Dominica; sir James Cockburn, bart. governor and commander in chief of the island of Curaçoa; and John Holloway, esq. vice-admiral of the red, governor and commander in chief of the island of Newfoundland.

Whitehall, April 11. Right hon. Charles William Montagu Scott (commonly called earl of Dalkeith), summoned to the house of peers, by the style and title of baron Tynedale, of Tynedale, co. Northumberland; and the right hon. George Gordon (commonly called marquis of Huntley), by the style and title of baron Gordon, of Huntley, co. Gloucester.——His grace Alexander duke of Gordon, K. T. appointed keeper of the great seal of Scotland.—Right hon. George Rose, to be treasurer of his majesty's navy.

Foreign-office, April 11. Right hon. Granville Leveson Gower (commonly called lord Granville Leveson Gower), appointed his majesty's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary at the court of St. Petersburg.

Whitehall, April 11. Rev. Cunningham Burnside, presented to the church and parish of Dunscore, in the presbytery and county of Dumfries; and rev. W. Macrae, to the church and parish of Kilcarnan, in the presbytery of Chanonry, and county of Ross, *vice* Denorn, dec.

Whitehall, April 14. Sir Thomas Manners Sutton, knt. one of the barons of his majesty's court of exchequer, created baron Manners, of Foston, co. Lincoln.

Foreign-office, April 15. The earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, K. G. appointed his majesty's plenipotentiary at the court of Vienna.

Queen's palace, April 15. Thomas Plomer, esq. his majesty's solicitor-general, knighted.

Whitehall, April 16. Admiral lord Collingwood, and his descendants, permitted to bear, in commemoration of the glorious victory off Cape Trafalgar, in which his lordship was second in command, the following honourable augmentation to the arms of the family of Collingwood, viz. A chief wavy, thereon a lion passant guardant and navally crowned, with the word TRAFALGAR; and also, in addition to the family crest, the crest following, viz. The stern of a man of war, representing that of the Royal Sovereign (being the ship which bore his lordship's flag in the said brilliant action), between a branch of laurel and a branch of oak.

Queen's palace, April 22. Right hon. Thomas lord Manners, lord high chancellor of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, sworn of the privy council.—Jonathan Miles, esq. and James Branscomb, esq. knighted.

Foreign-office, April 23. Right hon. sir Arthur Paget, K. B. appointed his majesty's plenipotentiary at the Sublime Porte.

Whitehall, April 25. Right hon. Francis lord Napier, appointed his majesty's high commissioner to the general assembly of the church of Scotland.—Mr. William

liam Oliver, jun. advocate, to be sheriff-depute of the shire of Roxburgh, *vice* his father, resigned.

Whitehall, May 9. David Boyle, esq. advocate, appointed his majesty's solicitor-general in Scotland.—John Hay Forbes, esq. advocate, appointed sheriff-depute of the shire of Perth, *vice* Colquhoun.

Queen's palace, May 13. Rt. hon. Richard earl of Clancarty, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.—Jonah Barrington, esq. LL. D. judge of the high court of admiralty in Ireland, knighted.

Queen's palace, May 20. Right hon. Henry Pierrepont, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

Whitehall May 23. Right hon. George earl of Crawford, appointed lieutenant and sheriff-principal of Fifeshire.

Whitehall, May 30. Right rev. Dr. John Fisher, bishop of Exeter, translated to the see of Salisbury, *vice* Douglas, dec.

Foreign-office, Downing-street, June 1. Right hon. J. Hookham Frere, appointed his majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Prussia; and George Jackson, esq. to be his majesty's secretary of legation at that court.

Whitehall, July 11. Right rev. Dr. George Pelham, bishop of Bristol, translated to the see of Exeter, *vice* Dr. Fisher, promoted to that of Salisbury.

Admiralty-office, June 27. Hon. William Wellesley Pole, appointed by the lords commissioners of the admiralty, their first secretary, *vice* William Marsden, esq. retired.

Whitehall, July 21. Hon. Cropley Ashley Cooper, appointed clerk of the ordnance of the united kingdom; and Thomas Thoroton, esq. clerk of deliveries of the ordnance thereof.

Whitehall, Aug. 4. Rev. Edward Christopher Dowdeswell, D. D. and rector of Standford-Rivers, co. Essex, presented to the rectory of Langham, in the said county, void by the translation of Dr. Fisher, bishop of Exeter, to the see of Salisbury, *vice* Douglas, dec.

Whitehall, Aug. 11. Right hon. James earl of Malmesbury, K. B. to be lord-lieutenant of the county of Southampton, and of the town of Southampton and county of the same; and James Edward Harris, esq. (commonly called viscount Fitz-Harris), appointed governor and captain of the Isle of Wight, and governor of Carisbrook castle, in the said isle; all *vice* lord Bolton, dec.

Whitehall, Aug. 15. Rev. John Luxmore, D. D. dean of Gloucester, recommended, by *congé d'elire*, to be elected bishop of Bristol, *vice* bp. Pelham, translated to the see of Exeter.—His grace Charles duke of Richmond, appointed high steward of the city of Chichester, *vice* his uncle, dec.—Adam Duff, esq. advocate, to be sheriff-depute of the shire of Forfar, *vice* Chalmers, resigned.—Mr. Robert Haldane, appointed professor of mathematicks in the university of St. Andrew's, *vice* Vilant, dec.—Mr. John Halkett, preacher of the gospel, presented to the church and parish of Cupar of Angus, in the presbytery of Meigle, and county of Perth, *vice* Mr. Charles Reay, dec.

Queen's palace, Aug. 19. Lieut.-general sir James Henry Craig, K. B. sworn captain-general and governor in chief of the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the islands of Prince Edward and Cape Breton.—Right hon. Henry lord Mulgrave

Mulgrave, sworn lord-lieutenant of the east riding of the county of York.

Whitehall, Aug. 22. Harford Jones, esq. of Boultibrooke, co. Hereford, created a baronet.

Whitehall, Aug. 25. Sir William-Sidney Smith, knt. commander and grand cross of the royal Swedish military order of the sword, and rear-admiral of the blue squadron of his majesty's fleet, permitted to accept and wear the grand cross of the order of St. Ferdinand and of merit, conferred upon him by the king of the Two Sicilies.

Whitehall, Sept. 5. Sir John Stuart, bart. appointed one of the barons of his majesty's court of exchequer in Scotland, *vice* sir John Dalrymple, bart. resigned; and sir George Abercrombie, bart. to be clerk for the admission of notaries, in Scotland, *vice* Stuart resigned.

Whitehall, Sept. 15. His grace William Henry Cavendish, duke of Portland, K. G.; the right hon. Spencer Perceval; the right hon. John Foster, chancellor of his majesty's exchequer of Ireland; the hon. William Eliot; William Sturges Bourne, esq.; and the hon. Richard Ryder; appointed commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of his majesty's exchequer.

Whitehall, Sept. 15. A. M. Holdsworth, esq. appointed governor of Dartmouth castle, *vice* Arthur Holdsworth, esq. dec.

Queen's palace, Sept. 16. George Collier, esq. captain in the royal navy, knighted.

Whitehall, Sept. 19. Rev. John Pitman, student in civil law, presented to the vicarage of Brode Hompton, co. Devon, *vice* rev. John Pitman, M. A. resigned.—Rev. Alexander Crosbie, presented to the church and parish of Bintle, in the presbytery and stewartry of Kirkcudbright, *vice* Mr. Geo. Maxwell, dec.

War-office, Sept. 22. Gen. Gerard lord Lake, appointed governor of Plymouth, *vice* the earl of Chatham, promoted to the government of Jersey, *vice* marquis Townshend, dec.—Lieut.-gen. William Loftus, of the 24th light dragoons, to be governor of Dumbarton, *vice* lord Lake.

Admiralty-office, Oct. 2. Captains John Hunter, esq.; Francis Pender, esq.; William Albany Otway, esq.; George Lumsdaine, esq.; sir Samuel Hood, K. B.; Henry Nichols, esq.; Herbert Sawyer, esq.; Davidge Gould, esq.; and Richard Goodwin Keats, esq.; to be rear-admirals of the blue squadron of his majesty's fleet.

Foreign-office, Oct. 3. Joseph-Charles Mellish, esq. appointed his majesty's secretary of legation at the court of his Sicilian majesty.

Whitehall, Oct. 3. Mr. John Maclellan, presented to the church and parish of Kelton, in the presbytery and stewartry of Kirkcudbright, *vice* Mr. Tho. Halliday, dec.

Admiralty-office, Oct. 6. William Lechmere, and Thomas Foley, esqrs. to be colonels of his majesty's royal marine forces, *vice* sir Samuel Hood, K. B. and Richard Goodwin Keats, esq. appointed flag-officers of his majesty's fleet.

Whitehall, Oct. 6. Thomas-Norton Powlett, esq. appointed one of the clerks of his majesty's signet, *vice* James Rivers, esq. dec.

Queen's palace, Oct. 14. Right hon. John earl of Chatham, K. G. sworn governor of the island of Jersey, *vice* the marquis Townshend, dec.

Whitehall, Oct. 31. Right hon.

Gerard baron Lake, general of his majesty's forces, created viscount Lake, of Delhi and Laswary, and of Aston Clinton, co. Buckingham.—Rev. James Wilson, presented to the church and parish of Abernyte, in the presbytery of Dundee, and county of Perth, *vice* Adamson, dec.

Whitehall, Nov. 3. Right hon. William baron Cathcart, K. T. and lieutenant-general of his majesty's forces, created baron Greenock of Greenock, co. Renfrew, and viscount Cathcart, of Cathcart, in the said county.—James Gambier, esq. admiral of the blue, created baron Gambier, of Iver, co. Buckingham.—Harry Burrard, of Lymington, co. Southampton, esq. lieutenant-general of his majesty's forces; Henry Edwin Stanhope, of Stanwell, co. Middlesex, esq. vice-admiral of the blue; and Thomas Blomefield, of Attleborough, co. Norfolk, esq. major-general of his majesty's forces; created baronets.

Carleton-house, Nov. 12. Dr. John Hunter, of Hill-street, Berkeley-square, appointed, by the prince of Wales, one of his royal highness's physicians extraordinary, *vice* Dr. William Fraser, dec.

Queen's palace, Nov. 25. Right hon. Richard Ryder, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council. George earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, K. G. sworn governor of the island of Guernsey, *vice* earl Grey, dec.

Foreign-office, Nov. 27. Hon. William Hill, appointed his majesty's envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to the court of Sardinia; and Joseph Smith, esq. to be secretary of legation at that court.

Whitehall, Nov. 28. His grace William Henry Cavendish, duke of Portland, K. G.; right hon. Spencer Perceval; right hon. John Foster, chancellor of his majesty's exchequer of Ireland; hon. William Brodrick; hon. William Eliot; and William Sturges Bourne, esq.; appointed commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of his majesty's exchequer.—Right hon. Richard Ryder, appointed advocate-general, or judge-marshal, of his majesty's forces, *vice* N. Bond, resigned.—Thomas Hume, esq. M.D. appointed, by the duke of Cambridge, one of his royal highness's physicians.

Dublin Castle, Nov. . . . . . Lord Henry Moore (*vice* the marquis of Drogheda, resigned), and William Bagwell, esq. appointed muster-master-general of Ireland.

Whitehall, Dec. 1. Right rev. Edward Venables Vernon, D. D. bishop of Carlisle, recommended, by *congé d'élire*, to be elected archbishop of York, *vice* Markham, dec.

Queen's palace, Dec. 9. Lieut.-colonel George Smith, of his majesty's 82d regiment of foot, knighted.

Whitehall, Dec. 9. Right hon. lord Glenbervie, appointed surveyor-general of the woods and forests.

Carleton-house, Dec. 9. Right hon. Gerard viscount Lake, appointed, by the prince of Wales, receiver-general of the revenues of his royal highness's duchy of Cornwall, *vice* Sheridan, resigned.

Foreign-office, Dec. 16. Edward Thornton, esq. appointed his majesty's envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to the court of Sweden; and Charles Oakely, esq. to be secretary of legation at that court.

Whitehall, Dec. 19. Osborn Markham, John Fisher, and Alexander Loraine, esqrs. appointed commissioners for the general superintendance

perintendance and management of the barrack department.

Foreign-office, Dec. 26. Lord viscount Strangford, appointed his majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to the court of her most faithful majesty the queen of Portugal.

Whitehall, Dec. 30. Sir Charles Brisbane, knt. a captain in the royal navy, and senior officer of the squadron of his majesty's ships to which the island of Curaçao and its dependencies surrendered on the 1st day of January last, permitted by his majesty, in consideration of his meritorious conduct on that occasion, to bear the following honourable augmentation to the armorial ensigns used by his family: *viz.* "A chief embattled, thereon a ship of war under sail, between two castles; and for crest, out of a naval crown, an arm embowed grasping a sword, and from the hand a medal suspended by a ribbon; motto, CURAÇAO; and for supporters, on the dexter side a British sailor, and on the sinister a British marine."

SHERIFFS *appointed by his majesty in council for the year* 1807.

Bedfordshire, Sir P. Monnoux, of Sandy, bart.

Berkshire, George Henry Crutchley, of Sunning-hill-park, esq.

Bucks, James Backwell Praed, of Tyringham, esq.

Cambridge, and Huntingdon, William Squire, of Knapwell, esq.

Cheshire, Francis Duckingfield Astley, of Duckingfield, esq.

Cumberland, J. Tomlinson of Briscoe-hill, esq.

Derbyshire, Sitwell Sitwell, of Renishall-hill, esq.

Devonshire, John Bulteel, of Fleet, esq.

Dorsetshire, Arthur Cozens, of Yatminster, esq.

Essex, William Matthew Raikes, of Walthamstow, esq.

Gloucestershire, C. Evans, of Highgrove, esq.

Herefordshire, Richard Salwey, of Brimfield-court, esq.

Hertfordshire, G. Caswell, of Sacomb Park, esq.

Kent, John Simpson, of Fairlawn, esq.

Lancashire, Richard Legh, of Shaw-hill, esq.

Leicestershire, Edward Dawson, of Whatton-house, esq.

Lincolnshire, Marmaduke Nelson Grayburne, of Barton, esq.

Monmouthshire, W. Partridge, of Monmouth, esq.

Norfolk, John Morse, of Mount Ida, esq.

Northamptonshire, T. Tryon, of Bulwick, esq.

Northumberland, Sir W. Blackett, of Matfen, esq.

Nottinghamshire, J. Langden, of Brancote Hills, esq.

Oxfordshire, William Hodges, of Bolney-court, esq.

Rutlandshire, William Shield, of Wing, esq.

Shropshire, W. Charlton, of Appley Castle, esq.

Somersetshire, Sir J. Hawkins, of Kelson, bart.

Southampton, David Lance, of Chisel, esq.

Staffordshire, John Lane, of King's Bromley, esq.

Suffolk, T. Mills, of Great Saxham, esq.

Surrey, James Newsome, of Wardsworth Lodge, esq.

Sussex, John Micklethwaite, of High Ridge, esq.

Warwicksh. Matthew Blackett Wise, of the Priory, Warwick, esq.

Wiltshire, T. Calley, of Burdrop, esq.

Worcestershire, Tho. Bland, of Ham Court, esq.

Yorkshire, Richard Fountayne Wilson, of Melton on the Hill, esq.

SOUTH WALES.

Brecon, Sackville Gwynne, of Tuymawr, esq.

Caermarthen, Sackville Gwynne, of Glanbrane, esq.

Pembroke, John Colby, of Fynore, esq.

Cardigan, T. Smith, of Foel Alt, esq.

Glamorgan, George Wynch, of Clemenstone, esq.

Radnor, Edm. Burton, of Llanbister, esq.

NORTH WALES.

Merioneth, Richard Henry Kenrick, of Ucheldren, esq.

Caernarvon, Hugh Rowlands, of Bodaden, esq.

Anglesea, Paul Panton, of Plas Gwyn, esq.

Montgomery, David Edward Lewis Lloy, of Maydog, esq.

Denbigh, Simon York, of Erthing, esq.

Flint, Samuel Mostyn, of Nantgwelun, esq.

SHERIFF *appointed by his royal highness the prince of Wales, in council, for* 1807.

Cornwall, Sir William Pratt Call, of Whiteford, bart.

PUBLIC

PUBLIC PAPERS.

ADDRESS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF HAYTI TO THE COMMERCE OF NEUTRAL NATIONS.

THE inhabitants of Hayti had scarcely delivered themselves from the French yoke, than they had another hydra to destroy, which they had nourished in their own bosom. Their whole attention is now turned to the cultivation of that valuable produce, which the mercantile part of Europe obtains at a great expense from the most distant countries. Our persevering industry has procured us a most abundant recompense for our laborious exertions. The riches of our soil offer a most pleasing prospect to our speculations. Our warehouses, filled with all the productions of the Antilles, only wait the arrival of your mercantile fleets, to make an exchange of the manufactures of which we stand in need, for those which you require. If a system unfavourable to the progress of commerce has hitherto interposed to prevent its success among us, that disastrous influence will shortly cease. The imposture is dissipated, the phantom has disappeared, and all the illusions that hovered round it are dispersed. So far is our government, in its present regenerated state, from opposing the freedom of commerce in our ports, that it offers facilities to you which cannot be granted by any other government. It is of no consequence under what colours you may appear: the protection of your property, the security of your persons, and a rigid maintenance of the laws in every thing that relates to you, are guarantied on the faith of government. Solid regulations, and dictated by wisdom —duties arranged in proportion to the difficulties you may experience in gaining our ports, are equitably collected; great dispatch in expediting your vessels; with men of integrity in the direction of the public offices. Such are the changes on which you may have a perfect reliance. The government is firmly persuaded, that, where a reciprocal advantage does not prevail, there can be no commerce. It has already directed the suppression of exclusive consignments; of the tax on the price of articles; of the privileges granted for the sale of coffee, as well as the obligation to take cargoes of sugar, &c. Every one will be at liberty to sell and to buy on the conditions that he shall judge most for his advantage. Those regulations, produced by ignorance, will no longer offer impediments to your speculations: your confidence will no longer be forced in favour of individuals who were equally strangers to you, and to the welfare of their country. Your friends, your own particular factors, shall have the possession of your property; and the government engages to grant them all the pro-

tection which they can desire. The sanguinary horrors which have too notoriously marked the commencement of a cruel reign, will no more renew the sad spectacle of scenes that are past. Come with perfect confidence to traffic in our ports: come and exchange the fruits of your industry for our riches; and be persuaded, that you will never have cause to repent of a reliance on our promises.

At the same time, while the government is exciting all its efforts to procure you the advantages of a brilliant commerce, it requires of your agents the same loyalty and good faith which it will exercise towards you. It also expresses its hope, that the base conduct of the privateers of Louisiana will not be imitated, and that it will have no cause to regret that its too great confidence has been abused.

The ports are the Cape, Fort Dauphin, Port-de-Paix, the Gonaives, Saint Mark, Port-au-Prince, the Cayes, Jeremie, and Jacmel, where you may send your cargoes with the certainty of an advantageous return.

The well known exactness with which the government of Hayti acquits its engagements, is a solemn pledge for the execution of the treaties it may enter into with you. Notwithstanding the misfortunes which preceded our independence, and the disastrous wars which it necessarily produced, the means of government have never failed of keeping pace with its wants. Such is the astonishing extent of our resources, that even the vices of the preceding administration did not prevent the liquidation of all its contracts. Judge then what will now be our prospect as well as yours, when a wise œconomy shall take the place of prodigality, and that an equitable collection of the revenues will determine the rights of government as well as those of individuals. Haste then to come and avail yourselves of these favourable dispositions, which your connections with us will confirm more and more. Whatever may be the number of your vessels, whatever may be the extent of your speculations for our ports, entertain not the least apprehension that you will not acquire a certain profit. An abundant harvest, commodities already prepared, wait your coming, and the certainty of an immediate sale of your cargoes is assured to you.

Given at the Cape, October 24, 1806, in the third year of the independence of Hayti.

The chief of the government of Hayti, HENRY CHRISTOPHE.

By his excellency the secretary of the government,

RONANEZ the younger.

BY HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF PRUSSIA.

As inserted by authority in the gazette of Konigsberg, of the 1st December, 1806.

The battle of the 14th of October, notwithstanding the courageous efforts of his majesty's armies, has been so unfortunate for the Prussian arms, that the road to the capital, and even to the very heart of his majesty's dominions, has been left open to the enemy: the king was, therefore, induced to offer terms for an armistice, of which he had every reason to expect a cordial acceptance on the part of the enemy, as, in the midst of the battle, he received a letter from the emperor Napoleon, full of

of friendly expressions; but to this offer of the armistice the door of acceptance was shut, unless the king consented, as the basis of a peace, to certain sacrifices incompatible with his honour and dignity.

The king, who saw the full extent and magnitude of the misfortunes and dangers which unavoidably surrounded his faithful subjects, preferred an immediate and certain tranquillity to the remote and uncertain prospect of the return of the fortune of war in his favour: his majesty, therefore, immediately took the resolution of making such sacrifices, however great they might be, as were compatible with the interests of his throne, and accordingly sent the minister of state, the marquis Luchessini, as early as the 18th of October, with ample diplomatic powers, to the head quarters of the emperor and king Napoleon.—The sacrifices which the king had agreed to, on receiving the first dispatches from marquis Lucchessini (to whom, in order to accelerate the business, his majesty had sent major-general Zastrow), were so adequate to the advantages which the enemy by the fortune of a single day had gained, that so early as the 30th of October they were respectively acknowledged, and received as the basis of a treaty for peace, by the plenipotentiary, the grand marshal of the palace, Duroc: upon this basis the peace itself was to have been concluded without delay, and the king, on his own part, took all the necessary measures to provide that those conditions of peace should be punctually fulfilled, immediately after the signing of the preliminaries thereof. The emperor Napoleon, on the contrary, refused to put a stop to hostilities, and allowed his army not only to enjoy the advantages they already possessed, but to proceed in acquiring new conquests; and even all the provinces of the king on the Oder and the Warte, destitute of garrisons, were inundated with French troops, and thus these defenceless provinces felt all the horrors of war, as well as the capital.

At the head-quarters of the emperor, even four days after the acceptance of the conditions of peace, a seditious proclamation was printed, published, and distributed, intending to produce an insurrection, or disturbances and rebellion among the subjects of his majesty in South Prussia. Wherever the enemy's troops could find their way, the property of the king was taken possession of, the royal treasures were seized, and it was attempted to seduce the servants of his majesty from their lawful allegiance, and an oath was even tendered to them, whereby they were required to swear fealty to the enemy.

Those facts created a suspicion that the emperor was not serious in his intention of concluding a peace upon the basis already understood by the plenipotentiaries of both nations. The unceasing but ineffectual endeavours of the plenipotentiaries of the king, not to break off entirely the thread of communication between the two belligerent powers, proved clearly to his majesty that his suspicion was well grounded, more particularly as the positive declaration that the "emperor, knowing the situation in which Prussia has been placed since the unfortunate battle of the 14th, must take advantage

of that situation for the conclusion of his peace with England and Russia," leaves no doubt remaining with respect to the intentions of France.

After this the formally concluded basis for peace was entirely set aside, and instead of it an armistice was proposed on the part of the French, at the very moment when it was thought that the basis of a definitive peace had been settled, and each new advantage gained in the interim by the French, now increased the severity of the demands made upon Prussia.

After having indulged themselves in so many illusory hopes, the plenipotentiaries of the king at last thought themselves justified to conclude on the 16th of November the armistice hereafter inserted *verbatim*, in order to put a stop to the continually increasing demands of the enemy. This document was accompanied by the official declaration of the imperial minister for foreign affairs, M. Talleyrand, prince of Benevento, the contents of which prove more clearly than any thing that had gone before, that Prussia would only flatter herself in vain, if she cherished the most distant hope of a secure or lasting peace, notwithstanding the unheard-of sacrifices which the armistice imposed upon her.

But if the king himself even had indulged such a hope, it was no longer in his power to fulfil those conditions in that armistice with regard to the Russian armies, because, as the French troops during the negotiation had advanced even to the Vistula, his majesty was not in a situation to stop the march of the Russian armies, when their own frontiers were menaced by the enemy. Thus no choice was left to the king; he was obliged to refuse his ratification of the armistice which the grand marshal Duroc brought to his head-quarters at Osterode on the 22d of November.

If any alternative remained, it was one that implied the accomplishing of impossibilities, *viz.* to invite the cabinet of St. Petersburgh to unite with his majesty, and agree upon the basis of a negotiation with the emperor Napoleon for a general peace.

This has been done; and though there were but feeble hopes of the success of such an attempt, yet the king did not recall the marquis Luchessini from the head-quarters of the emperor and king.

During the time that the king was thus exhausting all the resources in his power to stop the shedding of human blood, he was nevertheless busily occupied in bringing forward all the means of resistance which God has given him.

While the fortresses, provided with ample means of defence, such as those of Stettin, Custrin, Magdeburg, &c., have been delivered up to the enemy in a most scandalous manner by their respective commanders, the other fortresses of the country, particularly those on the banks of the Vistula, have been now put in the best possible state of defence, and intrusted to the command of brave and honourable officers. The rest of the marching regiments, which were quartered or encamped near the Vistula and Warte, shall be united with a numerous well disciplined and brave army brought to the assistance of the king by his true friend and faithful ally the emperor Alexander.

While

While these united troops attack the enemy, a new and numerous army, which is begun to be collected, well disciplined, and equipped for war, shall follow their fellow soldiers to the field of glory. Above all, the king relies on the support of that people, who gloriously fought the battle in the seven years war against almost all Europe, and who did not despond nor waver in their allegiance to their monarch, even when the capital and the greatest part of the kingdom were in the possession of the enemy; his majesty looks with confidence to the support of that people who, upon that occasion, in the midst of unheard of perils and calamities, evinced an energy and firmness which has merited the applause of the present age, and secured them that of future generations.

At the present moment there are even greater calls upon our energies, than there were at the period of the above calamities. We now struggle for all that is dear and honourable to us as a nation, or sacred to humanity. To preserve the independence and existence of the nation alone the king took up arms: this the nation, nay, the whole world knows; and the enemy will not be able to deceive the people by the phantom of a pretended coalition, of the existence of which he cannot produce the least evidence.

In her former struggles in the seven years war, Prussia stood alone, or at least without any material assistance from any other power. She then stood up against the first powers in Europe. In the present struggle she can reckon upon the assistance of the powerful and magnanimous Alexander, who with his whole strength stands forward for the preservation of Prussia. Prussia in this great struggle has only one interest in common with Russia; both will stand and fall together. With such an intimate union of both powers in such a holy struggle against an enemy whose success has raised him to such a giddy height, that he knows no limits to his career, the issue of the struggle cannot long remain doubtful.

Perseverance in danger, according to the glorious example of our forefathers, can and will alone lead us on to victory.

[Here follows the Armistice concluded at Charlottenburg, on the 16th of November, 1806.]

NOTE of C. M. TALLEYRAND, prince of Benevento, delivered in after the armistice between France and Prussia was signed.

The undersigned minister for foreign affairs has received his imperial and royal majesty's commands, to declare to their excellencies the marquis Luchessini and the general Von Zastrow, plenipotentiaries of his majesty the king of Prussia, as follows:—

Four coalitions, of which the last has brought on the present war, were formed against France:—all four have been conquered: the victories which his imperial and royal majesty has gained over them, have subjected under his power very extensive dominions.—Thrice has France, actuated by a moderation unexampled in history, determined to give back the whole, or at least the greater part of her conquests, and has re-established princes upon their thrones, without any great diminution of that power which they had forfeited in consequence of the emperor's victories.—

Although

Although the emperor has thrice acted in this manner, yet he is willing once more to display his extraordinary moderation, though it might produce, before the lapse of ten years, even a fifth coalition.

In the course of those continually renewed wars, France, Spain, and Holland have lost their colonies. It is natural, it is just, that those countries which, by the laws of war, have come into the possession of the emperor, should serve as compensations for those colonies. But the most material injury which the fourth coalition has done to France, is, that the Porte has lost its independence. Wallachia and Moldavia were governed by two men who were justly deposed by the Porte; but she has been forced to reinstate them in their dignities by the threats of Russia; and those concessions on the part of the Porte may be reckoned as actual conquests by Russia: if, therefore, the total independence of the Porte ought to be a chief point to France, his majesty the emperor would lose the greatest advantage of his victories, if he were not to obtain the guarantee of the future independence of that power.—His imperial majesty, therefore, cannot in the least consent to the restoration of the conquered countries, until the full enjoyment of the rights of the Porte over Wallachia and Moldavia is acknowledged, and its total independence recognised and guarantied.

The undersigned has the honour to renew to their excellencies the marquis Luchessini, and the general Von Zastrow, the assurance of his high consideration.

C. M TALLEYRAND,
Prince of Benevento.

Berlin, Nov. 16, 1806.

The following proclamation was issued by the EMPEROR of RUSSIA.

Alexander, emperor &c.

Our manifesto of the 30th of August declared the situation of our affairs with the French government. At that period of our hostile situation, Prussia still formed a barrier between us and the French, who tyrannized over various parts of Germany. But, soon after, the fire of war blazed out in Prussia also; after various disasters and important losses on her part, our own dominions on the frontiers are now threatened by the flame. To Russians, accustomed to love the glory of their country, and to sacrifice every thing to it, it is unnecessary to explain how unavoidable these events have made the present war. Honour unsheathed our sword for the protection of our allies; how much more justly must it be drawn for the defence of our own safety! Before these events could approach our frontiers, we took, at an early period, every measure to be ready to meet them. Having, in good time, ordered our army to move beyond the frontier, we have now commissioned our general field marshal Kamenskoy to command it, and to act against the enemy with all the forces intrusted to him. We are assured, that all our faithful subjects will join us in fervent prayers to the Almighty, who directs the fate of states and the issue of battles, that he may take our righteous cause under his all-powerful protection; that his victorious strength and blessing may direct the Russian armies employed in repelling the general foe of Europe. We are confident that our faithful subjects of the government on the frontier will, in the present circum-

circumstances particularly, redouble the proofs of their attachment, and their zeal for the common good; and that, unshaken by fear or delusive promises, they will tread with firmness the same path in which, under the protection of the laws and of a mild government, they have hitherto enjoyed tranquillity and undisputed property, and shared in the universal prosperity of the whole empire. Lastly, we are confident that all the children of the land, relying on the help of God, on the valour of our troops, and on the known experience of their leader, will spare no sacrifice, no efforts, which patriotism and the safety of our country may demand.

St. Petersburg, Nov. 28. 1806.

General Kosciusko published an address to his countrymen, the principal parts of which are as follow:—

"Amidst the clangour of arms, which re-echoes from Poland, Kosciusko is about to join you. In the enterprise of the French, in their triumphs, and by their awful eagle hovering before them, you will distinguish those legions which display their courage in the four quarters of the globe, and in one campaign have dispersed the united force of two great empires, and have lately in one week annihilated the labour of a century, the work of Frederick, and the trophies of his old and celebrated generals.

"Dear countrymen and friends, who have proved yourselves to possess a degree of fortitude equal to our misfortunes; you who, banished from your native soil, have remained under a nation friendly to Poland; and you who, having become strangers in the heart of that country, nevertheless preserved the sense of glory, and the recollection of our brethren, arise; the great nation is before you: Napoleon expects, and Kosciusko calls you!

"I soon shall again behold the paternal earth which my arm defended; those fields which I have bathed with my blood; and with tears of joy I embrace those unfortunate friends whom I was not permitted to follow to the grave. Beloved and brave countrymen, whom I was compelled to abandon to the yoke of the conquerors, I have only lived to avenge your wrongs, and I now return to restore you to freedom. Sacred remains of my country! I hail you with transport, and embrace you with a sacred mania. I will join you never more to part. Worthy of the great man whose arm is extended towards you, worthy of the Poles who now hear my voice, I shall endeavour to establish a more splendid and stable basis; or, if the name of my native country amounted to no more with my fellow citizens than empty words, in this case I shall know how to avoid my disaster and your disgrace, by burying myself under the noble ruins of our aspiring fortune. But no, the good times of Poland have returned! Destiny has not led Napoleon and his invincibles to the shores of the Vistula without an object. We are under the ægis of the monarch who vanquishes difficulties as it were by a miracle, and the reanimation of Poland is too glorious a subject not to have been left by the eternal judge for him to achieve."

(Signed) Kosciusko.

Paris, Nov. 1.

NEUTRAL NATIONS.

Order of council relative to the commerce of neutral nations with the ports of France:

At the court at the Queen's palace, the 7th of January, 1807; present, the King's most excellent majesty in council:

Whereas the French government has issued certain orders, which, in violation of the usages of war, purport to prohibit the commerce of all neutral nations with his majesty's dominions; and also to prevent such nations from trading with any other country, in any articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of his majesty's dominions; and whereas the said government has also taken upon itself to declare all his majesty's dominions to be in a state of blockade, at a time when the fleets of France and her allies are themselves confined within their own ports, by the superior valour and discipline of the British navy; and whereas such attempts on the part of the enemy would give to his majesty an unquestionable right of retaliation, and would warrant his majesty in enforcing the same prohibition of all commerce with France, which that power vainly hopes to effect against the commerce of his majesty's subjects, a prohibition which the superiority of his majesty's naval forces might enable him to support, by actually investing the ports and coasts of the enemy with numerous squadrons and cruizers, so as to make the entrance or approach thereto manifestly dangerous: and whereas his majesty, though unwilling to follow the examples of his enemies, by proceeding to an extremity so distressing to all nations not engaged in the war, and carrying on their accustomed trade, yet feels himself bound by a due regard to the just defence of the rights and interests of his people, not to suffer such measures to be taken by the enemy, without taking some steps, on his part, to restrain this violence, and to retort upon them the evils of their own injustice; his majesty is thereupon pleased, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that no vessel shall be permitted to trade from one port to another, both which ports shall belong to, or be in the possession of, France or her allies, or shall be so far under their control, as that British vessels may not freely trade thereat; and the commanders of his majesty's ships of war and privateers shall be and are hereby instructed, to warn every neutral vessel coming from any such port, and destined to another such port, to discontinue her voyage, and not to proceed to any such port; and any vessel, after being so warned, or any vessel coming from any such port, after a reasonable time shall have been afforded for receiving information of this his majesty's order, which shall be found proceeding to another such port, shall be captured and brought in, and, together with her cargo, shall be condemned as lawful prize. And his majesty's principal secretaries of state, the lords commissioners of the admiralty, and the judges of the high court of admiralty, and courts of vice-admiralty, are to take the necessary measures herein as to them shall respectively appertain.

W. FAWKENER.

Return of the effective strength of the regular and militia forces, made

made out to the 1st of January, and laid before parliament.

Cavalry		22,652
Foot guards		8,090
Infantry		101,008
Garrison battalions		6,757
Veteran battalions		5,621
Foreign and local corps	Cavalry	72
	Infantry	19,561
German legion	Cavalry	547
	Infantry	7,858
At the army *depôt*	Cavalry	547
	Infantry	7,858
	General service, deserters, and unattached men	383
Total (Regular Army)		178,506
Militia	British	54,686
	Irish	21,573
General total		254,665
Abroad		86,144
At home		168,521

The supplies for Great Britain and Ireland, voted for the ensuing year, are,

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For the navy, exclusive of the extraordinaries	16,977,883
For the army	13,643,098
For the barrack department	975,687
For the commissary general's department	801,527
For ordnance	3,743,760
For miscellaneous service	7,866,000
Votes of credit	3,000,000

The amount of the annual expenses of Great Britain and Ireland is, therefore, nearly forty-seven millions for 1807.

TREATY OF PEACE

Between his majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, and his serene highness the elector of Saxony.

Art. I. From the day of the signing of the treaty, there shall be peace and perfect friendship between the emperor of the French, king of Italy, and protector of the confederation of the Rhine, on the one part, and his serene electoral highness the elector of Saxony on the other.

II. His electoral highness accedes to the treaty of confederation and alliance, concluded at Paris on the 12th of July in the present year: and by such accession he succeeds to all the privileges and obligations of the alliance, in the same way as if he were a principal contracting party to the said treaty.

III. His electoral highness will assume the title of king, and take his place in the college in the rank of kings, according to the order of his introduction.

IV. He cannot, without the previous consent of the confederation of the Rhine, in any case, or for any cause whatever, allow a passage through the kingdom of Saxony to any army, or corps, or detachment of troops, appertaining to a power not a party to the said confederation.

V. The laws and ordinances which define the several rites of the various forms of worship established in Germany, having been abolished by the effect of the dissolution of the ancient Germanic body, and moreover not being compatible with the principle upon which the confederation has been formed, the exercise of the catholic worship shall, throughout the whole kingdom of Saxony, be fully assimilated to the exercise of the Lutheran form of worship, and the followers of the two religions shall, without restriction, enjoy the same civil and political rights. This object is a particular condition with his majesty the emperor and king.

VI. His majesty the emperor of the French undertakes, that by the future treaty of peace with Prussia, the Cothuffer Creis, or circle of Cothus,

thus, shall be ceded to his majesty the king of Saxony.

VII. His majesty the king of Saxony cedes to such prince as shall be named by his majesty the emperor of the French, and in that part of Thuringia situated between the principalities of Etchfield and Erfurt, a territory equal in revenue and population to the circle of Cothus, which territory, serving as a point of union between the said principalities, shall be possessed by the said prince in full and entire sovereignty.—The limits of this territory shall be fixed by commissaries appointed for that purpose, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications.

VIII. The contingent of the kingdom of Saxony, in case of war, shall consist in the whole of 20,000 men.

IX. During the present campaign, considering what has happened, the contingent of the kingdom of Saxony shall be 15,000 cavalry, 4200 infantry, 300 artillery, and 12 pieces of cannon.

X. No contributions shall be levied after the signing of the present treaty.

XI. The present treaty shall be ratified, aud the ratification exchanged at Dresden, in the course of eight days.

Done at Posen Dec. 11, 1806.

(Signed) DUROC.

CHARLES, Count De Boze.

The following decree was published by the French emperor, dated at Posen, Dec. 15.

Napoleon, emperor of the French, &c.

We have decreed as follows:—

Article 1. All the English merchandize, or productions of the English colonies, which have been placed under requisition at Hamburgh, Lubeck, and Bremen, shall be immediately removed to France.

2. The governor general of the Hanse towns, our minister at Hamburgh, and our intendant for the said towns, shall form a council for the accountability and removal of the merchandize. They shall correspond with our minister of finances with respect to the magazines to be established at the points on the frontiers of France where the English merchandize shall be deposited.

3. Our ministers of war and of finances are charged with the execution of this decree.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Washington City, Dec. 2.

This day, at twelve o'clock, the president of the United States communicated, by Mr. Coles his secretary, the following message to both houses of congress:—

To the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America, in congress assembled.

It would have given me, fellow citizens, great satisfaction to announce, in the moment of your meeting, that the difficulties in our foreign relations, existing at the time of our last separation, had been amicably and justly terminated. I lost no time in taking those measures which were most likely to bring them to such a termination, by special missions, charged with such powers and instructions, as, in the event of failure, could leave no imputation on either our moderation or forbearance.—The delays, which have since taken place in our negotiations with the British government, appear to have proceeded from causes which do not forbid

forbid the expectation that, during the course of the session, I may be enabled to lay before you their final issue. What will be that of the negotiations for settling our differences with Spain, nothing which had taken place at the date of our last dispatches enables us to pronounce. On the western side of the Mississippi, she advanced in considerable force, and took post at the settlement of Bayon Pierre, on the Red River. This village was originally settled by France, was held by her as long as she held Louisiana, and was delivered to Spain only as a part of Louisiana. Being small, insulated, and distant, it was not observed, at the moment of redelivery to France and the United States, that she continued a guard of half a dozen men, which had been stationed there. A proposition, however, having been lately made by our commander in chief, to assume the Sabine river, as a temporary line of separation between the troops of the two nations, until the issue of our negotiations shall be known, this has been referred by the Spanish commandant to his superior, and in the mean time he has withdrawn his force to the western side of the Sabine river. The correspondence on this subject, now communicated, will exhibit, more particularly, the present state of things in that quarter.

The nature of that country requires indispensably that an unusual proportion of the force employed there should be cavalry, or mounted infantry. In order, therefore, that the commanding officer might be enabled to act with effect, I had authorised him to call on the governors of Orleans and Mississippi for a corps of five hundred volunteer cavalry. The temporary arrangement he has proposed, may perhaps render this unnecessary. But I inform you, with great pleasure, of the promptitude with which the inhabitants of those territories have tendered their services in defence of their country. It has done honour to themselves, entitled them to the confidence of their fellow citizens in every part of the union, and must strengthen the general determination to protect them efficaciously, under all circumstances which may occur.

Having received information, that, in another part of the United States, a great number of private individuals were combining together, arming and organizing themselves, contrary to law, to carry on a military expedition against the territories of Spain, I thought it necessary, by proclamation, as well as by special orders, to take measures for preventing and suppressing this enterprise, for seizing the vessels, arms, and other means provided for it, and for arresting and bringing to justice its authors and abettors. It was due to that good faith which ought ever to be the rule of action in public as well as in private transactions; it was due to good order, and regular government, that, while the public force was acting strictly on the defensive, and merely to protect our citizens from aggression, the criminal attempts of private individuals to decide for their country the question of peace or war, by commencing active and unauthorised hostilities, should be promptly and efficaciously suppressed.

Whether it will be necessary to enlarge our regular force, will depend on the result of our negotiations with Spain. But as it is uncertain when that result will be known,

known, the provisional measures requisite for that, and to meet any pressure intervening to that quarter, will be a subject for your early consideration.

The possession of both banks of the Mississippi reducing to a single point the defence of that river, its waters, and the country adjacent, it becomes highly necessary to provide for that point a more adequate security. Some position, above its mouth, commanding the passage of the river, should be rendered sufficiently strong to cover the armed vessels which may be stationed there for defence; and, in conjunction with them, to present an insuperable obstacle to any force attempting to pass. The approaches to the city of New Orleans, from the eastern quarter also, will require to be examined, and more effectually guarded. For the internal support of the country, the encouragement of a strong settlement on the western side of the Mississippi, within reach of New Orleans, will be worthy the consideration of the legislature.

The gun-boats, authorised by an act of the last session, are so far advanced, that they will be ready for service in the ensuing spring. Circumstances permitted us to allow the time necessary for their more solid construction. As a much larger number will still be wanting, to place our sea-port towns and waters in that state of defence to which we are competent, and they entitled, a similar appropriation for a further provision of them, is recommended for the ensuing year.

A further appropriation will also be necessary for repairing fortifications already established, and the erection of such other works as may have real effect in obstructing the approach of an enemy to our sea-port towns, or their remaining before them.

In a country whose constitution is derived from the will of the people, directly expressed by their free suffrages, where the principal executive functionaries, and those of the legislature, are renewed by them at short periods, where, under the character of jurors, they exercise in person the greatest proportion of the judiciary powers, where the laws are consequently so formed and administered as to bear with equal weight and favour on all, restraining no man in the pursuits of honest industry, and securing to every one the property which that acquires, it would not be supposed that any safeguards could be needed against insurrection or enterprise on the public peace or authority. The laws, however, aware that these should not be trusted to moral restraints only, have wisely provided punishment for these crimes, when committed. But would it not be salutary to give also the means of preventing their commission? Where an enterprise is meditated by private individuals, against a foreign nation in amity with the United States, powers of prevention, to a certain extent, are given by the laws. Would they not be as reasonable and useful, where the enterprise preparing is against the United States? While adverting to this branch of law, it is proper to observe, that in enterprises meditated against foreign nations, the ordinary process of binding to the observance of the peace and good behaviour, could it be extended to acts to be done out of the jurisdiction of the United States, would be effectual in some cases where the offender is able to keep out of sight every indication of his purpose which could draw

draw on him the exercise of the powers now given by law.

The states on the coast of Barbary seem generally disposed, at present, to respect peace and friendship. With Tunis alone, some uncertainty remains. Persuaded that it is our interest to maintain our peace with them on equal terms, or not at all, I propose to send, in due time, a reinforcement into the Mediterranean, unless previous information shall show it to be unnecessary.

We continue to receive proofs of the growing attachment of our Indian neighbours, and of their disposition to place all their interests under the patronage of the United States. These dispositions are inspired by their confidence in our justice, and in the sincere concern we feel for their welfare. And as long as we discharge these high and honourable functions with the integrity and good faith which alone can entitle us to their continuance, we may expect to reap the just reward in their peace and friendship.

The expedition of Messrs. Lewis and Clarke, for exploring the river Missouri, and the best communication from that to the Pacific Ocean, has had all the success which could have been expected. They have traced the Missouri nearly to its source, descended the Columbia to the Pacific Ocean, ascertained, with accuracy, the geography of that interesting communication across our continent, learnt the character of the country, of its commerce and inhabitants; and it is but justice to say that Messrs. Lewis and Clarke, and their brave companions, have, by this arduous service, deserved well of their country.

The attempt to explore the Red River, under the direction of Mr. Freeman, though conducted with a zeal and prudence meriting entire approbation, has not been equally successful.—After proceeding up it about six hundred miles, nearly as far as the French settlements had extended, while the country was in their possession, our geographers were obliged to return without completing their work.

Very useful additions have also been made to our knowledge of the Mississippi, by lieutenant Pike, who has ascended it to its source, and whose journal and map, giving the details of his journey, will shortly be ready for communication to both houses of congress. Those of Messrs. Lewis, Clarke, and Freeman, will require further time to be digested and prepared. These important surveys, in addition to those before possessed, furnish materials for commencing an accurate map of the Mississippi and its western waters. Some principal rivers, however, remain still to be explored, towards which the authorization of congress, by moderate appropriations, will be requisite.

I congratulate you, fellow citizens, on the approach of the period at which you may interpose your authority, constitutionally, to withdraw the citizens of the United States from all further participation in those violations of human rights, which have been so long continued on the unoffending inhabitants of Africa, and which the morality, the reputation, and the best interests of our country have long been eager to proscribe. Although no law you may pass can take prohibitory effect till the first day of the year 1808, yet the intervening period is not too long to prevent, by timely notice, expeditions which cannot be completed before that day.

The receipts of treasury, during the year ending on the 30th day of September last, have amounted to near fifteen millions of dollars; which have enabled us, after meeting the current demands, to pay two millions seven hundred thousand dollars of the American claims, in part of the price of Louisiana; to pay, of the funded debt, upwards of three millions of principal, and nearly four of interest; and, in addition, to reimburse, in the course of the present month, near two millions of five and a half per cent. stock. These payments and reimbursements of the funded debt, with those which had been made in the four years and a half preceding, will, at the close of the present year, have extinguished upwards of twenty-three millions of principal.

The duties composing the Mediterranean fund will cease, by law, at the end of the present session. Considering, however, that they are levied chiefly on luxuries, and that we have an impost on salt, a necessary of life, the free use of which otherwise is so important, I recommend to your consideration the suppression of the duties on salt, and the continuation of the Mediterranean fund, instead thereof, for a short time; after which, that also will become unnecessary for any purpose now within contemplation.

When both of these branches of revenue shall, in this way, be relinquished, there will still, ere long, be an accumulation of moneys in the treasury, beyond the instalment of public debt, which we are permitted by contract to pay. They cannot, then, without a modification assented to by the public creditors, be applied to the extinguishment of this debt, and the complete liberation of our revenues, the most desirable of all objects.—Nor, if our peace continues, will they be wanting for any other existing purpose. The question, therefore, now comes forward, To what other object shall these surpluses be appropriated, and the whole surplus of impost, after the entire discharge of the public debt, and during those intervals when the purposes of war shall not call for them? Shall we suppress the impost, and give that advantage to foreign over domestic manufactures? On a few articles of more general and necessary use, the suppression, in due season, will doubtless be right; but the great mass of the articles on which impost is paid are foreign luxuries, purchased by those only who are rich enough to afford themselves the use of them. Their patriotism would certainly prefer its continuance, and application to the great purposes of the public education, roads, rivers, canals, and such other objects of public improvement as it may be thought proper to add to the constitutional enumeration of federal powers. By these operations, new channels of communication will be opened between the states; the lines of separation will disappear, their interests will be identified, and their union cemented by new and indissoluble ties. Education is here placed among the articles of public care, not that it would be proposed to take its ordinary branches out of the hands of private enterprise, which manages so much better all the concerns to which it is equal; but a public institution can alone supply those sciences, which, though rarely called for, yet are necessary to complete the circle, all the parts of which contribute to the improvement

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ment of the country, and some of them to its preservation.

The subject is now proposed for the consideration of congress, because, if approved, by the time the state legislatures shall have deliberated on this extension of the federal trusts, and the laws shall have passed, and other arrangements been made for their execution, the necessary funds will be on hand, and without employment. I suppose an amendment of the constitution, by consent of the states, necessary; because the objects now recommended are not among those enumerated in the constitution, and to which it permits the public moneys to be applied.

The present consideration of a national establishment for education, particularly, is rendered proper by this circumstance also, that if congress, approving the proposition, shall yet think it more eligible to found it on a donation of lands, they have it now in their power to endow it with those which will be among the earliest to produce the necessary income. This foundation would have the advantage of being independent on war, which may suspend other improvements, by requiring for its own purposes the resources destined for them.

This, fellow-citizens, is the state of the public interests, at the present moment, and according to the information now possessed. But such is the situation of the nations of Europe, and such, too, the predicament in which we stand with some of them, that we cannot rely with certainty on the present aspect of our affairs, that may change from moment to moment, during the course of your session, or after you shall have separated. Our duty is, therefore, to act upon the things as they are, and to make a reasonable provision for whatever they may be. Were armies to be raised whenever a speck of war is visible in our horizon, we never should have been without them. Our resources would have been exhausted on dangers which have never happened, instead of being reserved for what is really to take place. A steady, perhaps a quickened pace in preparations for the defence of our sea-port towns and waters, an early settlement of the most exposed and vulnerable parts of the country, a militia, so organized that its effective portions can be called to any point in the union, or volunteers instead of them, to serve a sufficient time, are means which may always be ready, yet never preying upon our resources until actually called into use. They will maintain the public interests, while a more permanent force shall be in a course of preparation. But much will depend on the promptitude with which these means can be brought into activity. If war be forced upon us, in spite of our long and vain appeals to the justice of nations, rapid and vigorous movements, in its outset, will go far towards securing us in its course and issue, and towards throwing its burdens on those who render necessary the resort from reason to force.

The result of our negotiations, or such incidents in their course as may enable us to infer their probable issue; such further movements also on our western frontier as may show whether war is to be pressed there, while negotiation is protracted elsewhere, shall be communicated to you from time to time, as they become known to me;

with whatever other information I possess, or may receive, which may aid your deliberations on the great national interests committed to your charge.

Dec. 2, 1806. TH. JEFFERSON.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Dec. 3.

Special message from the president of the United States.

To the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America.

I have the satisfaction to inform you, that the negotiation depending between the United States and the government of Great Britain is proceeding in a spirit of friendship and accommodation, which promises a result of mutual advantage. Delays, indeed, have taken place, occasioned by the long illness and subsequent death of the British minister charged with that duty. But the commissioners appointed by that government to resume the negotiation have shown every disposition to hasten its progress; it is, however, a work of time; as many arrangements are necessary to place our future harmony on stable grounds. In the mean time, we find, by the communications of our plenipotentiaries, that a temporary suspension of the act of the last session, prohibiting certain importations, would, as a mark of candid disposition on our part, and of confidence in the temper and views with which they have been met, have a happy effect on its course.

A step so friendly will afford further evidence, that all our proceedings have flowed from views of justice and conciliation, and that we give them willingly that form which may best meet corresponding dispositions.

Add to this, that the same motives which produced the postponement of the act, till the 15th of November last, are in favour of its further suspension; and as we have reason to hope that it may soon yield to arrangements of mutual consent and convenience, justice seems to require that the same measure may be dealt out to the few cases which may fall within its short course, as to all others preceding and following it. I cannot, therefore, but recommend the suspension of this act for a reasonable time, on consideration of justice, amity, and the public interest.

TH. JEFFERSON.

Proclamation of his Prussian majesty to the inhabitants of Silesia.

Brave inhabitants of Silesia,

Among the mournful events which have taken place during the course of the present war, there is nothing that has so much filled with grief the heart of his majesty, as to see a considerable part of his provinces and faithful subjects oppressed by the weight of sufferings, which must be the inevitable consequence of a war, in which the enemy, by his manner of making war, unusual in our time, entirely exhausts the country through which he passes, with forced requisitions of every kind, and by large bodies of marauders who swarm round his disciplined armies, and who, incapable of sparing, treat the armed warrior and the unhappy peaceable inhabitant with the same cruelty, and every where leave behind them traces of the grossest barbarity, deserts, and ashes; even where through

through fear of violence, the unarmed inhabitants have shown the greatest submission in the reception of those destroying hordes.

His majesty perceives that his faithful Silesian provinces are now threatened with the same wretched fate.

It insensibly grieves his majesty that he is prevented by the situation of affairs, which renders his presence necessary at other points, from hastening in person to the aid of his faithful Silesians, who have at all times, and under all circumstances, rewarded the paternal care of their monarch by the most unshaken attachment to the house of Prussia.

The enemy boasts—favoured by fortune, so liable to change, and no less favoured by the treachery of base traitors—that he has already annihilated the whole force of the Prussian monarchy;

But he knows not that his majesty is at this moment at the head of a formidable army, which burns with eagerness to engage the oppressors of the country.

He knows not, or appears not to wish to know, that the monarch of Prussia finds himself surrounded by a guard, which no force, nor misfortunes, no talisman can subdue,—the unalterable love of his people.

He knows not that every day thousands of volunteers offer themselves, with arms in their hands, to set bounds to his progress, and that the Silesians display no less activity and energy in defence of their king and country, than to defend their property from unexampled rapacity.

He flatters himself with the doubts he is anxious to disseminate of the promised aid of Russia.

But he deceives himself in his hopes; the most sacred and inviolate fulfilment of all treaties entered into, is one of the principal traits in the character of the noble-minded sovereign of all the Russias.

Already two formidable Russian armies have arrived near the banks of the Vistula, while a third, much more numerous, is advancing by rapid marches.

Already legions of patriots, voluntarily armed, and used to battle, are prepared to join the armies in the field.

His majesty, under these circumstances, depends on the attachment of his Silesian states and subjects, who have at all times, both by word and deed, given the most manifest proofs of their unshaken fidelity; and he believes that, by the appointment, *ad interim*, of one of the most distinguished of them, his excellency the prince of Anhalt Pless, to be governor-general of Silesia, he gives them a proof of his confidence and good-will. Conducted by this prince, who has gloriously signalized himself in the course of the war, the states, and all classes of the inhabitants of Silesia, will certainly exert themselves to contribute all in their power, in conjunction with the forces which his majesty will send to their assistance, to defend their country, and their own province in particular.

Invested with full powers by his majesty, I therefore hereby call on all and each of the inhabitants of the Silesian provinces, to bear cheerfully the sacrifices and burdens which probably may be necessary for the attainment of this great object, and the rather as they not only can bear no proportion to the enormous sacrifices to which they must be subjected should the enemy succeed in his attempt to con-

quer Silesia, but as in due time they will be rewarded by his majesty, and as far as possible made good. Given at Breslaw, the 3d of December, 1806.

Count Von Gotzen,
Major and flugel adjutant to his majesty the king.

HIS MAJESTY'S MESSAGE.

Dec. 18.

After some peers had taken the oaths, the commons were ordered to attend; when the following speech was delivered by the lord chancellor in his majesty's name:

My lords, and gentlemen,

His majesty has commanded us to assure you, that, in the difficult and arduous circumstances under which you are now assembled, it is a great satisfaction to him to recur to the firmness and wisdom of his parliament, after so recent an opportunity of collecting the sense of his people.

His majesty has ordered the papers which have been exchanged in the course of the late negotiation with France to be laid before you. His majesty has employed every effort for the restoration of general tranquillity on terms consistent with the interests and honour of his people, and with that inviolable good faith towards his allies, by which the conduct of this country has always been distinguished.

The ambition and injustice of the enemy disappointed these endeavours, and in the same moment kindled a fresh war in Europe, the progress of which has been attended with the most calamitous events. After witnessing the subversion of the ancient constitution of Germany, and the subjugation of a large proportion of its most considerable states, Prussia found herself still more nearly threatened by that danger which she had vainly hoped to avert by so many sacrifices. She was, therefore, at length compelled to adopt the resolution of openly resisting this unremitted system of aggrandizement and conquest. But neither this determination, nor the succeeding measures, were previously concerted with his majesty; nor had any disposition been shown to offer any adequate satisfaction for those aggressions which had placed the two countries in a state of mutual hostility.

Yet, in this situation, his majesty did not hesitate to adopt, without delay, such measures as were best calculated to unite their councils and interests against the common enemy. The rapid course of the calamities which ensued, opposed insurmountable difficulties to the execution of this purpose. In the midst of these disastrous events, and under the most trying circumstances, the good faith of his majesty's allies has remained unshaken. The conduct of the king of Sweden has been distinguished by the most honourable firmness. Between his majesty and the emperor of Russia the happiest union subsists,—it has been cemented by reciprocal proofs of good faith and confidence; and his majesty doubts not that you will participate in his anxiety to cultivate and confirm an alliance which affords the best remaining hope of safety for the continent of Europe.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

His majesty looks with confidence to your assistance in those exertions which the honour and independence

dependence of your country demand. The necessity of adding to the public burthens will be painful to your feelings, and is deeply distressing to his majesty. In considering the estimates for the various branches of the public service, you will best consult his majesty's wishes by combining all practicable œconomy with those efforts which it is necessary to make against the formidable and increasing power of the enemy.

My lords, and gentlemen,

The long series of misfortune which has afflicted the continent of Europe could not fail to affect in some degree many important interests of this country. But, under every successive difficulty, his majesty has had the satisfaction of witnessing an increasing energy and firmness on the part of his people, whose uniform and determined resistance has been no less advantageous than honourable to themselves, and has exhibited the most striking example to the surrounding nations.

The unconquerable valour and discipline of his majesty's fleets and armies continue to be displayed with undiminished lustre; the great sources of our prosperity and strength are unimpaired; nor has the British nation been at any time more united in sentiment and action, or more determined to maintain inviolate the independence of the empire, and the dignity of the national character.

With these advantages, and with a humble reliance on the protection of the Divine Providence, his majesty is prepared to meet the exigencies of this great crisis, assured of receiving the fullest support from the wisdom of your deliberations, and from the tried affection, loyalty, and public spirit of his brave people.

RUSSIA.

FROM THE BRITISH MERCHANTS TO COUNT KOCHUBEY.

St. Petersburg, Jan. 11, 1807.

The British merchants residing in St. Petersburg, participating in the general loyalty and public spirit so happily and conspicuously manifested at present in this country, and anxious to give a proof of their sentiments, avail themselves of his imperial majesty's most gracious permission, to present the sum of 135,000 roubles towards the expenses of the measure which his wisdom has adopted against the general enemy of Europe. They are perfectly sensible of the small importance of such a sum, from a few foreign individuals, in the expenditure of this great empire; but they venture to hope, that his imperial majesty will, in his goodness, be most graciously pleased to regard it as a testimony of their attachment to his person and government, and of their sincere wishes for the prosperity of those extensive dominions over which he reigns, and of which they pray that Divine Providence may long preserve him the happy and beloved sovereign.

Answer to the above, dated January 21:

The minister of the interior has esteemed it as a duty imposed upon him, to lay before his imperial majesty the communication, by which the body of British merchants trading in Russia, in expressing their feelings of attachment and zeal towards the person of his imperial majesty, have offered to contribute on their part a sum of 135,000 roubles towards defraying the expenses incurred at present

by all ranks and stations in the empire in arming the militia.

His majesty the emperor being always most graciously disposed towards the English merchants, as one of the most ancient commercial bodies established in this metropolis, has been pleased to permit their participating in the general contributions above mentioned, according to their wishes; and to order that, on this occasion, his majesty's especial satisfaction shall be made known to such of his Britannic majesty's subjects as have made this gratuitous donation.

The minister of the interior, in fulfilling these his majesty's commands, has the honour of communicating them to the gentlemen deputed to him from the English merchants; at the same time informing them, that the money destined by them in aid of the present extraordinary military preparations can be paid, at their own conveniency, into the imperial treasury.

(Originally signed)
COUNT V. KOCHUBEY.

NOTE.

As in the time of war between the Sublime Porte and Russia, it is of the greatest importance to employ every kind of precaution against the deceptions and craft of the enemy; to exert the utmost activity in preventing the conveyance of ammunition to the different Russian ports situate on the Black Sea; to suffer no Ottoman subject to go thither, and to carry written or verbal intelligence; and, finally, to cut off every kind of communication between the Ottoman states: as, besides, it would be very dangerous to suffer ships to sail from the centre of the capital to the enemy; since in time of war that point is one of the principal posts of the State: it is evident, that so long as a free passage into the said sea shall be permitted to the merchants of other powers, these dangers are not to be avoided, as the enemy may easily shelter his malignity and deceit under the number and variety of foreign flags: For all these reasons, the canal of the Black Sea must be shut during the continuation of the war. It is conceived that this general prohibition is not contrary to the free navigation of the Black Sea, some time since granted to certain friendly powers. It is merely a war measure, adopted for the moment, and dictated by circumstances. The Sublime Porte is convinced that its conduct will give no offence to the powers friendly to it, as when the danger shall cease, after a peace, or even during the war, the free navigation of the said sea shall be restored.

As the commanders of the imperial fleet, as also the commanders of the fortresses at the mouth of the canal, have received orders to shut the passage of the canal, the ministers of the friendly powers residing in the capital are informed of it by the present official note.

Given on the 8th of the month of Zilkade, in the year of the Hegira 1221—Jan. 17, 1807.

TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND PRUSSIA.

His majesty the king of the united kingdom of great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty the king of Prussia, being equally desirous to terminate in an amicable manner, and settle by a formal treaty, the differences which have for a short time interrupted the relations of union and good understanding which had so long subsisted

sisted between them; their said majesties have nominated as their plenipotentiaries to be employed in this important undertaking, namely, on the part of his Britanic majesty, the right hon. J Hely baron Hutchinson, a general of his army, and knight of the most hon. military order of the bath; and on the part of his Prussian majesty, the sieur Frederic Wm. de Zastrow, his minister of state and cabinet, major-general of his armies, and knight of the order of the red eagle and of merit; who, after having communicated and exchanged their respective full powers, and found them in due form, have agreed upon the following articles:

ART. 1. There shall be between their Britannic and Prussian majesties, their heirs and successors, their kingdoms, provinces, and subjects, perpetual and inviolable peace, sincere union, and perfect friendship, to the end that the temporary misunderstanding which has recently taken place, shall, from the present moment, be regarded as entirely at an end, and shall be buried in eternal oblivion.

ART. 2. The accommodation and the reconciliation between the two courts having for their basis the renunciation, on the part of his Prussian majesty, of the country of Hanover, his said majesty relinquishes all right and title whatsoever to the actual and future possession of the electoral territories of his Britannic majesty, and renounces, at the same time, all the pretensions which he had advanced to those states. And in case the events of the war should bring about the re-occupation of the electorate of Hanover by the Prussian armies, his majesty the king of Prussia engages not to take possession of the electorate but in the name of his Britannic majesty, and immediately to re-establish the ancient form of civil government and the ancient constituted authorities of his Britannic majesty; which authorities shall be formally invested with the entire administration of affairs, in the name and for the advantage of their legitimate sovereign.

ART. 3. The freedom of navigation and of commerce shall be restored to the subjects of his Prussian majesty, as it formerly was in time of peace, and on the same footing as it was before the period of the late exclusion of the British flag from the rivers Ems, Weser, and Elbe; and his said Britannic majesty having with this view already issued an order, bearing date the 19th November 1806, to all officers commanding his ships of war, as well as to all privateers, not further to molest, detain, or bring in any Prussian vessels which they may meet at sea, provided their cargoes be innocent and not prohibited by the laws of war, and that they be not bound to ports belonging to the enemies of Great Britain, or occupied by them, the said order shall continue to be observed, and to have effect in its full force and extent.

ART. 4. And in pursuance of the above determination, his Britannic majesty promises and engages to issue to his admiralty, without delay, the necessary orders that the merchant vessels which, by the proclamation of the 24th of September 1806, were subject to provisionary detention, shall be released and restored to their proprietors, with perfect liberty either to continue their voyages, if their place of destination be not prohibited, or otherwise

otherwise to return to their own country.

Art. 5. The crews of all the Prussian vessels brought into British ports since the publication of the letters of marque, shall be set at liberty immediately after the conclusion of the present treaty; and the British government shall cause them to return, in the most direct and expeditious manner, into the dominions of his Prussian majesty, to whatever place shall be hereafter agreed upon.

Art. 6. His majesty the king of Prussia engages not to impede, nor to allow any other power to impede, the free navigation of his Britannic majesty in any of the ports of his dominions, but, on the contrary, to afford full liberty to the English flag to enter into and to proceed from the above-mentioned ports, in the same manner as before the late closing of the rivers Ems, Weser, and Elbe.

Art. 7. The two high contracting parties mutually promise and engage to invite his majesty the emperor of all the Russias to take upon himself the guarantee of the renunciation on the part of his Prussian majesty, of his rights and pretensions to the country of Hanover, as stipulated in the second article of the present treaty.

Art. 8. Every other subject of discussion or arrangement between the two courts is reserved for future amicable adjustment.

Art. 9. The ratification, drawn up in due and proper form, shall be exchanged in the space of six weeks, or sooner if possible, in case the present difficulty of communication should allow of it.

In faith of which, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty, and have hereunto affixed the seals of their arms.—Done at Memel, this 28th day of January 1807.

(L. S.) Hutchinson.

(L. S.) Frederic Guillaume de Zastrow.

Constitution of the State of Hayti.

The undersigned mandatories, charged with the powers of the people of Hayti, being legally convoked by his excellency the general in chief of the army, penetrated by the necessity of making their constituents enjoy the sacred, imprescriptible, and unalienable rights of man, proclaim, in the presence and under the auspices of the Allpowerful, the articles contained in the present constitutional pact:—

Title I.—*Of the condition of citizens.*

1. Every body residing in the territory of Hayti is free, in the fullest sense.

2. Slavery is for ever abolished in Hayti.

3. No one has a right to violate the asylum of a citizen, nor to enter forcibly into his dwelling, without an order emanating from a superior and competent authority.

4. All property is under the protection of the government. Every attack upon the property of a citizen is a crime which the law punishes.

5. The law punishes assassination with death.

Title II.—*Of the government.*

6. The government of Hayti is composed,—first, of a chief magistrate, who takes the title and quality of president and generalissimo of the forces of Hayti, both by land and sea; every other denomination is for ever proscribed in Hayti;

Hayti;—secondly, of a council of state.

The government of Hayti takes the title, and will be known by the denomination of "The state of Hayti."

7. The constitution names the general in chief, Henry Christophe, president and generalissimo of the forces, both by land and sea, of the state of Hayti.

8. The trust of president and generalissimo of the forces is for life.

9. The president has the right to choose his successor, but from among the generals, and in the manner hereafter prescribed.

This choice must be secret, and contained in a sealed packet, which shall be opened only by the council of state solemnly assembled, for that purpose.

The president shall take all necessary precautions for informing the council of state where this packet shall be deposited.

10. The armed force shall be under the direction of the president, as also the administration of the finances.

11. The president has the power to make treaties with foreign nations, as well for the purpose of establishing commercial relations as to secure the independence of the state.

12. He is to conclude peace, and to declare war, to maintain the rights of the people of Hayti.

13. He has also to consider of the means of favouring and increasing the population of the country.

14. He is to propose the laws to the council of state, who, after having adopted them and drawn them up, send them back to him for his sanction, without which they cannot be executed.

15. The appointments of the president are fixed at 40,000 dollars a-year.

TITLE III.—*Of the council of state.*

16. The council of state is composed of nine members, nominated by the president, of which, at least, two-thirds are to be generals.

17. The functions of the council of state are, to receive the propositions of laws from the president, and to draw them up in the manner they may judge adviseable; to fix the amount of taxes, and the mode of collecting them; to sanction the treaties concluded by the president, and to fix upon the mode of recruiting the army. An account shall be presented to them annually, of the receipts and expenses and of the resources of the country.

[The fourth and fifth heads respect the appointment of a superintendant-general of the finances, the marine, and the interior, and also the appointment of a secretary of state.]

TITLE VI.—*Of the tribunals.*

There shall be in every division a tribunal, to determine both on civil and criminal matters.

There shall be also a tribunal of commerce in each division.

There shall be a justice of peace in each parish, to determine controversies up to a limited sum.

Each citizen may, however, have his disputes determined by arbitrators, if he thinks proper.

TITLE VII.—*Of religion.*

The catholic apostolic and Roman religion is the only one acknowledged by the government.

The exercise of other religions is tolerated, but not publicly.

There is to be an apostolic prefect,

fect, to superintend what concerns divine worship, and to communicate directly to the president upon the subject.

The state gives nothing to the support of any minister, but the law will fix the emoluments and perquisites that they are to receive.

No one has a right to disturb the exercise of any religion.

TITLE VIII.—*Public education.*

There shall be established a central school in each division, and particular schools in each division.

It shall be, however, lawful for every citizen to have private seminaries.

The salaries of the professors and masters shall be settled by a particular law.

TITLE IX.—*Of the guarantee of the neighbouring colonies.*

The government of Hayti declares to those powers who have colonies in its neighbourhood, its fixed determination to give no disturbance to the government of those colonies.

The people of Hayti make no conquests out of their own island, and confine themselves to the preservation of their own territory.

[After these heads, there follow some general regulations, the principal of which are, that every Haytian from 16 to 50 can be called into the army whenever the safety of the state requires it: that the government solemnly guaranties the foreign merchants the security of their persons and properties: divorce is strictly forbid in Hayti; and agriculture, which is declared the most ancient, the most noble, and the most useful of all the arts, is to be encouraged and protected.]

This constitution was published at the Cape on the 17th of Febuary 1807, and is signed by three generals of division, eight generals of brigade, four adjutant-generals, and a number of civil officers.

PROCLAMATION.

Henry Christophe, president and generalissimo of the military and naval forces of the state of Hayti, to the army and people.

The light has broke in upon us, and a beneficent constitution has put an end to the plots and machinations of which you were on the point of becoming victims. A wise code, adapted to our manners, our climate, and our customs, has sprung, as it may be said, out of chaos, and fixed once more the destinies of Hayti.

Long had I in vain sought to present you with this precious gift; in vain did I assemble the districts, and urge them to send deputies to Porte-au-prince, to give you a constitution. My anxiety, instead of being followed with the desired success, only operated as an additional incitement to the factious, to pervert the public opinion, and to establish a constitution favourable to their interests and those of their adherents; but as hostile to the liberty of the people, as it was to the principles of sound reason.

Fellow-citizens, you have all been witnesses to the purity of my views, and the sincerity of my intentions. You know how this sincerity has been abused by the miscreants who fomented revolt and kindled civil war. Their efforts never intimidated me for a single moment, or diverted me from my design of serving my country. By night or by day I have never ceased to occupy myself in providing for the public safety. What have I not done to effect it? What have

I not

I not suffered in counteracting the secret wiles and plots of the factious?

I have always been in the midst of you, and you can say whether my conduct has ever been influenced, or my honour tarnished, by ambition. Invested with the supreme power, this day, by the wish of my fellow-citizens and my companions in arms, I have yielded to their desires; and I have consented to bear this weighty but honourable burthen, because it was their wish that it should be intrusted to my hands, and because I am willing again to serve my country. Happy shall I be if my efforts are crowned with success, and if they tend to the happiness of my fellow-citizens!

But to attain this, my efforts alone will not be sufficient: the laws and constitution which have just been presented to you must be observed. It provides for the religious preservation of your rights; it secures to every citizen his personal liberty, his right of property, and that of his family.

The fatal consequences of the wars in which we have been engaged, and still more the immoral example held out to us by the French, had almost destroyed every principle of religion. The moral system was publicly laughed at, and a corrupted youth abandoned itself without remorse to all the licentiousness of its age; public education was degraded, and confined to mercenary instructors. It was necessary to restore to religion its dignity; to cause it to be respected and cherished. It was necessary to receive morality; to give it due distinction; to inculcate into the minds of youth its sacred principles, and those of honour also; in short, to convince the people, that without religion and morality human society could not exist.

Your interests will be secured to you by proper tribunals; the judgments pronounced by their ministers will be dictated by equity and justice. It remains for the people of Hayti to make themselves distinguished by their probity and good faith. Essentially a trading country, as well from its situation as the nature of the commodities it produces, it is necessary that it should attract the merchants of every country on the globe, both by its equity and its produce.

Trade being the source of all our wealth, it is important that the foreign merchants who frequent our ports should be equally protected with our fellow-citizens; and that they should receive all that hospitality due to this useful class of society.

To feed this trade—to give it a new spring—agriculture must be prosecuted with perseverance and vigour. Placed under the finest climate of the world, favoured by nature with her most precious gifts, even to profusion, the husbandman has not at Hayti to contend with the rigour of a frozen clime, or to fortify himself against the inclemencies of seasons. A little labour is sufficient to enrich him, and to place him on a level with the manufacturers of other countries. Exert yourselves, then, industrious cultivators, to fill your warehouses with the produce of our fertile soil; display to the eyes of the merchants of Europe all that can tempt their desires, and you will see your trade flourish much above your most sanguine expectations.

After having re-established religion, defecated morality, restored manners, and encouraged agriculture and trade, we shall have still great

great labours to encounter. We must not neglect the use of arms. The enemy watches our movements, and observes our proceedings. We have as yet no guarantee of the affection of our friends. We must bind the latter to us by treaties; we must be ready to meet the former in the field. Abandoned to ourselves, our resources are in ourselves. They are in you, soldiers, who are ready generously to spill your blood sooner than yield to a haughty enemy your liberty, which is the reward of your courage! They are in you, inhabitants and industrious cultivators, from whom the state derives its wealth! it is your union, your submission to the laws, which are to be the cement and bond of our independence.

The line of politics which foreign powers will pursue with respect to us is not yet manifest: whatever it may be, let us place ourselves in such a situation, that, without holding out any defiance to them, we may, at the same time, have nothing to dread from those who may entertain hostile intentions. Let those who wish a political connexion with us, or who would wish to enjoy the advantage of our commerce, find an equitable reciprocity. To the rest, let us only offer death and battles.

At the same time that we are occupied with these thoughts, let us never forget that the safety of a free people is best manifested by arms. If cultivation employs a part of our fellow-citizens, let us remember that we are all soldiers, and that it is warlike nations alone who have been able to preserve their liberty. Let us call to mind that a handful of Greeks, devoted to their country, confounded the rage of a million of barbarians, who endeavoured to wrest from them their liberty. Let us swear to imitate their example; let us swear to observe our sacred constitution, and to cause it to be observed, and to perish sooner than allow it to be violated in the smallest degree.

Published at the head-quarters at the Cape, Feb. 17, 1807.

HENRY CHRISTOPHE, president.
ROUANEZ, secretary of state.

MESSAGE OF HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR AND KING.

Senators,

We have given orders for a project of the senatus consultum to be laid before you, in order for the immediate calling out of the conscription for 1808. The report which our minister of war has transmitted to us will acquaint you with the various advantages which must be the result of this measure. All the nations round us are arming; England has again set on foot an extraordinary levy of 200,000 men. Other powers, as well as England, are adopting the measure of extraordinary levies, as their last resource. However strong and numerous our armies may be, we are by no means convinced that the regulations of the senatus consultum will be the less necessary and advantageous. At any rate, the sight of the triple barrier of camps which encircle our territory, must have the same effect upon our enemy as the triple line of fortresses which defend our advanced frontier. This will leave them without the least hope of gaining any advantage over us, will assuage their fury, and, finally, in consequence of their total incapacity to do us any injury, will bring them back to a sense of reason and justice.

The zeal with which our people have executed the senatus consultum

sultum of September 24, 1805, and that of December 4, 1806, has made a sensible impression upon our gratitude. Every Frenchman will probably show himself worthy of so honourable a name.—We have nominated senators to the command and direction of these interesting young men,—senators who have already distinguished themselves in the career of glory. We flatter ourselves, that, in consequence of this determination, you will justify the unlimited confidence reposed in you. The senators will teach the young men that discipline and patience which are necessary to support the toils and fatigues of war: you will convince them, that these are the principal guarantees of victory: you will teach them to make every sacrifice for the glory of the throne, and good of the country. We have triumphed over all our enemies. In the course of six months we have passed the Main, the Saal, the Elbe, the Oder, and the Vistula: we have made ourselves masters of the strongest places in Europe, —Magdeburgh, Hameln, Spandau, Stettin, Custrin, Grogau, Breslau, Schweidnitz, and Brieg. Our soldiers have proved victorious in several battles; they have taken upwards of 800 pieces of cannon upon the field of battle; they have sent 4000 pieces of heavy artillery to France, 400 Russian and Prussian standards, and made upwards of 200,000 prisoners of war. Neither the sands of Prussia, the deserts of Poland, nor the storms of winter,—in fact, nothing has been able to damp or extinguish their ardour for attaining peace by their conquests, and, by means of their triumphs, to return to their native country. Still our armies in Italy, in Dalmatia, and Naples, remain undiminished: our camps at Boulogne, in Brittany, in Normandy, and on the Rhine, remain entire.

"Though at present we ask for new sacrifices from our people, in order that we may obtain a greater extent of force, it is not that we should abuse this power for the purpose of prolonging the war. Our policy is invariable. We offered peace to England before the fourth coalition had shown itself; *the same peace we offer to England still.* The principal envoy which England employed in these negotiations has made the most public declarations, and in the most unequivocal terms, that the peace would have been both honourable and advantageous to England: thus he has made the justice of our cause appear evident. We are ready to conclude a peace with Russia, upon the same conditions as were signed by her negotiator, but which were rejected in consequence of the arts and intrigues of the English! We are ready to restore to the eight millions of the inhabitants whom we have conquered, their tranquillity, and to restore to the king of Prussia his capital. But though so many traits of moderation, already so often renewed, have not been able to prevail over the deceptions to which England, inflamed as it is by its passions, has had recourse, that power cannot see the possibility of peace but in our annihilation; nothing, therefore, remains for us but to bear the calamities of war, and to throw the shame and odium of it upon that nation, which continues to purchase its monopoly with the blood of the continent. We shall, in the resources of our own mind, in the courage, devotion, and the power of our people, find certain means to render all the efforts of that coalition, formed of hatred and injustice, null and void, and to

turn them to the disgrace of their authors. Frenchmen, we brave all dangers for the glory and tranquillity of our children.

Given at our imperial headquarters at Osterode,

March 20, 1807.

Signed by order of the Emperor,

H. B. MARET.

The following is the famous bill, upon the proposing and persevering in which his majesty's late ministers retired from office.

A bill for enabling his majesty to avail himself of the services of all his liege subjects, in his naval and military forces, in the manner therein mentioned.

Whereas it is expedient that his majesty should be enabled to avail himself of the services of all his liege subjects, in his naval and military forces, for the maintenance of the rights of his crown, and of the interests, honour, and independence of the British empire:

Be it therefore enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that it shall and may be lawful for his majesty to grant or confer, or by his royal sign manual to empower the proper officer or officers to grant or confer, any military commission, warrant, or appointment whatever, either in his majesty's sea or naval forces, or in any of his majesty's land or military forces whatsoever, to or upon any of his majesty's liege subjects, without exception; and that every such commission, warrant, or appointment, so granted or conferred, shall and may be lawfully exercised by such his majesty's subjects in all places within or without his majessy's dominions, any law, statute, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding; provided that every such person shall, within months after his accepting the said commission, warrant, or appointment, take, make, and subscribe the declaration or oath hereinafter mentioned, which declaration and oath shall be engrossed on the back or at the foot of the commission or appointment so granted or conferred, and shall be there attested by the signature of the magistrate or officer in whose presence the same shall have been subscribed, and by whom the said oath shall have been administrated.

And be it further enacted, that such oath and declaration may be administered by any court of record, or judge of such court, or by any justice of peace or other magistrate having power to administer oaths in any part of his majesty's dominions; and that, if the party taking and subscribing the same shall, at the time of his so taking and subscribing the same, not be within his majesty's dominions, the same may then be administered and attested by any general or commanding officer of his majesty's land forces, or by any admiral or commanding officer of his majesty's naval forces, provided always, that in this last case the person holding such commission, warrant, or appointment, shall, within months after his return to any part of his majesty's dominions, again take, make, and subscribe the same oath and declaration in presence of some court of record or magistrates as aforesaid.

And be it further enacted, that no person having so taken, made, and subscribed such oath and declaration respectively as aforesaid, shall

shall be liable to any pains, penalties, or disabilities whatsoever, for having exercised or acted in or under any such commission, warrant or appointment, any law, statute, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding, and although such person shall not have complied with any of the directions of any former statute respecting the qualifications of persons holding or exercising offices within this realm.

And be it further enacted, that the said oath and declaration, to be so taken, made, and subscribed, shall be in the words following, viz.

"I A. B. being by this commission appointed to be—(here set forth the appointment) do hereby solemnly promise and swear, in the presence of almighty God, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to his majesty king George the third, and that I will do my utmost to maintain and defend him against all treasons and traitorous conspiracies, and against all attempts whatever that shall be made against his person, crown, or dignity; and that I will, to the utmost of my power, resist all such treasons, conspiracies, or attempts, and will also disclose and made known the same as soon as they shall come to my knowledge; and I do also promise and swear, in the presence of almighty God, that I will, to the utmost of my power, maintain and support the succession to the crown of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, as the same now stands limited by law; and that I will also, to the utmost of my power, maintain and support the established constitution and government of the said united kingdom against all attempts whatever that shall be made against the same."

And whereas it is expedient that his majesty's subjects, however employed in any of his majesty's sea or naval forces, or any of his majesty's land or military forces whatsoever, should be allowed the free exercise of such religious opinions as they may respectively profess; be it enacted, that no person employed in his majesty's sea or naval forces, or land or military forces, and having previously signified in writing, signed by himself, to his commanding officer, his dissent from the doctrine or worship of the church of England as by law established, shall under any pretence or by any means be prevented from attending, or be subject or liable to any pains, penalties, or disabilities for attending, such divine worship or religious service as may be consistent with and according to his religious persuasion or opinions, at proper and seasonable times, and such as shall be consistent with the due and full discharge of his naval or military duties; nor shall any such person be compelled or compellable to attend the worship or service of the said established church; and that any commissioned officer, acting in violation of or contrary to this provision, shall, upon conviction thereof before a general court-martial, be liable to be suspended or dismissed from his majesty's service, or to such other punishment, not extending to life or limb, as the said court-martial shall award; and that any warrant or non-commissioned officer so offending shall be liable to such punishment, not extending to life or limb, as shall be awarded by a general or regimental court-martial.

And be it further enacted that this act shall be and continue in force from the in the year of our Lord until th the year of our Lord

PARIS.

April 8.—The arch-chancellor of the empire repaired to the senate on the 4th instant: at two o'clock, the orators of the council of state being present, the sitting was opened, when his excellency spoke as follows:—"Gentlemen, the implacable hatred of the enemies of France has hitherto rendered fruitless the redoubled efforts of his majesty the emperor and king for the restoration of peace. His majesty is therefore compelled to continue the career of his military exploits, which, thanks to the courage of his troops, have been crowned with so many advantages. Still, however, the belligerent powers are making their utmost exertions. Extraordinary recruitings and numerous levies are ordered to recruit those armies which have been annihilated or dispersed by the imperial eagles. The emperor, under these circumstances, has judged it only a prudent foresight, to adopt in time new means to oppose the repeated efforts of his enemies. His majesty has concluded, that a strong developement of our energies could only tend to bring his enemies to a due sense of their true interests. His majesty, in order to accomplish this object, has thought it necessary to call out immediately a part of the conscription for 1808. Such, gentlemen, is the sketch of a plan of the *senatus consultum* which will be laid before you in the present sitting, after you shall have read the message of the emperor and king to the senate, together with the report of the minister of war, with which it is his majesty's desire you should be acquainted. A particular regulation in this plan will not escape your attention, but will afford you a fresh occasion for acknowledging the paternal goodness of his majesty. It is not his majesty's wish that the new conscripts should enter all at once into the fatigues of war, without being gradually accustomed to them. He will assign periods to their services, in which they shall have occasion to signalize their courage. In order to make themselves acquainted with victory in the field, they will be permitted to remain at home till they are instructed in the military manœuvres, under commanders, whose examples will afford them living lessons of courage and devotion to their sovereign, and at the same time inspire them with an interest in the glory of their country. These commanders, gentlemen, will be chosen out of your own body. In this regulation of his majesty, for the convenience of the conscripts, you will also perceive another proof of his majesty's tender care, and of those sentiments with which the emperor is actuated in respect to the senate. The zeal with which you have hitherto seconded his majesty's great views, and particularly by your decrees of the 24th of September 1805, and December 4th 1806, is a certain guarantee for that which it is necessary you should exhibit under the present circumstances. The ardour of the French youth to assemble under the standards of the emperor, will afford a proof that they are worthy to tread in the steps of their elder brothers, and that, like them, they are ready to form a rampart for the glory of their country. Thus the enemies of France will be disappointed;—those enemies who have long since persuaded themselves that difficulties would arise which have never existed, and flattered their imaginations with fomenting animosi-

ties

ties that have been lost in the general feeling of love and astonishment at the hero who governs us; and hence men of all ranks, and all opinions, will join in the common cause. They will all unite under the standard of him, whom they acknowledge as the author of a new order of things, and who has banished from their remembrance all the painful considerations of past calamities. Then possibly the eyes of our enemies will be opened, and they will perceive the futility of all their plans; at least, they will be clearly convinced, that an empire established by genius, supported by heroism, and daily strengthened by a fresh accession of love and fidelity, cannot be easily annihilated."

VACCINATION.

Report of the college of physicians, laid before parliament.

The following is an abstract of the report upon this important subject, by which it appears that the college are decidedly in favour of the efficacy of vaccination, and deem it their duty to recommend its practice.

The report begins by stating, that the college has applied not only to all the medical and surgical colleges in the united kingdom, but to all the societies; besides which, it invited individuals to contribute all necessary information. Upon the immense mass of evidence thus obtained, the college has made its report, of which the following is an abstract:—

Vaccination appears to be in general perfectly safe; the instances to the contrary being extremely rare. The disease excited by it is slight, and seldom prevents those under it from following their ordinary occupations. It has been communicated with safety to pregnant women, to children during dentition, and in their earliest infancy, in all which respects it possesses material advantages over inoculation for the small-pox; which though productive of a disease generally mild, yet sometimes occasions alarming symptoms, and is in a few cases fatal.

The security derived from vaccination against the small-pox, if not absolutely perfect, is as nearly so as can perhaps be expected from any human discovery; for, amongst several hundred thousand cases, with the results of which the college have been made acquainted, the number of alleged failures has been surprisingly small, so much so, as to form certainly no reasonable objection to the general adoption of vaccination; for it appears that there are not nearly so many failures in a given number of vaccinated persons, as there are deaths in an equal number of persons inoculated for the small-pox. Nothing can more clearly demonstrate the superiority of vaccination over the inoculation of the small-pox, than this consideration; and it is a most important fact, which has been confirmed in the course of this inquiry, that in almost every case where the small-pox has succeeded vaccination, whether by inoculation, or by casual infection, the disease has varied much from its ordinary course; it has neither been the same in the violence nor in the duration of its symptoms, but has, with very few exceptions, been remarkably mild, as if the small-pox had been deprived, by the previous vaccine disease, of all its usual malignity. The testimonies before the college of physicians are

very decided in declaring that vaccination does less mischief to the constitution, and less frequently gives rise to other diseases, than the small-pox, either natural or inoculated.

The college feel themselves called upon to state this strongly, because it has been objected to vaccination, that it produces new, unheard-of, and monstrous diseases. Of such assertions no proofs have been produced, and, after diligent inquiry, the college believe them to have been either the inventions of designing or the mistakes of ignorant men. In these respects then, in its mildness, its safety, and its consequences, the individual may look for the peculiar advantages of vaccination. The benefits which flow from it to society are infinitely more considerable, it spreads no infection, and can be communicated only by inoculation. It is from a consideration of the pernicious effects of the small-pox, that the real value of vaccination is to be estimated. The natural small-pox has been supposed to destroy a sixth part of all whom it attacks; and that even by inoculation, where that has been general in parishes and towns, about one in 300 has usually died. It is not sufficiently known, or not adverted to, that nearly one-tenth, some years more than one-tenth, of the whole mortality in London is occasioned by the small-pox: and, however beneficial the inoculation of the small-pox may have been to individuals, it appears to have kept up a constant source of contagion, which has been the means of increasing the number of deaths by what is called the natural disease. It cannot be doubted that this mischief has been extended by the inconsiderate manner in which great numbers of persons, even since the introduction of vaccination, are still every year inoculated with the small-pox, and afterwards required to attend two or three times a week at the places of inoculation, through every stage of their illness. From this, then, the public are to except the great and uncontroverted superiority of vaccination, that it communicates no casual infection, and, while it is a protection to the individual, is not prejudicial to the public.

It has been already mentioned, that the evidence is not universally favourable, although it is in truth nearly so, for there are a few who entertain sentiments differing widely from those of the great majority of their brethren. The college, therefore, deemed it their duty, in a particular manner, to inquire upon what grounds and evidence the opposers of vaccination rested their opinions. From personal examination, as well as from their writings, they endeavoured to learn the full extent and weight of their objections. They found them without experience in vaccination, supporting their opinions by hearsay information, and hypothetical reasoning; and, upon investigating the facts which they advanced, they found them to be either misapprehended or misrepresented, or that they fell under the description of cases of imperfect small-pox, before noticed, and which the college have endeavoured fairly to appreciate.

The practice of vaccination is but of eight years standing, and its promoters, as well as opponents, must keep in mind that a period so short is too limited to ascertain every point, or to bring the art to that perfection of which it may be capable. The truth of this will readily

readily be admitted by those acquainted with the history of inoculation for the small-pox.

Though the college of physicians have confined themselves in estimating the evidence to such facts as have occurred in their own country, because the accuracy of them could best be ascertained, they cannot be insensible to the confirmation these receive from the reports of the successful introduction of vaccination, not only in every part of Europe, but throughout the vast continents of Asia and America.

With respect to the charge against vaccination of producing various new diseases of frightful and monstrous appearance,--representations of some of these have been exhibited in prints in a way to alarm the feelings of parents, and to infuse dread and apprehension into the minds of the uninformed. Publications with such representations have been widely circulated; and though they originate either in gross ignorance, or wilful misrepresentation, yet have they lessened the confidence of many, particularly the lower classes, in vaccination: no permanent effects, however, in retarding the progress of vaccination, need be apprehended from such causes; for as soon as the public shall view them coolly and without surprise, they will excite contempt, and not fear.

Were encouragement given to vaccination, by offering it to the poorer classes without expense, there is little doubt but it would in time supersede the inoculation for the small-pox, and thereby various sources of variolous infection would be cut off; but till vaccination becomes general, it will be impossible to prevent the constant recurrence of the natural small-pox by means of those who are inoculated, except it should appear proper to the legislature to adopt, in its wisdom, some measure by which those who still, from terror or prejudice, prefer the small-pox to the vaccine disease, may, in thus consulting the gratification of their own feelings, be prevented from doing mischief to their neighbours.

From the whole of the above considerations, the college of physicians feel it their duty strongly to recommend the practice of vaccination. They have been led to this conclusion by no preconceived opinion, but by the most unbiassed judgment, formed from an irresistible weight of evidence which has been laid before them. For, when the number, the respectability, the disinterestedness, and the extensive experience of its advocates is compared with the feeble and imperfect testimonies of its few opposers, and when it is considered that many who were once adverse to vaccination, have been convinced by further trials, and are now to be ranked among its warmest supporters, the truth seems to be established as firmly as the nature of such a question admits; so that the college of physicians conceive that the public may reasonably look forward with some degree of hope to the time when all opposition shall cease, and the general concurrence of mankind shall at length be able to put an end to the ravages at least, if not to the existence, of the small-pox.

Lucas Pepys, president.

Royal College of physicians,
10th of April, 1807.

Ja. Hervey, register.

[An appendix follows, containing the communication of the several colleges in the united kingdom, all of which are favourable to the practice.]

April 18.

The following address to the king's most excellent majesty was this day sealed at Sion college.

We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the London clergy, incorporated by the title of the president and fellows of Sion college within the city of London, beg leave to approach your sacred majesty, and at the present moment, in all humility, to lay before you the sentiments of veneration, duty, and affection, by which your clergy of the city of London have ever been animated towards your royal person and august family.

We feel, sire, that we should be utterly unworthy of that uniform and pious protection, which, through the course of a long and auspicious reign, your majesty has, under divine providence, extended to the church established in this united kingdom, if we did not, in the present posture of affairs, express our deep and indelible gratitude to your majesty, for a recent instance of your royal wisdom and constancy, in the preservation of those sanctions which experience has proved to be necessary for the protection of our constitution in church and state. These sanctions were the legacy of our revered ancestors, who lived in times most distinguished by the progress of true philosophy and the sagacity of legislative wisdom.

Sire, we are fully aware of all the dangers and confusions which must arise from depriving the established church of that mild and tolerant ascendency, which equally prevents the ruinous conflicts of contending sects and the overbearing supremacy of a foreign spiritual jurisdiction, inconsistent either wich liberty, or toleration, or genuine allegiance to a protestant prince.

In your majesty's firm refusal to sanction projects utterly subversive of all that the wisdom of our forefathers devised, and destructive of the strongest barriers of that constitution which your august family were called by divine providence to the throne of these kingdoms to defend, we recognise, with veneration and gratitude, an eminent regard for the true principles of Christian toleration and the high duties incumbent on a monarch of the protestant succession, and a most conscientious adherence to the sanctity of your coronation oath, which places the protestant religion established by law in this kingdom under your majesty's peculiar and incessant protection.

That your majesty may long here on earth enjoy the allegiance, affection, and gratitude, of all your faithful subjects, and the approving testimony of your conscience, and that you may late inherit the unfading crown which is reserved in heaven for the protectors and defenders of the sincere and uncorrupted faith of Christ, is the fervent and constant prayer of, sire, your ever dutiful, grateful, and affectionate subjects.

The PRESIDENT and FELLOWS of SION COLLEGE.

Given at Sion college, under our common seal, April 18, 1807.

April 27.

The lord chancellor, in his majesty's name, delivered the following Speech:—

My lords, and gentlemen,

We have it in command from his majesty to inform you that his majesty has thought fit to avail himself of the first moment which would admit of the interruption of the sitting of parliament, without material

material inconvenience to the public business, to close the present session: and that his majesty has therefore been pleased to cause a commission to be issued, under the great seal, for proroguing parliament.

We are further commanded to state to you, that his majesty is anxious to recur to the sense of his people, while the events which have recently taken place are yet fresh in their recollection.

His majesty feels, that, in resorting to this measure under the present circumstances, he at once demonstrates in the most unequivocal manner his own conscientious persuasion of the rectitude of those motives upon which he has acted; and affords to his people the best opportunity of testifying their determination to support him in every exercise of the prerogatives of his crown, which is conformable to the sacred obligations under which they are held, and conducive to the welfare of his kingdom and to the security of the constitution.

His majesty directs us to express his entire conviction, that, after so long a reign, marked by a series of indulgencies to his Roman catholic subjects, they, in common with every other class of his people, must feel assured of his attachment to the principles of a just and enlightened toleration, and of his anxious desire to protect equally, and promote impartially, the happiness of all descriptions of his subjects.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

His majesty has commanded us to thank you, in his majesty's name, for the supplies which you have furnished for the public service.

His majesty has seen with great satisfaction that you have been able to find the means of defraying, in the present year, those large but necessary expenses, for which you have provided, without imposing upon his people the immediate burden of additional taxes.

His majesty has observed with no less satisfaction the inquiries which you have instituted into subjects connected with public œconomy. And he trusts that the early attention of a new parliament, which he will forthwith direct to be called, will be applied to the prosecution of these important objects.

My lords, and gentlemen,

His majesty has directed us most earnestly to recommend to you, that you should cultivate, by all means in your power, a spirit of union, harmony, and good will amongst all classes and descriptions of his people.

His majesty trusts that the divisions naturally and unavoidably excited by the late unfortunate and uncalled for agitation of a question so interesting to the feelings and opinions of his people, will speedily pass away; and that the prevailing sense and determination of all his subjects to exert their united efforts in the cause of their country, will enable his majesty to conduct to an honourable and secure termination, the great contest in which he is engaged.

By the KING.—A PROCLAMATION

For dissolving the present parliament, and declaring the calling of another.

GEORGE R.

Whereas we think fit, by and with the advice of our privy council, to dissolve this present parliament, which stands prorogued to Wednesday the 13th day of May next; We do therefore publish this

our royal proclamation, and do hereby dissolve the said parliament accordingly; and the lords spiritual and temporal, and the knights, citizens, and burgesses, and the commissioners for shires and burghs, of the houseof commons, are discharged from their meeting and attendance on the said Wednesday the 13th day of May next. And we being desirous and resolved as soon as may be to meet our people, and to have their advice in parliament, do hereby make known to all our loving subjects our royal will and pleasure to call a new parliament: and do hereby further declare, that, with the advice of our privy council, we have this day given order that our chancellor of that part of our united kingdom called Great Britain, and our chancellor of Ireland, do respectively forthwith issue out writs, in due form and according to law, for calling a new parliament. And we do hereby also, by this our royal proclamation under our great seal of our united kingdom, require writs forthwith to be issued accordingly by our said chancellors respectively, for causing the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, who are to serve in the said parliament, to be duly returned to and give their attendance in our said parliament; which writs are to be returnable on Monday the 22d day of June next.

Given at our court at the Queen's palace, the 29th day of April, in the 47th year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

PARIS.

June 11.—This day, at three o'clock, in obedience to the orders of his majesty the emperor and king, the arch-chancellor of the empire repaired to the senate, and delivered the following message from his majesty:—

MESSAGE OF HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR AND KING.

Senators,—By our decrees of the 30th of March, 1806, we have established duchies, as recompenses for great civil and military services which have been, or may be rendered unto us, and to add new supports to our throne, and to surround it with fresh splendour.

It is our duty to secure the state and fortunes of those families who entirely devote themselves to our service, and who continually sacrifice their interest to our own. The permanent honours, the legitimate, honourable, and glorious fortunes which we wish to confer on those who render us eminent services, whether in the military or civil line, will form a striking contrast to the illegal, concealed, and scandalous fortunes of those, who, in the exercise of their functions, only sought their own interest in place of ours and the good of our service. Without doubt, the consciousness of having done his duty, and the advantages attached to our approbation, are sufficient to keep a true Frenchman within the line of honour; but the order of our society is so constituted, that to apparent distinctions, and to great riches, is annexed a degree of consideration and splendour with which it is our wish that all our subjects, who are signalized by their talents, their services, and their mind, that greatest gift to man, should be surrounded.

He who has given us the greatest assistance in this the commencement of our reign, and who after having rendered the greatest services, in all the events of his military career, has affixed his name

to

to a memorable siege, in which he has displayed talents and striking bravery, appears to us to merit the highest distinction. We have also wished to consecrate an epoch so honourable for our arms; and by the letters patent which we have instructed our cousin the arch-chancellor to communicate to you, we have created our cousin, marshal and senator Lefebvre, duke of Dantzic. May this, borne by his descendants, recall to them the virtues of their ancestor; and may they for ever acknowledge themselves as unworthy of it if ever they prefer a cowardly repose and the idleness of a great city, to the perils of the noble dust of camps; if ever their strongest wish ceases to be for us and their country! Let not one of them end his days without having shed his blood for the honour and glory of our noble France; and let him see in the name which he bears, not a privilege, but his duty towards the people and ourselves. Upon these conditions, they may be always assured of our protection and that of our successors.

Senators, we feel the highest satisfaction in the reflection, that the first letters patent, which, in consequence of the *senatus consultum* of the 14th of August 1806 are to be inscribed upon your registers, consecrate the services of your prætor.

Dated from our imperial camp, at Finckenstein, May 28, 1807.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.
H. B. MARET.

PARIS, *July* 13.

[From the Moniteur.]

Ordonnance of the bishop of the diocese of Quimper, on the subject of the conscription of 1808, and ordering the priests to beg of God to put a stop to the persecutions which the catholic church suffers in Ireland.

Pierre Vincent Dombidaude Croseillhes, by the grace of God, and authority of the holy see, bishop of Quimper, member of the legion of honour, to the clergy and faithful of his diocese, health and benediction.

[The first part relates to the conscription. The following is all that is interesting to an English reader:]

Yes, you shall see, my beloved brethren, that immortal deliverer, who has freed you from the horrors of anarchy, and of civil discord,—that instrument of Providence who has reopened our temples, and restored our altars. We shall hear the acclamations of your gratitude and of your love. They will prove to the eternal enemy of the glory and prosperity of France, that all its perfidious efforts and intrigues will never be able to alienate from him your religious and faithful hearts. For a moment it had seduced you, at that unhappy epoch when anarchy ravaged this desolated land, and when its impious furies overturned your temples, and profaned your altars. It only affected concern for the re-establishment of our holy religion, in order to rend and ravage our country.

See the sufferings it [England] inflicts on that nation, catholic like you, which is subject to its dominion. The three last ages present only the afflicting picture of a people robbed of all its religious and civil rights. In vain the most enlightened men of the nation have protested against the tyrannical oppression. A new persecution has ravished from them even the hope of

of seeing an end to their calamities; an inflamed and misled people dares applaud such injustice. It insults with sectarian fanaticism the catholic religion, and its venerable chief; and it is that government which knows not how to be just towards its own subjects, that dares to calumniate this, which has given us security and honour.

Whilst the Irish catholics groan beneath laws so oppressive, our august emperor does not confine himself to the protection and establishment of that religion in his own states; he demanded, in his treaty with Saxony, that it should there enjoy the same liberty as other modes of worship.

But the happiness, so dear to your hearts, my brethren, of being able to enjoy, with security, all the consolations of the religion of your fathers, will only render you more sensible of the miseries of that portion of the catholic church: spread through all countries, it is always united by bonds of the same faith with the different churches; it partakes of their tribulations and is interested in their prosperity. Faithful to these sentiments and principles, let us address the God of all vows and prayers to turn aside from the Irish catholic church this new storm with which it is menaced.

Impelled by these causes, we ordain as follows:—

Art. I. Our present ordonnance shall be read at the time of the sermon, in the public service, on Sunday the 7th of June, in the cathedral, and in all the other churches on the Sunday after it is received.

Art. II. There shall be said, every day, in divine service, in order to pray God to put a stop to the persecution which the catholic church of Ireland suffers, the prayer "against persecutors of the church," the "secret," and the "post communion," as long as that persecution shall continue.

Given at Quimper, June 1, 1807.

PIERRE VINCENT, bishop of Quimper.

By order of the bishop,

LE CLANCHE, priest, secretary.

JUNE 26.

The house met this day at three o'clock, and the commons were summoned to attend to hear his majesty's speech read by commission. On the speaker appearing at the bar, the lord chancellor read the following Speech:

My lords, and gentlemen,

We have it in command from his majesty to state to you that, having deemed it expedient to recur to the sense of his people, his majesty, in conformity to his declared intention, has lost no time in causing the present parliament to be assembled.

His majesty has great satisfaction in acquainting you that, since the events which led to the dissolution of parliament, his majesty has received, in numerous addresses from his subjects, the warmest assurances of their affectionate attachment to his person and government, and of their firm resolution to support him in maintaining the just rights of his crown and the true principles of the constitution; and he commands us to express his entire confidence that he shall experience in all your deliberations a determination to afford him an equally loyal, zealous, and affectionate support, under all the arduous circumstances of the present time.

We are commanded by his majesty to inform you, that his majesty's

jesty's endeavours have been most anxiously employed for the purpose of drawing closer the ties by which his majesty is connected with the powers of the continent; of assisting the efforts of those powers against the ambition and oppression of France; of forming such engagements as may ensure their continued cooperation; and of establishing that mutual confidence and concert so essential under any course of events to the restoration of a solid and permanent peace in Europe.

It would have afforded his majesty the greatest pleasure to have been enabled to inform you that the mediation undertaken by his majesty for the purpose of preserving peace between his majesty's ally, the emperor of Russia, and the Sublime Porte, had proved effectual for that important object: his majesty deeply regrets the failure of that mediation, accompanied as it was by the disappointment of the efforts of his majesty's squadron in the sea of Marmora, and followed as it has since been by the losses which have been sustained by his gallant troops in Ægypt.

His majesty could not but lament the extension of hostilities in any quarter, which should create a diversion in the war so favourable to the views of France; but lamenting it especially in the instance of a power with which his majesty has been so closely connected, and which has been so recently indebted for its protection against the encroachments of France to the signal and successful interposition of his majesty's arms.

His majesty has directed us to acquaint you that he has thought it right to adopt such measures as might best enable him, in concert with the emperor of Russia, to take advantage of any favourable opportunity for bringing the hostilities in which they are engaged against the Sublime Porte to a conclusion, consistent with his majesty's honour and the interests of his ally.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

His majesty has ordered the estimates of the current year to be laid before you, and he relies on the zeal of his faithful commons to make such provisions for the public service, as well as for the further application of the sums which were granted in the last parliament, as may appear to be necessary.

And his majesty, bearing constantly in mind the necessity of a careful and œconomical administration of the pecuniary resources of the country, has directed us to express his hopes that you will proceed without delay in the pursuit of those inquiries connected with the public œconomy, which engaged the attention of the last parliament.

My lords, and gentlemen,

His majesty commands us to state to you, that he is deeply impressed with the peculiar importance, at the present moment, of cherishing a spirit of union and harmony amongst his people: such a spirit will most effectually promote the prosperity of the country at home, give vigour and efficacy to its councils and its arms abroad; and can alone enable his majesty, under the blessing of Providence, to carry on successfully the great contest in which he is engaged, or finally to conduct it to that termination which his majesty's moderation and justice have ever led him to seek, a peace, in which the honour and interests of his kingdom can be secure, and in which Europe and the world may hope for independence and repose.

By

By THOMAS JEFFERSON, president of the United States:

A PROCLAMATION.

During the wars which for some time have unhappily prevailed among the powers of Europe, the United States of America, firm in their principles of peace, have endeavoured by justice, by a regular discharge of all their national and social duties, and by every friendly office their situation has admitted, to maintain, with all the belligerents, their accustomed relations of friendship, hospitality, and commercial intercourse.

Taking no part in the questions which animate these powers against each other, nor permitting themselves to entertain a wish but for the general restoration of peace, they have observed with good faith the neutrality they assumed; and they believe that no instance of a departure from its duties can be justly imputed to them by any nation. A free use of their harbours and waters, the means of refitting and refreshment, of succour to their sick and suffering, have, at all times, and on equal principles, been extended to all; and this, too, amidst a constant recurrence of acts of insubordination to the laws, of violence to the persons, and of trespasses on the property of our citizens, committed by officers of one of the belligerent parties received among us. In truth, these abuses of the laws of hospitality have, with few exceptions, become habitual to the commanders of the British armed vessels hovering on our coasts, and frequenting our harbours. They have been the subject of repeated representations to their government. Assurances have been given that proper orders should restrain them within the limit of their rights and of the respect due to a friendly nation; but those orders and assurances have been without effect; and no instance of punishment for past wrongs has taken place.

At length, a deed, transcending all we have hitherto seen or suffered, brings the public sensibility to a serious crisis, and our forbearance to a necessary pause. A frigate of the United States, trusting to a state of peace, and leaving her harbour on a distant service, has been surprised and attacked by a British vessel of superior force, one of a squadron then lying in our waters, and covering the transaction, and has been disabled from service, with the loss of a number of men killed and wounded.

This enormity was not only without provocation or justifiable cause, but was committed with the avowed purpose of taking by force, from a ship of war of the United States, a part of her crew; and, that no circumstance might be wanting to mark its character, it had been previously ascertained that the seamen demanded were native citizens of the United States. Having effected his purpose, he returned to anchor with his squadron within our jurisdiction. Hospitality under such circumstances ceases to be a duty; and a continuance of it, with such uncontroled abuses, would tend only, by multiplying injuries and irritations, to bring on a rupture between the two nations. This extreme resort is equally opposed to the interests of both, as it is to assurances of the most friendly dispositions on the part of the British government, in the midst of which this outrage has been committed. In this light the subject cannot but present itself to that government, and strengthen the motives to an honourable reparation of the wrong which

which has been done, and to that effectual control of its naval commanders, which alone can justify the government of the United States in the exercise of those hospitalities it is now constrained to discontinue.

In consideration of these circumstances, and of the right of every nation to regulate its own police, to provide for its peace, and for the safety of its citizens, and consequently to refuse the admission of armed vessels into its harbours or waters, either in such numbers or of such description as are inconsistent with these, or with the maintenance of the authority of the laws; I have thought proper, in pursuance of the authorities specially given by law, to issue this my proclamation, hereby requiring all armed vessels bearing commissions under the government of Great Britain, now within the harbours or waters of the United States, immediately and without any delay to depart from the same; and interdicting the entrance of all the said harbours and waters to the said armed vessels, and to all others bearing commissions under the authority of the British government.

And if the said vessels, or any of them, shall fail to depart as aforesaid; or if they, or any others, so interdicted, shall hereafter enter the harbours or waters aforesaid, I do in that case forbid all intercourse with them, or any of them, their officers, or crews, and do prohibit all supplies and aid from being furnished to them, or any of them.

And I do declare, and make known, that if any person from or within the jurisdictional limits of the United States shall afford any aid to any such vessel, contrary to the prohibition contained in this proclamation, either in repairing any such vessel, or in furnishing her, her officers, or crew, with supplies of any kind, or in any manner whatsoever; or if any pilot shall assist in navigating any of the said armed vessels, unless it be for the purpose of carrying them, in the first instance, beyond the limits and jurisdiction of the United States, or unless it be in the case of a vessel forced by distress, or charged with public dispatches, as hereinafter provided for, such person or persons shall, on conviction, suffer all the pains and penalties by the laws provided for such offences.

And I do hereby enjoin and require all persons bearing offices, civil or military, within or under the authority of the United States, and all others, citizens or inhabitants thereof, with vigilance and promptitude to exert their respective authorities, and to be aiding and assisting to the carrying this proclamation, and every part thereof, into full effect.

Provided nevertheless, that if any such vessels shall be forced into the harbours or waters of the United States, by distress, by the dangers of the sea, or the pursuit of an enemy, or shall enter them with dispatches or business from their government, or shall be a public packet for the conveyance of letters and dispatches, the commanding officer immediately reporting his vessel to the collector of the district, stating the object or causes of entering the said harbours or waters, and conforming himself to the regulations in that case prescribed under the authority of the laws, shall be allowed the benefit of such regulations respecting repairs, supply, stay, intercourse, and departure, as shall be permitted under the same authority.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States

to

to be affixed to these presents, and signed the same.

Given at the city of Washington, July 2, in the year of our Lord 1807, and of the sovereignty and independence of the United States the 31st.

TH. JEFFERSON.

By the president,

JAMES MADDISON,
Secretary of state.

July 7.

TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN FRANCE AND RUSSIA.

Art. 1. From the day of exchanging the ratification of the present treaties, there shall be perfect peace and amity between his majesty the emperor of the French and king of Italy, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias.

2. Hostilities shall immediately cease at all points by sea or land, as soon as the intelligence of the present treaty shall be officially received. In the meanwhile, the high contracting parties shall dispatch couriers extraordinary to their respective generals and commanders.

3. All ships of war or other vessels, belonging to the high contracting parties or their subjects, which may be captured after the signing of this treaty, shall be restored. In case of these vessels being sold, the value shall be returned.

4. Out of esteem for his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, and to afford to him a proof of his sincere desire to unite both nations in the bonds of immutable confidence and friendship, the emperor Napoleon wishes that all the countries, towns, and territory, conquered from the king of Prussia, the ally of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, should be restored, namely:—

[Here follows the specification of the countries and their boundaries, *verbatim* as in article II. of the Prussian treaty.]

5. Those provinces, which, on the 1st January, 1772, formed a part of the kingdom of Poland, and have since, at different times, been subjected to Prussia (with the exception of the countries named or alluded to in the preceding article, and of those which are described below) shall become the possession of his majesty the king of Saxony, with power of possession and sovereignty, under the title of the duchy of Warsaw, and shall be governed according to a regulation, which will insure the liberties and privileges of the people of the said duchy, and be consistent with the security of the neighbouring states.

6. Provides for the independence of the city of Dantzic, as in art. 19 of the Prussian treaty.

7. Provides for a military road through the Prussian states, to meet in the communication between the kingdom of Saxony and the duchy of Warsaw, as in art. 16 of the Prussian treaty.

8. Provides for the navigation of the Vistula, as in art. 20 of the Prussian treaty.

9. Defines the frontier boundary of Russia on the duchy of Warsaw, as in Art. 18 of the Prussian treaty.

10. Provides for the indemnity of such persons as have taken any part in the war, as in Art. 22 of the Prussian treaty.

11. All contracts and engagements between his majesty the king of Prussia and the ancient possessors, relative to the general imposts, the ecclesiastical, the military, or civil benefices, the creditors or pensioners of the old Prussian government, are to be settled between the

emperor of all the Russias and his majesty the king of Saxony; and to be regulated by their said majesties, in proportion to their acquisitions, according to articles 5 and 9.

12. Their royal highnesses the dukes of Saxe Cobourg, Oldenburg, and Mecklenburgh Schwerin, shall each of them be restored to the complete and quiet possession of their estates; but the ports in the duchies of Oldenburgh and Mecklenburgh shall remain in the possession of French garrisons till the definitive treaty shall be signed between France and England.

13. His majesty the emperor Napoleon accepts of the mediation of the emperor of all the Russias, in order to negotiate and conclude a definitive treaty of peace between France and England: however, only upon condition that this mediation shall be accepted by England in one month after the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty.

14. His majesty the emperor of all the Russias, being desirous on his part to manifest how ardently he desires to establish the most intimate and lasting relations between the two emperors, acknowledges his majesty Joseph Napoleon, king of Naples, and his majesty Louis Napoleon, king of Holland.

15. His majesty the emperor of all the Russias acknowledges the confederation of the Rhine, the present state of the possessions of the princes belonging to it, and the titles of those which were conferred upon them by the act of confederation, or by the subsequent treaties of accession. His said majesty also promises, information being communicated to him on the part of the emperor Napoleon, to acknowledge those sovereigns who may hereafter become members of the confederation, according to their rank specified in the act of confederation.

16. His majesty the emperor of all the Russias cedes all his property in the right of sovereignty to the lordship of Jever, in East Friesland, to his majesty the king of Holland.

17. The present treaty of peace shall be mutually binding and in force for his majesty the king of Naples, Joseph Napoleon, his majesty Louis Napoleon, king of Holland, and the sovereigns of the confederation of the Rhine, in alliance with the emperor Napoleon.

18. His majesty the emperor of all the Russias also acknowledges his imperial highness prince Jerome Napoleon as king of Westphalia.

19. The kingdom of Westphalia shall consist of the provinces ceded by the king of Prussia on the left bank of the Elbe, and other states at present in the possession of his majesty the emperor Napoleon.

20. His majesty the emperor of all the Russias engages to recognise the limits which shall be determined by his majesty the emperor Napoleon, in pursuance of the foregoing 19th article, and the cessions of his majesty the king of Prussia (which shall be notified to his majesty the emperor of all the Russias), together with the state of possession resulting therefrom to the sovereigns for whose behoof they shall have been established.

21. All hostilities shall immediately cease between the troops of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias and those of the grand seignior, at all points, wherever official intelligence shall arrive of the signing of the present treaty. The high contracting parties shall, without delay, dispatch couriers extraordinary, to convey the intelligence with the utmost possible expedition to

to the repective generals and commanders.

22. The Prussian troops shall be withdrawn from the provinces of Moldavia, but the said provinces shall not be occupied by the troops of the grand seignior, till after the exchange of the ratifications of the future definitive treaty of peace between Russia and the Ottoman Porte.

23. His majesty the emperor of all the Russias accepts the mediation of his majesty the emperor of France and king of Italy, for the purpose of negotiating a peace advantageous and honourable to the two powers, and of concluding the same.

The respective plenipotentiaries shall repair to that place which will be agreed upon by the two powers concerned, there to open the negotiations, and to proceed therewith.

24. The periods, within which the high contracting parties shall withdraw their troops from the places which they are to evacuate pursuant to the above stipulations, as also the manner in which the different stipulations contained in the present treaty shall be executed, will be settled by a special agreement.

25. His majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, mutually insure to each other the integrity of their possessions, and of those of the powers included in this present treaty, in the state in which they are now settled, or further to be settled, pursuant to the above stipulations.

26. The prisoners made by the contracting parties, or those included in the present treaty, shall be restored in a mass, and without any cartel of exchange on both sides.

27. The commercial relations between the French empire, the kingdom of Italy, the kingdoms of Naples and Holland, and the confederated states of the Rhine, on the one side, and the empire of Russia on the other, shall be replaced on the same footing as before the war.

28. The ceremonial between the courts of the Thuilleries and Petersburg, with respect to each other, and also their respective ambassadors, ministers, and envoys, mutually accredited to each other, shall be placed on the footing of complete equality and reciprocity.

29. The present treaty shall be ratified by his majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias; the ratifications shall be exchanged in this city within the space of four days.

Done at Tilsit, July, (25th June) 1807.

(Signed)

C. M. Talleyrand, Prince of Benevento.

Prince Alexander Kourakin.

Prince Dimitry Labanoff Van Rostoff.

TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN FRANCE AND PRUSSIA.

His majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, and protector of the confederation of the Rhine, and his majesty the king of Prussia, animated with the same desire of putting an end to the calamities of war, have for that purpose appointed plenipotentiaries, viz.

On the part of his majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, and protector of the confederation of the Rhine, M. Ch. Maurice Talleyrand, prince of Benevento, and minister of foreign affairs, &c. and on that of his majesty

majesty the king of Prussia, M. marshal count de Kalkreuth, knt. of the Prussian orders of the red and black eagle, and count von Goltz, his privy counsellor, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, and knight of the Prussian order of the black eagle; who, after the exchange of their several powers, have agreed on the following articles:—

Art. 1. From the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, there shall be perfect peace and amity between his majesty the emperor of the French and the king of Prussia.

2. The part of the duchy of Magdeburg which lies on the right bank of the Elbe, the mark of Priegnitz, the ukermark of Brandeburg, with exception of the circle of Kotbers in Lower Lusatia, the duchy of Pomerania, Upper, Lower, and New Silesia, with the county of Glatz, the part of the district of Ness which lies to the north of the road from Driesen, Schreidemnch, and to the north of a line passing from Schreidemuch, by Walden, to the Vistula, and to the frontiers of the circle of Bromberge, Pomerania, the island of Nogat, and the country on the right bank of the Vistula and the Nogat, to the west of Old Prussia, and to the north of the circle of Culmer; finally, the kingdom of Prussia, as it was on the 1st of January 1772, shall be restored to the king of Prussia, with the fortresses of Spandau, Stettin, Custrin, Glogau, Breslau, Schweidnitz, Neisse, Brieg, Cosel, and Glatz, and in general all the places, citadels, castles, and forts of the above-mentioned, shall be restored in the state in which they at present are; the town and citadel of Graudenz, with the villages of Neudorf, Parschken, and Schweirkorzy, shall likewise be restored to his majesty the king of Prussia.

3. His majesty the king of Prussia acknowledges his majesty the king of Naples, Joseph Napoleon, and his majesty the king of Holland, Louis Napoleon.

4. His majesty the king of Prussia in like manner acknowledges the confederation of the Rhine, and the present state of the possessions of the sovereigns of which it is composed, and the titles which have been bestowed on them. His said majesty likewise engages to acknowledge those sovereigns who in future shall become members of the said confederation.

5. The present treaty of peace and amity shall be in common for his majesty the king of Naples, Joseph Napoleon, for his majesty the king of Italy, and for the sovereigns of the confederation of the Rhine, the allies of his majesty the emperor Napoleon.

6. His majesty in like manner acknowledges his imperial highness prince Jerome Napoleon as king of Westphalia.

7. His majesty the king of Prussia cedes in full right of property and sovereignty to the kings, grand dukes, dukes, and princes who shall be pointed out by his majesty the emperor of the French, all the duchies, margravates, principalities, counties, and lordships, of whatever kind, or by whatever title possessed by his majesty the king of Prussia, between the Rhine and the Elbe, at the commencement of the present war.

8. The kingdom of Westphalia shall consist of the provinces ceded by his majesty the king of Prussia,

and of other states which are at present in possession of the emperor Napoleon.

9. The arrangements which the emperor Napoleon shall make in the countries alluded to in the two preceding articles, shall be acknowledged by his majesty the king of Prussia, in the same manner as if they were contained and stipulated in the present treaty.

10. The king of Prussia renounces for himself, his heirs, and successors, all actual or future rights which he had, or may acquire—1. To all territory, without exception, situate between the Elbe and the Rhine, and in general to all not described in article 3.—2. To all possessions of his majesty the king of Saxony, and the house of Anhalt, situate on the right bank of the Elbe. On the other hand, all rights or claims of the states situate between the Rhine and the Elbe, to the possessions of his majesty the king of Prussia, as they are defined by the present treaty, shall be for ever extinguished and annulled.

11. All negotiations, conventions, or treaties of alliance, that may have been published or privately concluded between Prussia and any state on the left bank of the Elbe, and which have not been broken by the present war, shall be considered as null and not concluded.

12. The king of Prussia cedes the circle of Kottbuss, in Lower Lusatia, to the king of Saxony.

13. The king of Prussia renounces for ever possession of all the provinces which formerly constituted parts of the kingdom of Poland, and have at different periods come under the dominion of Prussia, excepting Croneland and the country to the west of ancient Prussia, to the east of Pomerania, and the New Mark to the north of the circle of Halm, and a line which passes from the Vistula by Waldau to Schreidemuhl, passing along the boundaries of the circle of Bromberg, and the road from Schreidemuhl to Driesen, which provinces, with the town and citadel of Graudenz, and the villages of Neudorf, Parschken, and Schwierkorzy, shall in future be possessed by the king of Prussia.

14. The king of Prussia renounces in like manner for ever possession of the city of Dantzic.

15. The provinces which the king of Prussia renounces in the 13th article, with the exception of the territories mentioned in the 18th article, shall be possessed with right of property and sovereignty by the king of Saxony, under the title of dukedom of Warsaw.

16. To secure a connexion and communication between the kingdom of Saxony and the duchy of Warsaw, the free use of a military road shall be granted to the king of Saxony through the states of the king of Prussia.

17. The navigation of the river Ness and the canal of Bromberg, from Driessen to the Vistula and back, shall remain free from any toll.

18. In order to establish national boundaries between Russia and the duchy of Warsaw, the territory between the present boundaries of Russia, from the Bug to the mouth of the Dassosna, and a line which passes from the said mouth and along the channel of that river, the channel of the Boura to its mouth, the channel of the Narew from its mouth to Suradz, the channel of the Lisa to its source, near the village of Mien, and of the two neighbouring arms of the Murzeck itself to its mouth, and lastly, along

along the channel of the Bug, up the stream, to the present boundaries of Russia, shall for ever be incorporated with the Russian empire.

19. The city of Dantzic, with the territory of two miles in circumference, shall be restored to its former independence, under the protection of the king of Prussia and the king of Saxony, and to be governed by the rules by which it was governed when it used to be its own mistress.

20. Neither the king of Prussia nor the king of Saxony shall obstruct the navigation of the Vistula, by any prohibition, nor by any custom duty of imports whatsoever.

21. The city, port and territory of Dantzic shall be shut up, during the present maritime war, against the trade and navigation of Great Britain.

22. No individual of any rank or description whatsoever, whose property and abode are situated in such provinces as formerly belonged to the kingdom of Poland, or which the king of Prussia is henceforth to possess, and no individual of the duchy of Warsaw, or residing within the territory incorporated with Russia, shall be prosecuted for any part which he may have taken in the events of the present war.

23. In the same manner no individual residing, or possessing landed property in the countries which belonged to the king of Prussia, prior to the 1st of January 1772, and which are restored to him by virtue of the preceding second article; and in particular no individual of the Berlin civic guard, or of the gens d'armes, who have taken up arms in order to preserve public tranquillity, shall be prosecuted on account of any part which he may have taken in the events of the present war.

24. The engagements, debts, or obligations, of any nature whatsoever, which the king of Prussia may have contracted or concluded, prior to the present war, as possessor of the countries, dominions, domains, estates, and revenues, which his majesty cedes or renounces in the present treaty, shall be performed and ratified by the new possessors.

25. The funds and capitals which belong to private persons or public religion, civil and military associations, in countries belonging to the king of Prussia, or which he renounces by the private treaty, shall neither be confiscated nor attached.

26. The archives, which contain the titles of property, documents, and in general all the papers which relate to the countries, &c. seated in the above-mentioned countries, are to be delivered up by commissioners of his said majesty, within the time of three months next ensuing the exchange of the ratification of this treaty, to commissioners of his majesty the emperor Napoleon, with regard to the countries seated on the left banks of the Rhine; and to commissioners of his majesty the emperor of Russia, of his majesty the king of Saxony, and of the city of Dantzic, with regard to all countries which their said majesties, and the city of Dantzic, are in future to possess, by virtue of the present compact.

27. Until the day of the ratification of the future definitive treaty between France and England, all the countries under the dominion of the king of Prussia, without any exception whatsoever, shall be

shut against the trade and navigation of the English. No shipment to be made from any Prussian port for the British isles or British colonies, nor shall any ship which sailed from England or her colonies be admitted in any Prussian port.

28. The necessary arrangements shall immediately be made to settle every point which relates to the manner and period of the surrender of the places which are to be restored to the king of Prussia.

29. The prisoners at war taken on both sides are to be returned without any exchange, and in mass, as soon as circumstances shall admit.

30. The present treaty is to be ratified by his majesty the emperor of the French, and by his majesty the king of Prussia; and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Konigsburg, by the undermentioned, within the time of six days next ensuing the signing of this treaty.

Done at Tilsit, this 9th July, 1807.

C. M. TALLEYRAND,
Prince of Benevento.
Count KALKREUTH,
Field-marshal.
AUGUSTUS, Count Goltz.

Farewell address from the king of Prussia to the inhabitants of his provinces ceded by the treaty of Tilsit*. The proclamation is as follows:—

You are acquainted, beloved inhabitants of faithful provinces, territories, and towns, with my sentiments,

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* By the peace of Tilsit the Prussian monarchy has been diminished nearly one-half. Instead of ten millions of inhabitants, no more than five now remain under the Prussian sceptre, and the revenue, which formerly amounted to forty millions of dollars, has been decreased in a still greater proportion; since the ceded provinces are exactly those which are the richest and the most fertile, and on whose improvement many millions have heretofore been expended. Almost all that Prussia gained by the partition of Poland is again wrested from her. Saxony, the late confederate of Prussia, by compulsion, has received these provinces: and Russia, the most powerful ally of the latter, has been rounded by territory, containing a population of 200,000 souls. The following is a statement of the losses of Prussia, by the peace of Tilsit:

Westphalian Possessions.	German sq. miles.	Inhabitants.
County of Mark, with Essen, Werden, and Lippstadt,	51	148,000
Principality of Minden,	18½	70,368
County of Ravensberg,	16½	89,938
Lingen and Tecklenberg,	13	46,000
Cleve, on the German side of the Rhine,	20½	54,000
Principality of East Friesland,	56½	119,500
——— Munster,	49	127,000
——— Paderborn,	50	98,500

It is scarcely necessary to observe, that some of the Westphalian possessions were ceded at an earlier period, and that no compensation will be now made for them.

Possessions in Lower Saxony.	German sq. miles.	Inhabitants.
Magdeburg, with that part of the duchy on the left bank of the Elbe, Halle, &c.	54	160,000
County of Mansfeld,	10	27,000
Principality of Halberstadt,	26½	101,000
County of Hohenstein,	8½	27,000
Territory of Quedlinburg,	1½	13,400
Principality of Hildesheim and Goslar,	40	114,000

Possession

sentiments, and with the events of last year. My arms succumbed under the pressure of misfortunes; the exertions of the last remains of my army proved fruitless. Forced back to the uttermost borders of the empire, and even my powerful ally having judged it necessary to conclude an armistice and peace, nothing remained for me but the wish to restore tranquillity to my country, after the calamites of war. Peace was to be concluded, as circumstances dictated; the most painful sacrifices were required of myself and my house. What ages and worthy ancestors, conventions, love, and confidence had united; was to be severed. My efforts, the exertions of all who belonged to me, were used in vain. Fate ordains;—a father parts with his children. I release you from all allegiance to my person and my house. My most ardent wishes for your prosperity attend you to your new sovereign: be to him what you were to me. No fate, no power, can efface in my bosom, and in the mind of my family, the remembrance of you.

FREDERIC WILLIAM.

Memel, July 24, 1807.

PROTEST AGAINST PASSING THE IRISH INSURRECTION BILL.

Dissentient,

1st, Because the reasons which have been urged in debate do not appear to be sufficiently strong to compel me to agree to passing this bill, which can be justified only on the plea of necessity, and which being contrary to the principles of a free constitution, ought (if unfortunately necessary) to be in force for the shortest time possible; and yet, in the present case, it has been pertinaciously refused to limit its duration to one year, and on the contrary it has been declared in debate, that it would have been

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	German sq. miles.	Inhabitants.
Possessions in Upper Saxony.		
The Old Mark, with Stendal, &c.	62	114,000
Circle of Kottbuss, in Lower Lusatia,	17½	33,266
Principality of Erfurt,	13	41,700
County of Untergleichen, with Blankenhain,	3	9,300
Principality of Eichsfeld,	28	84,000
County of Muhlhausen,	4	16,000
—— Nordhausen,	½	8,800
Previous Cessions.		
Anspach,	62¾	270,000
Bayreuth,	57¼	223,000
Neufchatel,	16½	47,600
Total	680	2,042,261

To this we have still to add the great loss of territory in Poland, with Warsaw, Dantzic, Thorn, Posen, &c. Since 1772, Prussia had acquired in her Polish territories upwards of three millions of inhabitants. Of these she now loses more than 2000 square miles, and two and a half millions of inhabitants. The king of Saxony has more territory, and more subjects, as duke of Warsaw, than as king. While the sun of Saxony is thus rising with new splendour, two of the most antient German princely houses, those of the Catti and Guelphs, have fallen, and pensions are assigned to their princes. The application of Alexander alone has saved the two duchies, whose sovereigns are allied to him by marriage: Mecklenburg Schwerin, and Saxe Coburg.

better if this bill had been for a longer period of years.

2dly, Because, if it be true that this bill is imperiously called for by the distracted state of Ireland, it should not have been delayed till so late a period of the session, when the attendance is necessarily so thin, and it could not receive the discussion which it ought; but should have been brought forward sooner, together with other measures of a conciliatory kind to meliorate the unfortunate state of that country, if it be really such as it is represented.

3dly, Because it appears to me that the best way to conciliate the people of Ireland to an union with this country is by convincing them that in all our acts towards them, we are as tender of their liberties as we are of our own, and that we will on no account suffer that to be done to them, which we will not as readily, and on the same grounds, submit to ourselves.

(Signed) PONSONBY,
(E. Besborough, in Ireland).
PONSONBY.

PROTEST

Entered on the journals of the house of lords on the occasion of the rejection of the bill, entitled "An act to prohibit the granting of offices in reversion, or for joint lives, with benefit of survivorship."

Dissentient,

1st, Because we are of opinion that a bill of such magnitude and importance, sent up by the commons house of parliament as a measure of precaution against the wanton and injudicious expenditure of the money of their constituents, demanded the deliberate consideration of a full house, it is, therefore with the deepest regret we have seen it hastily rejected, at the instigation of noble lords deeply interested in reversionary grants, and in the absence of those whose official situations rendered their attendance in this house more peculiarly a public duty.

2d, Because, with the knowledge that this bill not only commanded the general approbation of the commons house of parliament, but that it appears from the votes of that house to have been the only measure introduced by the committee of finance, of whose exertions his majesty, in his speech at the conclusion of the last, as well as at the commencement of this parliament, so strongly expressed his approbation; we cannot, without the deepest feeling of alarm, reflect on the serious discontent which the public must feel at this unprecedented manner of rejecting a measure, so deservedly popular, sanctioned by the direct approbation of one branch of the legislature, and indirectly recommended to the favour of this house by the other.

3d, Because at a time when the unfortunate situation of Europe renders that exertion which proceeds from an union of sentiment so desirable; and when the people of this country are suffering under the pressure of an unprecedented accumulation of taxes, we cannot but feel the deepest concern that this house should reject a measure so intimately connected with that system of œconomy in the expenditure of public money, which the people have a right to expect: we dread that it will extinguish all hopes of deriving any benefit from that committee of finance, to whose exertions the people of this country have been taught to look with favour, and that it will give rise to

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secret feelings of discontent, at a moment when prudence calls for such measures as are best calculated to produce an union of efforts in the common cause.

(Signed) LAUDERDALE.
VASSALL HOLLAND,
SELKIRK,
CHOLMONDELEY,
COWPER,
(For the last two reasons)
GROSVENOR.

August 8.

This day, the lord mayor, attended by four of the aldermen and about 80 of the common council, proceeded in state from Guildhall to Montague house, Blackheath, where they presented the following address to the duchess of Brunswick:

May it please your royal and serene highness,

We, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, most humbly entreat your royal and serene highness to accept our sincere congratulations on your safe arrival in this imperial country. The return to her native land of an illustrious princess, so nearly and dearly allied to our beloved sovereign, and to the royal and amiable consort of the heir apparent to the throne of this united kingdom, cannot but renew the most lively sentiments of affection in the hearts of his majesty's loyal subjects, and a warm participation of those feelings which a meeting so interesting to the royal family must have occasioned. Deeply impressed, madam, as we are, by the extraordinary events which have occasioned your return, we trust that your royal and serene highness will permit us to express the sincere joy we feel at your restoration to the shores of a free and loyal people, not more attached to a good and venerable king, by duty to his supreme and august station, than by affection to his sacred person and family.

(Signed by order of court,)
HENRY WOODTHORPE.

To which her royal highness returned the following answer:

My lord,—I return your lordship and the aldermen and commons of the city of London my grateful thanks for an address which has given me the most heartfelt satisfaction. It affords me an additional instance of the loyal attachment of the city of London to the king, and of their affectionate regard for his majesty's royal family.

The corporation were graciously received by her royal highness; and to those who recollected her youthful bloom, she appeared venerably pleasing.

August 14.

The parliament was this day prorogued to the 24th of September by the following speech from the lord chancellor:

My lords, and gentlemen,

We have it in command from his majesty to express the satisfaction with which he finds himself enabled to give you that recess, which, after the great and diligent exertions you have made in the dispatch of public business, must, at this advanced season of the year, be so peculiarly desirable. His majesty has been graciously pleased to direct us to return you his thanks for the steady loyalty and attachment to his person and government, and the zealous devotion to the public service, which have characterized all your deliberations; and

most especially to thank you for the seasonable exertions which you have enabled him to make for the augmentation of the military force of his kingdom.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

His majesty has commanded us to return you his warmest thanks for the supplies which you have granted with so much cheerfulness for the current year; and when he considers the provision which you have made for those contingent and unforeseen services which the events of the war may render necessary, his majesty has the greatest satisfaction in recognising the wisdom wherewith, in a time of extraordinary difficulties, you have anticipated the possible demands which those difficulties may occasion.

My lords, and gentlemen,

His majesty commands us to assure you, that he deeply deplores the unfortunate issue of the war upon the continent.

The immense extension of the power and influence of France, and the undisguised determination of the enemy to employ the means and resources of those countries which he possesses or controls for the purpose of effecting the ruin of his majesty's kingdom, undoubtedly present a formidable view of the difficulties and dangers which this country has to encounter. But his majesty trusts that the loyal and brave people over whom he reigns are not to be daunted or disheartened. From the recollection of those difficulties under which his people have successfully struggled, and of those dangers which they have happily surmounted, his majesty derives the consolation of believing that the same spirit and perseverance, which have hitherto remained unbroken, will continue to be exerted with unabated vigour and success.

And, while his majesty commands us to repeat the assurances of his constant readiness to entertain any proposals which may lead to a secure and honourable peace, he commands us at the same time to express his confidence that his parliament and his people will feel with him the necessity of persevering in those vigorous efforts which alone can give the character of honour to any negotiations, or the prospect of security or permanency to any peace. His majesty therefore trusts that his parliament and his people will always be ready to support him in every measure which may be necessary to defeat the designs of his enemies against the independence of his majesty's dominions, and to maintain against any undue pretensions, and against any hostile confederacy, those just rights which his majesty is always desirous to exercise with temper and moderation, but which, as essential to the honour of his crown and true interests of his people, he is determined never to surrender.

RUSSIAN PROCLAMATION.

We, Alexander the first, by God's grace, emperor and autocrat of all the Russias.

The war between Russia and France, through the powerful assistance of the Most High, and the distinguished valour of our troops, has ended,—peace is happily restored.

In the course of this war, Russia has experienced the magnitude of her resources, in the love and devotion of her sons, and which she may reckon upon finding on all occasions.

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The troops in general have exhibited an unexampled valour, the firmest intrepidity, and heroic action; wherever they were called by the voice of honour the sense of danger disappeared; their glorious deeds will remain beyond the power of oblivion in the annals of national honour, and a grateful country will consider them as standing examples for prosperity.

The nobles of the civil class, treading in the footsteps of their predecessors, have not only distinguished themselves by the sacrifices they have made of their property, but also by their perfect readiness to hazard their lives for the honour of their country.

The merchants, and all other classes, neither sparing of their endeavours nor their property, have cheerfully borne the burthen of the war, and have shown themselves ready to make any sacrifice whatever.

With such a general and intimate union of valour and patriotism, it has pleased the Most High, defending and strengthening our armies in the severest conflicts, finally to reward their intrepidity, by putting a happy period to a sanguinary war, and presenting us with a propitious peace, by a treaty between France and Russia, which was concluded and ratified on the 27th of June, in our presence, at Tilsit.

According to the basis of this treaty, we have rejected all the plans for the enlargement of our frontiers at the expense of our allies, as inconsistent with justice and Russian dignity.

Not willing to extend our spacious empire, we only made use of our arms to restore the violated tranquillity of the continent, and to avert the danger which threatened our own, and the states that were in alliance with us.—Through the establishment of the present peace, Russia's ancient limits are not only secured in their complete inviolability, but rendered more complete, by the addition of a natural and advantageous line of frontier. Several countries and provinces have been given to our allies, which had been lost by the fortune of war, and subjugated by force of arms.

Peace being concluded upon these principles, we are convinced that all our faithful subjects will join with us in offering up their prayers to the throne of the King of Kings, that Russia may long enjoy its advantages, defended by the blessings of the supreme, and the unshaken and tried valour of her armies.

Given at St. Petersburg, Aug. 9, 1807, and the seventh year of our reign. ALEXANDER.

PROCLAMATION

Issued on the 16th of August, at Zealand, by admiral Gambier and lord Cathcart, commanders in chief of his majesty's forces by sea and land, employed in the expedition.

Whereas the present treaties of peace, and the changes of government and of territory, acceded to by so many powers, have so far increased the influence of France on the continent of Europe, as to render it impossible for Denmark, though it desires to be neutral, to preserve its neutrality, and absolutely necessary for those who continue to resist the French aggression, to take measures to prevent the arms of neutral powers from being turned against them: in this view, the king cannot regard the present position of Denmark with indifference; and his majesty has sent negotiators with ample powers

to

to his Danish majesty, to request, in the most amicable manner, such explanations as the times require, and a concurrence in such measures as can alone give security against the further mischiefs which the French meditate, through the acquisition of the Danish navy.

The king, our royal and most gracious master, has therefore judged it expedient to desire the temporary deposit of the Danish ships of the line in one of his majesty's ports. This deposit seems to be so just and so indispensably necessary, under the relative circumstances of the neutral and belligerent powers, that his majesty has further deemed it a duty to himself, and to his people, to support this demand by a powerful fleet, and by an army amply supplied with every preparation necessary for the most active and determined enterprise.

We come, therefore, to your shores, inhabitants of Zealand! not as enemies, but in self-defence, to prevent those who have so long disturbed the peace of Europe from compelling the force of your navy to be turned against us. We ask deposit; we have not looked to capture: so far from it, the most solemn pledge has been offered to your government, and is hereby renewed in the name, and at the express command, of the king, our master, that if our demand is amicably acceded to, every ship belonging to Denmark shall, at the conclusion of a general peace, be restored to her, in the same condition and state of equipment as when received under the protection of the British flag.

It is in the power of your government, by a word, to sheath our swords, most reluctantly drawn against you; but if, on the other hand, the machinations of France render you deaf to the voice of reason, and the call of friendship, the innocent blood that will be spilt, and the horrors of a besieged and bombarded capital, must fall on your own heads, and on those of your cruel advisers. His majesty's seamen and soldiers, when on shore, will treat Zealand, as long as your conduct to them permits it, on the footing of a province of the most friendly power in alliance with Great Britain, whose territory has the misfortune to be the theatre of war. The persons of all those who remain at home, and who do not take a hostile part, will be held sacred.

Property will be respected and preserved, and the most severe discipline will be enforced. Every article of supply furnished or brought to market will be paid for at a fair and settled price; but as immediate and constant supplies, especially of provision, forage, fuel, and transports, are necessary to all armies, it is well known that requisitions are unavoidable, and must be enforced.—Much convenience will arise to the inhabitants, and much confusion and loss to them will be prevented, if persons in authority are found in the several districts to whom requisitions may be addressed, and through whom claims for payment may be settled and liquidated. If such persons are appointed, and discharge their duty, without meddling in matters which do not concern them, they shall be respected, and all requisitions shall be addressed to them, through the proper channels, and departments of the navy and army: but, as forbearance on the part of the inhabitants is essential to the principle of these arrangements, it is necessary that all manner of civil persons shall remain

main at their respective habitations; and any peasants, or other persons, found in arms, singly, or in small troops, or who may be guilty of any act of violence, must expect to be treated with rigour.

The government of his Danish majesty having hitherto refused to treat this matter in an amicable way, part of the army has been disembarked, and the whole force has assumed a warlike attitude; but it is as yet not too late for the voice of reason and moderation to be heard.—Given in the Sound, under our hands and seals, this 16th day of August, 1807.

(Signed as above.)

DANISH PROCLAMATION.

We, Christian the seventh, by the grace of God, king of Denmark, Norway, &c. &c. do hereby make known, that whereas, by the English envoy Jackson, it was declared to us, on the 13th of this month, that hostilities against Denmark would be commenced; and whereas at the same time he demanded passports for himself and his suite; consequently the war between England and Denmark may be considered as actually broken out: therefore we herewith call on all our faithful subjects to take up arms, whenever it shall be required, to frustrate the insidious designs of the enemy, and repel hostile attacks. We further herewith ordain, that all English ships, as well as all English property, and all English goods, shall be seized by the magistrates, and others, in particular by the officers of customs, wheresoever they may be found. It is further our will, that all English subjects, until pursuant to our further orders they can be sent out of the country, shall, without exception, be arrested as enemies of our kingdom and our country; which measure is strictly to be carried into execution by all magistrates, as well as by all subordinate officers, duly to be instructed by them for that purpose; and it is a matter of course, that all English ships and boats which approach our coasts shall be considered and treated as hostile. It is also our will, that all suspicious foreigners shall be watched with the greatest attention; and that all magistrates, and subordinate officers, shall use their utmost efforts, as soon as possible, to discover all spies. Lastly, we find it necessary to ordain, that, immediately after publication hereof, all correspondence with English subjects shall entirely cease; and that no payment shall be made to them, on any ground whatever, until our further order, on pain of severe punishment in case of contravention. For the rest we rely on the justice of our cause, and the courage and tried fidelity of our beloved subjects.—Given under our royal seal, in our fortress of Gluckstadt, the 16th of August, 1807.

(L. S.) C. L. BARON V. BROCKDORF.
(R.) J. C. MORITZ."

The prince royal addressed the following proclamation to the inhabitants of Moen, Falster, and Laland:

Countrymen—I call upon you to take up arms against an enemy who has not only taken you by surprise, but has approached your coast under the mask of friendship. Remember the ancestors from whom you descended, and that they, through their courage and unanimity, acquired immortal fame. Your king, your country, and your home, let these be your watch-words,

words, and nothing will be impossible to you. Advance, then, to arms! Assemble under the banners of a Danish prince,—drive back the enemy, for nothing can withstand you. I only regret that the circumstances of the present moment do not permit me to put myself at your head.

FREDERICK, Crown Prince.

DECLARATION.

All Europe is acquainted with the system, which Denmark, during fifteen years of warfare and commotion, has pursued with uniform perseverance. The sole object of all her efforts and wishes has been strictly to maintain a candid and impartial neutrality, and scrupulously to fulfil all the duties attached thereunto. The Danish government, in its relations and connections with other states, has never lost sight of that simplicity which was inseparable from the purity of its intentions, and its love of peace, in which it cannot be suspected ever to have varied. Providence had hitherto blessed its endeavours. Without injury to, or cause of reproach from, the other powers, Denmark had succeeded in preserving with each a good understanding; and if circumstances have from time to time occasioned reclamations or discussions on the part of the belligerent powers, they have always originated in that impartiality in her conduct and rigorous principles, which they have served more fully to demonstrate.

This state of peace and security has suddenly been annihilated.

The English government, after having by a shameful supineness betrayed the interests of its allies, who were engaged in a struggle as important as the issue of it was uncertain, has suddenly developed all its power to surprise and attack a neutral and peaceful state, against which it had not even the shadow of complaint. The execution of the plan of invading Denmark, united with Great Britain by bonds as antient as they were sacred, has been prepared with as much secrecy as promptitude. Denmark saw the British forces approach her shores without even a suspicion that they were to be employed against herself. The island of Zealand was surrounded, the capital threatened, and the Danish territory insulted and violated, before the court of London had, by a single word, declared its hostile intentions. This hostility, however, soon became evident. But Europe will with difficulty believe what it is about to learn. A project the basest, the most violent, and atrocious, that has ever been conceived, is found to have originated alone in a pretended information, or rather in the vague report of an attempt, which, according to the English ministry, was about to be made to inveigle Denmark into engagements hostile to Great Britain. Grounding their actions on this hypothesis, which the slightest discussion would have proved false, and founded alone on bare supposition, the English government declared in the most peremptory manner to the court of Copenhagen, that, in order to secure its own interests and provide for its own safety, it could leave Denmark no other choice than a war, or a close alliance with Great Britain. And what kind of alliance did they dare to offer? an alliance, the first guarantee of which as a pledge of the subjection of Denmark, was to deliver up all her ships of war to the British government.

ment. The alternative offered admitted not of hesitation. This opening made, as injurious in its offers as in its menaces, equally insulting in its manner as in its grounds, precluded discussion. The most justifiable and rooted disdain naturally prevailed over every other consideration. Placed between danger and dishonour, the Danish government had no choice. War commenced. Denmark does not deceive herself as to the danger or losses with which this war threatens her. Attacked in the most unexpected and dishonourable manner, exposed in an isolated province nearly cut off from all means of defence, and forced into an unequal contest, she cannot flatter herself with escaping a very material injury. Unblemished honour still remains for her to defend, as well as that esteem which she flatters herself she has deserved from the powers of Europe by her upright conduct; and she discovers more glory in the resistance of one who sinks beneath superior force than in the easy triumph of those who abuse it. Far from dreading, she proudly anticipates the judgment of Europe on this new contest. Let impartial cabinets decide whether there existed for England that political necessity, those motives of safety, to which she has not hesitated to sacrifice, without remorse, a state that has neither offended nor provoked her. Firm in an upright conscience, confiding in God and the love and devotion of brave and loyal nations united under a mild sceptre, the Danish government trusts that it will be able to acquit itself, without weakness, of the hard and painful task that honour and necessity have imposed on it. Considering herself entitled to rely on the interests and justice of the cabinets of Europe, Denmark hopes to experience the effects thereof, more particularly on the part of those august sovereigns, whose intentions and engagements have served to give colour to the most crying act of injustice, and whose offers, purposed to present to the English government the means of forwarding a general pacification, were not able to divert the latter from committing an atrocious deed, which even in England every noble and generous mind will disown, a deed which compromises the character of a virtuous sovereign, and sullies for ever the annals of Great Britain.

BONAPARTE'S SPEECH TO THE LEGISLATIVE BODY, *Aug.* 17.

Gentlemen, the deputies of the legislative body; gentlemen, the members of the tribunate, and of my council of state,

Since your last meeting, new wars, new triumphs, and new treaties of peace, have changed the aspect of the political relations of Europe. The house of Brandenburg, which was the first to combine against our independence, is indebted for still being permitted to reign, to the sincere friendship with which the powerful emperor of the north has inspired me. A French prince shall reign on the Elbe. He will know how to make the interests of his new subjects form the first and most sacred of his duties.—The house of Saxony has recovered the independence which it lost fifty years ago.—The people of the dukedom of Warsaw and of the town of Dantzic are again in possession of their country, and have obtained their rights.—All the nations concur in rejoicing,

rejoicing, that the pernicious influence which England exercised over the continent is for ever destroyed. France is united by the laws of the confederacy of the Rhine with the people of Germany, and by our federative system with the people of Spain, Holland, Switzerland, and Italy. Our new relations with Russia are founded upon the reciprocal respect of two great nations. In every thing I have done, I have only had the happiness of my people in view, —that has always been in my eyes far dearer to me than my own renown. I wish for peace by sea. No irritation shall ever have any influence on my decisions with respect to that object. I cannot be irritated against a nation which is the sport and the victim of the parties that devour it, and which is misled, as well with respect to its own affairs as to those of its neighbours. But, whatever may be the termination which Providence has decreed the maritime war shall have, my people will always find me the same, and I shall always find them worthy of me. Frenchmen, your conduct in these times towards your emperor, who was more than 500 leagues distant from you, has increased my respect, and the idea I had formed of your character. I have felt myself proud to be the first among you. The proofs of attachment which you have given me, while, during ten months of absence and danger, I was ever present to your thoughts, have constantly awakened in me the liveliest sensations. All my solicitudes,—all that related even to the safety of my person was only interesting to me on account of the part you took in them, and the important influence which they might produce on your future destiny :—you are a good and a great people. I have contrived various means for simplifying and perfecting our institutions. The nation has experienced the happiest effects from the establishment of the legion of honour. I have distributed various imperial titles, in order to give a new lustre to the most distinguished of my subjects, to honour extraordinary services by extraordinary rewards, and at once to prevent the return of all feudal titles, which are incompatible with our constitution. The accounts of my ministers of finance, and of the public treasury, will make known to you the prosperous state of our finances. My people will see the contributions upon landed property considerably diminished. My minister of the interior will give you an account of the public works which are begun or finished ; but those which may still be expected are much more considerable, since it is my determination that in all parts of the empire, even in the smallest hamlet, the comforts of the citizens, and the value of the lands, shall be increased by the developement of that universal system of improvement which I have formed. Gentlemen, deputies of the legislative body, your assistance in the accomplishment of that great object will be necessary to me, and I have a right to reckon upon that assistance with confidence.

LONDON GAZETTE.

At the court at the Queen's palace, Aug. 19, 1807, present, the King's most excellent majesty in council.

His majesty, having taken into consideration the measures recently resorted to by the enemy for distressing

tressing the commerce of the united kingdom, is pleased, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that all vessels under the flag of Mecklenburgh, Oldenburgh, Papenburgh, or Kniphausen, shall be forthwith warned not to trade in future at any hostile port, unless such vessels shall be going from, or coming to, a port of the united kingdom; and in case any such vessel, after having been so warned, shall be found trading, or to have traded after such warning; or in case any vessel or goods belonging to the inhabitants of such countries, after the expiration of six weeks from the date of this order, shall be found trading, or to have traded, after such six weeks have expired, at any hostile port, such vessel and goods, unless going from, or coming to, a port in the united kingdom, shall be seized and brought in for legal adjudication, and shall be condemned as lawful prize to his majesty: and his majesty's principal secretaries of state, the lords commissioners of the admiralty, and the judge of the high court of admiralty, and judges of the courts of vice-admiralty, are to take the necessary measures herein, as to them shall respectively appertain. S. COTTRELL.

TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN RUSSIA AND THE PORTE.

Art. I. From the date of the signature of the treaty, all hostilities shall cease between the two belligerent powers.

II. As the Sublime Porte and Russia equally wish, with the most amicable intention, the establishment of peace and harmony, the high contracting parties will appoint, after the signature of the present armistice, plenipotentiaries to negotiate and conclude a peace as soon as possible, to meet in the most convenient situation for both.

If in the course of the negotiation for a definitive peace, difficulties should unfortunately arise, so as to obstruct a definitive arrangement, hostilities shall not recommence before next spring, that is to say, before the 21st March 1808, new style of the Christian æra.

III. As soon as the present armistice is signed, the Russian troops shall begin to evacuate Wallachia and Moldavia, and all the provinces, fortresses, and other territory which they have occupied during the war; and to retire within their ancient frontiers, so that the said evacuation shall be completed in the space of thirty-five days from the date of the signature of the present armistice.

The Russian troops shall leave in the territory and fortresses which they shall evacuate, all the effects, cannon, and ammunition, found on taking possession of them.

The Sublime Porte shall appoint commissaries to receive the aforesaid fortresses from Russian officers appointed for the aforesaid purpose.

The Ottoman troops shall, in like manner, retire from Moldavia and Wallachia, and repass the Danube. They will only leave in the fortresses of Ismail, Brailow, and Giurgion, garrisons sufficient to keep them.

The Russian troops shall correspond with the Ottomans, so that the two armies shall begin to retire at the same time from Wallachia and Moldavia.

The two contracting parties shall

shall in no way meddle with the administration of the two principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, till the arrival of plenipotentiaries charged with the office of negotiating for a definitive peace.

Till peace is concluded, the Ottoman troops shall not enter any of the fortresses evacuated by the Russians. The inhabitants alone shall be at liberty to enter them.

IV. Conformably to the preceding article, the island of Tenedos, as well as every other place in the Archipelago, which, before the intelligence of the armistice shall have arrived, shall be occupied by the Russian troops, shall be evacuated.

The Russian troops which are stationed before Tenedos, or any other place in the Archipelago, shall return to their ports, in order that the Dardanelles shall be at once open and free.

If the Russian ships in proceeding to their ports shall be obliged to stop at any port in the Archipelago, in consequence of tempestuous weather, or any other unavoidable accident, the Turkish officers shall not oppose any obstacle, but, on the contrary, shall afford them the necessary aid.

All the ships of war, or other Ottoman vessels, which during the war shall have fallen into the hands of the Russians, shall be restored, with their crews, as well as the Russian vessels which shall have fallen into the hands of the Ottomans. The Russian ships in proceeding to their ports shall not take on board any subject of the Sublime Porte.

V. All the vessels of the Russian flotilla stationed at the mouth of the Sunnè or elsewhere, shall go out and proceed to their ports, in order that the Ottoman vessels may go out and come in with perfect safety.

The Sublime Porte will give orders that the Russian vessels proceeding to their ports shall be respected, and that they shall be permitted to enter into any Ottoman port in case they shall be obliged to do so by tempestuous weather or any other inevitable accident.

VI. All the prisoners of war and other slaves of both sexes, of whatever quality or rank, shall be immediately liberated and restored on both sides, without any ransom, with the exception, however, of Mussulmen who shall have voluntarily embraced the Christian religion in the Russian empire, and the Christian subjects of Russia who shall have voluntarily embraced the Mahometan religion in the Ottoman empire.

Immediately after the conclusion of the present armistice, all the commanders, officers and inhabitants of the fortresses of Turkey, who are at present in Russia, shall be restored and sent to Turkey with all their property and baggage.

VII. The present treaty of armistice written in Turkish and in French has been signed by the two plenipotentiaries and by the adjutant commandant Guilleminot, and has been exchanged in order that it may be ratified by the Grand Vizier and by his excellency the general in chief Michelson.

The two plenipotentiaries shall take care that the said ratifications shall be exchanged within one week, or sooner if possible.

Done and decreed at the castle of Slobosia, near Giurgion, the 20th of the month of Dgemaziul-Ahir, the year of the Hegira 1222,

and the 12th of August (old style), or the 24th of August 1807 (new style), of the Christian æra.

GALIB EFFENDI.
SERGIO LASKAROFF.
GUILLEMINOT.

WEST INDIES.

The following is a copy of a law passed by the corporation of Kingston in Jamaica.

JAMAICA, ss.

An ordinance for preventing the profanation of religious rites and false worshipping of God, under the pretence of preaching and teaching, by illiterate, ignorant, and ill-disposed persons, and of the mischiefs consequent thereupon.

Whereas it is not only highly incumbent upon, but the first and most serious duty of all magistrates and bodies politic, to uphold and encourage the due, proper, and solemn exercise of religion, and worshipping God,—and whereas nothing can tend more to bring true devotion, and the practice of real religion, into disrepute, than the pretended teaching, preaching, and expounding the word of God as contained in the holy Scriptures, by uneducated, illiterate, and ignorant persons and false enthusiasts, —and whereas the practice of such pretended preaching, teaching, and expounding the holy Scriptures, by such descriptions of persons as aforesaid, to large numbers of persons of colour and negroes, both of free condition and slaves, assembled together in houses, negro-houses, huts, and the yards thereunto appertaining, and also in divers lanes and by-places, within this city and parish, hath increased to an alarming degree; and, during such pretended preaching, teaching, and expounding, and pretended worshipping of God, divers indecent and unseemly noises, gesticulations, and behaviour, often are used and take place, to the great annoyance of the neighbours, and to the disrepute of religion itself; and also to the great detriment of slaves, who are induced, by divers artifices and pretences of the said pretended preachers, to attend the said irregular assemblies, whereby such slaves are continually kept and detained from their owners' necessary business and employ; and, in some cases, the minds of slaves have been so operated upon and affected by the fanaticism of the aforesaid description of persons, as to become actually deranged,—be it therefore enacted and ordained by the common council of the city and parish of Kingston (the mayor, aldermen, and common councilmen of the said city and parish, or a competent and legal number or *quorum* of them being in common council assembled); and it is hereby enacted and ordained by the authority of the same, that from and after the 1st day of July next no person, not being duly authorised, qualified, and permitted, as is directed by the laws of this island, and of Great Britain, and in the place mentioned in such license, shall, under pretence of being a minister of religion, of any sect or denomination, or of being a teacher or expounder of the gospel, or other parts of the holy Scriptures, presume to preach or teach, or sing psalms, in any meeting or assembly of negroes, or persons of colour within this city and parish: and in case any person shall in any ways offend herein, every such person, if a white person, shall suffer such punishment by fine, not exceeding

ing 100*l.*, or by imprisonment in the common jail for any space not exceeding three months, or both; or, if a free person of colour, or free black, by fine not exceeding 100*l.*, or imprisonment in the workhouse for a space of time not exceeding three months, or both; or, if a slave, by imprisonment and hard labour in the workhouse for a space not exceeding six months, or by whipping, not exceeding 39 stripes, or both, as shall be in those cases respectively adjudged.

And be it further enacted and ordained, by the authority aforesaid, that no persons whatsoever, being, so as aforesaid, licensed and permitted, shall use public worship in any of the said places within this city and parish, which may be so licensed as aforesaid, earlier than the hour of six in the morning, or later than sun-set in the evening, under the penalty of such punishment by fine, not exceeding 100*l.*, or imprisonment, not exceeding the space of three months, or both, as shall be in that respect adjudged.

And be it further enacted and ordained, by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the said 1st day of July next, in case any owner, possessor, or occupier of any house, out-house, yard, or other place whatsoever, shall permit any meeting of any description of persons, for the purpose of hearing or joining in any such pretended teaching, preaching, praying, or singing of psalms as aforesaid, such owner, occupier, or possessor, being a white person, shall incur and suffer such punishment by fine, not exceeding 100*l.*, or by imprisonment in the common jail, not exceeding three months, or both: or, if a person of colour, or black, of free condition, by fine, not exceeding 100*l.*, or confinement in the workhouse for any space not exceeding three months; or, if a slave, by confinement and hard labour in the workhouse, for any space not exceeding six months, or by whipping, not exceeding 39 stripes, or both, as shall in these respective cases be adjudged.

Passed the common council the 15th day of June, 1807.

DANIEL MOORE, recorder.

PRUSSIAN PROCLAMATION.

Copy of a proclamation issued at Memel by the court of admiralty and commerce.

It is hereby made known to all merchants of this place, that, in pursuance of the peace concluded at Tilsit, between Prussia and France, not only all Prussian ports shall be shut against English ships, but that also all trade and commerce between Prussia and England must cease.

Hitherto they could only be shut up in a private manner, because several Prussian ships were lying in English ports, and it became, therefore, necessary to preserve them, and because several other vessels, laden with provisions unavoidably required for this country, were still at sea. These obstacles being now removed, we hereby publicly make known by his royal majesty's command, that this port, in common with all other Prussian harbours, is shut against all ships which are English, or belonging to any individual of the English nation: that under no circumstances and no pretences whatsoever, an English ship, or even a neutral bottom, coming from English ports or English colonies, shall be admitted in the ports of this country; and that no person

shall

shall be permitted, on pain of the goods being confiscated, and other severe punishment inflicted, to send goods from this place to any English port or English colonies, or order them to be sent to this port: in short, no navigation or trade with England or the English colonies shall be permitted either in English or neutral bottoms. Now whereas strict observance and execution of this point stipulated in the treaty of Tilsit between France and Prussia, has been enjoined to us by his royal majesty in the most rigorous manner, and on pain of being dismissed from our offices, and other severe punishments—therefore, we have strictly directed and instructed all our subordinate officers carefully to watch over all cases of transgression, and as soon as any such cases shall happen and take place, immediately to report them to us.

While we thus give the public notice on the said subject, we at the same time advise and warn all merchants of this place not to render themselves guilty of a contravention, which, from the measures we have adopted, will certainly be discovered, and not expose themselves, on account of a small illicit profit, to the confiscation of their goods, and other severe criminal punishments.

BRAHL.

Royal Prussian court of navigation and trade.

Memel, Sept. 2, 1807.

BRITISH DECLARATION.

His majesty owes to himself and to Europe a frank exposition of the motives which have dictated his late measures in the Baltic.

His majesty has delayed this exposition only in the hope of that more amicable arrangement with the court of Denmark which it was his majesty's first wish and endeavour to obtain, for which he was ready to make great efforts and great sacrifices; and of which he never lost sight, even in the moment of the most decisive hostility.

Deeply as the disappointment of the hope has been felt by his majesty, he has the consolation of reflecting, that no exertion was left untried on his part to produce a different result. And while he laments the cruel necessity which has obliged him to have recourse to acts of hostility against a nation, with which it was his majesty's most earnest desire to have established the relations of common interests and alliance; his majesty feels confident that, in the eyes of Europe and of the world, the justification of his conduct will be found in the commanding and indispensable duty, paramount to all others amongst the obligations of a sovereign, of providing, while there was yet time, for the immediate security of his people.

His majesty had received the most positive information of the determination of the present ruler of France to occupy, with a military force, the territory of Holstein, for the purpose of excluding Great Britain from all her accustomed channels of communication with the continent; of inducing or compelling the court of Denmark to close the passage of the Sound against the British commerce and navigation; and of availing himself of the aid of the Danish marine for the invasion of Great Britain and of Ireland.

Confident as his majesty was of the authenticity of the sources from

which this intelligence was derived, and confirmed in the credit which he gave to it, as well by the notorious and repeated declarations of the enemy, and by its recent occupation of the towns and territories of other neutral states, as by the preparations actually made for collecting a hostile force upon the frontiers of his Danish majesty's continental dominions, his majesty would yet willingly have forborne to act upon this intelligence, until the complete and practical disclosure of the plan had made manifest to all the world the absolute necessity of resisting it. His majesty did forbear as long as there could be a doubt of the urgency of the danger, or a hope of an effectual counteraction to it, in the means or in the dispositions of Denmark. But his majesty could not but recollect that when, at the close of the former war, the court of Denmark engaged in a hostile confederacy against Great Britain, the apology offered by that court for so unjustifiable an abandonment of a neutrality which his majesty had never ceased to respect, was founded on its avowed inability to resist the operation of external influence, and the threats of a formidable neighbouring power. His majesty could not but compare the degree of influence, which at that time determined the decision of the court of Denmark, in violation of positive engagements, solemnly contracted but six months before, with the increased operation which France had now the means of giving to the same principle of intimidation, with kingdoms prostrate at her feet, and with the population of nations under her banners. Nor was the danger less imminent than certain. Already the army destined for the invasion of Holstein was assembled on the violated territory of neutral Hamburgh. And, Holstein once occupied, the island of Zealand was at the mercy of France, and the navy of Denmark at her disposal.

It is true, a British force might have found its way into the Baltic, and checked for a time the movements of the Danish marine. But the season was approaching when that precaution would no longer have availed; and when his majesty's fleet must have retired from that sea, and permitted France, in undisturbed security, to accumulate the means of offence against his majesty's dominions. Yet, even under these circumstances, in calling upon Denmark for satisfaction and security which his majesty was compelled to require, and in demanding the only pledge by which that security could be rendered effectual—the temporary possession of that fleet, which was the chief inducement to France for forcing Denmark into hostilities with Great Britain,—his majesty accompanied this demand with the offer of every condition which could tend to reconcile it to the interests and to the feelings of the court of Denmark. It was for Denmark herself to state the terms and stipulations which she might require. If Denmark was apprehensive that the surrender of her fleet would be resented by France as an act of connivance, his majesty had prepared a land force of such formidable magnitude as must have made concession justifiable even in the estimation of France, by rendering resistance altogether unavailing.—If Denmark was really prepared to resist the demands of France, and to maintain her independence, his majesty proffered his cooperation for her defence—naval, military, and

and pecuniary aid; the guarantee of her European territories, and the security and extension of her colonial possessions.

That the sword has been drawn in the execution of a service indispensable to the safety of his majesty's dominions, is matter of sincere and painful regret to his majesty. That the state and circumstances of the world are such as to have required and justified the measures of self-preservation, to which his majesty has found himself under the necessity of resorting, is a truth which his majesty deeply deplores, but for which he is in no degree responsible.

His majesty has long carried on a most unequal contest of scrupulous forbearance against unrelenting violence and oppression. But that forbearance has its bounds. When the design was openly avowed, and already but too far advanced towards its accomplishment, of subjecting the powers of Europe to one universal usurpation, and of combining them by terror or by force in a confederacy against the maritime rights and political existence of this kingdom, it became necessary for his majesty to anticipate the success of a system, not more fatal to his interests than those of the powers who were destined to be the instruments of its execution. It was time that the effects of that dread which France has inspired into the nations of the world, should be counteracted by an exertion of the power of Great Britain, called for by the exigency of the crisis, and proportioned to the magnitude of the danger. Notwithstanding the declaration of war on the part of the Danish government, it still remains for Denmark to determine whether war shall continue between the two nations. His majesty still proffers an amicable arrangement. He is anxious to sheathe the sword which he has been most reluctantly compelled to draw; and he is ready to demonstrate to Denmark and to the world, that, having acted solely upon the sense of what was due to the security of his own dominions, he is not desirous from any other motive, or for any object of advantage or aggrandisement, to carry measures of hostility beyond the limit of the necessity which has produced them.

Westminster, Sept. 25, 1807.

DECLARATION OF THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA.

The greater value the emperor attached to the friendship of his Britannic majesty, the greater was his regret at perceiving that that monarch altogether separated himself from him. Twice has the emperor taken up arms; in both cases his cause was most directly that of England; and he solicited in vain from England a cooperation which her interest required. He did not demand that her troops should be united with his; he desired only that they should effect a diversion. He was astonished that in her cause she did not act in union with him; but, coolly contemplating a bloody spectacle, in a war which had been kindled at her will, she sent troops to attack Buenos Ayres. One part of her armies, which appeared destined to make a diversion in Italy, quitted, at length, Sicily where it was assembled. There was reason to believe that this was done to make an attack upon the coasts of Naples, when it was un-

derstood that it was occupied in attempting to seize and appropriate to itself Egypt. But what sensibly touched the heart of his imperial majesty was, to perceive that England, contrary to her good faith and the express and precise terms of treaties, troubled at sea the commerce of his subjects. And at what an epoch!—when the blood of Russians was shedding in the most glorious warfares; which drew down, and fixed against the armies of his imperial majesty, all the military force of his majesty the emperor of the French, with whom England was, and is now, at war.

When the two emperors made peace, his majesty, in spite of his just resentments against England, did not refrain from rendering her service. His majesty stipulated, even in the very treaty, that he would become mediator between her and France; and, finally, he offered his mediation to the king of Great Britain. His majesty announced to the king, that it was with a view to obtain for him honourable conditions. But the British ministry, apparently faithful to that plan which was to loosen and break the bonds which had connected Russia and England, rejected the mediation. The peace between Russia and France was to prepare a general peace. Then it was that England suddenly quitted that apparent lethargy to which she had abandoned herself; but it was to cast upon the north of Europe new firebrands, which were to enkindle and nourish the flame of war, which she did not wish to see extinguished. Her fleets and her troops appeared upon the coasts of Denmark, to execute there an act of violence of which history, so fertile in examples, does not furnish a single parallel. A tranquil and moderate power, which by long and unchanging wisdom had obtained in the circle of monarchies a moral dignity, sees itself assaulted and treated as if it had been forging plots, and meditating the ruin of England; and all to justify its prompt and total spoliation.

The emperor, wounded in his dignity, in the interests of his people, in his engagements with the courts of the north, by this act of violence committed in the Baltic, which is an inclosed sea, whose tranquillity had been for a long period, and with the privity of the cabinet of St. James's, the subject of reciprocal guarantee, did not dissemble his resentment against England, and announced to her that he could not remain insensible to it. His majesty did not foresee that when England, having employed her force successfully, was about to bear away her prey, she would commit a new outrage against Denmark, and that his majesty was to share in it. New proposals were made, each more insidious than the foregoing, which were to connect with the British power Denmark subjected, disgraced, and affecting to applaud what had been wrought against her. The emperor still less foresaw that it would be proposed to him that he should guaranty this submission, and that he should pledge himself that this act of violence should have no unpleasant consequences to England. Her ambassador believed that it was possible to propose to his majesty's ministry, that his majesty should become the apologist and the protector of what he had so loudly blamed. To this proceeding

ing of the cabinet of St. James's the emperor paid no other attention than it deserved. He thought it time to put limits to his moderation.

The prince royal of Denmark, endowed with a character full of energy and nobleness, and possessing from Providence a dignity equal to his high rank, had informed the emperor, that, justly incensed at what had taken place at Copenhagen, he had not ratified the convention, and considered it as of no effect. At this moment he has just communicated to his imperial majesty new proposals which have been made to him, which serve only to inflame his resistance instead of appeasing it; because they tend to impress upon his actions the seal of degradation, the impression of which they have never borne. The emperor, touched with the confidence which the prince royal placed in him, and having considered his own peculiar complaints against England; having maturely examined, too, the engagements which he had entered into with the powers of the north—engagements formed by the empress Catharine, and by his late majesty the emperor, both of glorious memory—has resolved to fulfil them. His imperial majesty, therefore, breaks of all communication with England: he recalls the whole of the mission which he has sent thither; and no longer chooses to keep with him that of his Britannic majesty. There shall from henceforth be no connexion between the two countries. The emperor declares, that he annuls, and for ever, every preceding convention between England and Russia, and particularly that entered into in 1801, the 5th (17th) of the month of June. He proclaims anew the principles of the armed neutrality, that monument of the wisdom of the empress Catharine, and engages never to recede from that system. He demands of England complete satisfaction to all his subjects for their just reclamations of vessels and merchandizes detained against the express tenor of treaties concluded in his own reign. The emperor engages, there shall be no re-establishment of concord between Russia and England, till satisfaction shall have been given to Denmark.

The emperor expects that his Britannic majesty, instead of suffering his ministers, as he does, to scatter the seeds of fresh war, listening only to his own feelings, will be disposed to conclude such treaty with his majesty the emperor of France, as shall prolong (to use the expression) interminably (*à toute la terme*) the invaluable blessings of peace. When the emperor shall be satisfied upon all the preceding points, and especially upon that of peace between France and England, without which no part of Europe can promise itself real tranquillity, his imperial majesty will then gladly resume with Great Britain those relations of amity, which, under the just discontent which he could not but feel, he has, perhaps, preserved too long.

Given at St. Petersburg, 20th (31st) October.

DECLARATION OF WAR AGAINST DENMARK.

At the court of the Queen's palace, the 4th day of Nov. 1807, present, the King's most excellent majesty in council.

Whereas the king of Denmark

has issued a declaration of war against his majesty, his subjects and people; and his majesty's anxious and repeated endeavours to obtain the revocation of such declaration, and to procure the restoration of peace, have proved ineffectual; his majesty therefore is pleased, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that general reprisals be granted against the ships, goods, and subjects of the king of Denmark (save and except any vessels to which his majesty's license has been granted, or which have been directed to be released from the embargo, and have not since arrived at any foreign port), so that as well his majesty's fleets and ships, as also all other ships and vessels that shall be commissioned by letters of marque or general reprisals, or otherwise, by his majesty's commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of Great Britain, shall and may lawfully seize all ships, vessels, and goods belonging to the king of Denmark, or his subjects, or others inhabiting within the territories of the king of Denmark, and bring the same to judgment in any of the courts of admiralty within his majesty's dominions; and, to that end, his majesty's advocate-general, with the advocate of the admiralty, are forthwith to prepare the draft of a commission, and present the same to his majesty at this board, authorizing the commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral, or any person or persons by them empowered and appointed, to issue forth and grant letters of marque and reprisals to any of his majesty's subjects, or others whom the said commissioners shall deem fitly qualified in that behalf, for the apprehending, seizing, and taking the ships, vessels, and goods belonging to Denmark, and the vassals and subjects of the king of Denmark, or any inhabiting within his countries, territories, or dominions (except as aforesaid); and that such powers and clauses be inserted in the said commission as have been usual, and are according to former precedents: and his majesty's advocate-general, with the advocate of the admiralty, are also forthwith to prepare the draft of a commission, and present the same to his majesty at this board, authorizing the said commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral, to will and require the high court of admiralty of Great Britain, and the lieutenant and judge of the said court, his surrogate or surrogates, as also the several courts of admiralty within his majesty's dominions, to take cognizance of, and judicially proceed upon, all and all manner of captures, seizures, prizes, and reprisals of all ships and goods that are or shall be taken, and to hear and determine the same, and, according to the course of admiralty, and the laws of nations, to adjudge and condemn all such ships, vessels, and goods as shall belong to Denmark, or the vassals and subjects of the king of Denmark, or to any others inhabiting within any of his countries, territories, and dominions (except as aforesaid); and that such powers and clauses be inserted in the said commission as have been usual, and are according to former precedents; and they are likewise to prepare, and lay before his majesty at this board, a draft of such instructions as may be proper to be sent to the courts of admiralty in his majesty's foreign governments and plantations, for their guidance herein; as also another draft of instructions for such ships

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as shall be commissioned for the purpose above mentioned.

ELDON, C. CAMDEN, P. WESTMORLAND, C. P. S. WINCHELSEA, CATHCART, HAWKESBURY, MULGRAVE, SP. PERCEVAL, NAT. BOND.

At the court at the Queen's palace, the 4th day of Nov. 1807, present, the King's most excellent majesty in council.

Whereas France has taken forcible possession of certain territories and ports in Italy, and in the Mediterranean and Adriatic seas, and has subverted their antient governments, and erected, in the room thereof, new governments, which, under her influence, are aiding in the execution of her hostile designs against the property, commerce, and navigation of his majesty's subjects: and whereas divers acts, injurious to the just rights of his majesty, and to the interests of his kingdom, have in consequence been committed, his majesty is pleased, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that general reprisals be granted against the ships, goods, and inhabitants of the territories and ports of Tuscany, the kingdom of Naples, the port and territory of Ragusa, and those of the islands lately composing the republic of the Seven Islands, and all other ports and places in the Mediterranean and Adriatic seas, which are occupied by the arms of France or her allies, so that as well his majesty's fleets and ships, as also all other ships and vessels that shall be commissioned by letters of marque or general reprisals, or otherwise, by his majesty's commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of Great Britain, shall and may lawfully seize all ships, vessels, and goods belonging to the said territories, ports, and places, or to any persons being subjects or inhabitants thereof, and bring the same to judgment in such courts of admiralty within his majesty's dominions as shall be duly commissioned to take cognizance thereof; and to that end, his majesty's advocate-general, with the advocate of the admiralty, are forthwith to prepare the draft of a commission, and present the same to his majesty at his board, authorizing the said commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral, or any person or persons by them empowered and appointed, to issue forth and grant letters of marque and reprisals to any of his majesty's subjects, or others whom the said commissioners shall deem fitly qualified in that behalf, for the apprehending, seizing, and taking the ships, vessels, and goods belonging to the said territories, ports, and places, or to any persons being subjects or inhabitants thereof: and that such powers and clauses be inserted in the said commission as have been usual, and are according to former precedents: and his majesty's advocate-general, with the advocate of the admiralty, are also forthwith to prepare the draft of a commission, and present the same to his majesty at this board, authorizing the said commissioners for executing the office of high admiral to will and require the high court of admiralty of Great Britain, and the lieutenant and judge of the said court, his surrogate or surrogates, as also the several courts of admiralty within his majesty's dominions, to take cognizance of, and judicially proceed upon all and all manner of captures, seizures, prizes, and reprisal of all ships and goods

goods that are or shall be taken, and to hear and determine the same, and, according to the course of admiralty, and the laws of nations, to adjudge and condemn all such ships, vessels, and goods as shall belong to the said territories, ports, and places, or to any persons being subjects or inhabitants thereof; and that such powers and clauses be inserted in the said commission as have been usual, and are according to former precedents; and they are likewise to prepare, and lay before his majesty at this board, a draft of such instructions as may be proper to be sent to the courts of admiralty in his majesty's foreign governments and plantations, for their guidance herein; as also another draft of instructions for such ships as shall be commissioned for the purpose above mentioned.

ELDON, C. CAMDEN, P. WESTMORLAND, C. P. S. WINCHELSEA, CATHCART, HAWKESBURY, MULGRAVE, SP. PERCEVAL, NAT. BOND.

BRITISH DECLARATION.

The declaration issued at St. Petersburg by his majesty the emperor of all the Russias has excited in his majesty's mind the strongest sensations of astonishment and regret.

His majesty was not unaware of the nature of those secret engagements which had been imposed upon Russia in the conferences of Tilsit; but his majesty had entertained the hope, that a review of the transactions of that unfortunate negotiation, and a just estimate of its effects upon the glory of the Russian name, and upon the interests of the Russian empire, would have induced his imperial majesty to extricate himself from the embarrassment of those new counsels and connections which he had adopted in a moment of despondency and alarm; and to return to a policy more congenial to the principles which he had so invariably professed, and more conducive to the honour of his crown and to the prosperity of his dominions.

This hope has dictated to his majesty the utmost forbearance and moderation in all his diplomatic intercourse with the court of St. Petersburg since the peace of Tilsit.

His majesty has much cause for suspicion, and just ground of complaint. But he abstained from the language of reproach. His majesty deemed it necessary to require specific explanation with respect to those arrangements with France, the concealment of which from his majesty could not but confirm the impression already received of their character and tendency. But his majesty, nevertheless, directed the demand of that explanation to be made, not only without asperity or the indication of any hostile disposition, but with that considerate regard to the feelings and situation of the emperor of Russia, which resulted from the recollection of former friendship, and from confidence interrupted but not destroyed.

The declaration of the emperor of Russia proves that the object of his majesty's forbearance and moderation has not been attained. It proves, unhappily, that the influence of that power, which is equally and essentially the enemy both of Great Britain and of Russia, has acquired a decided ascendancy in the councils of the cabinet of St. Petersburg, and has been able to excite a causeless enmity between two nations whose long established connection, and whose mutual interests,

terests, prescribed the most intimate union and cooperation.

His majesty deeply laments the extension of the calamities of war. But called upon as he is to defend himself against an act of unprovoked hostility, his majesty is anxious to refute, in the face of the world, the pretexts by which that act is attempted to be justified.

The declaration asserts that his majesty the emperor of Russia has twice taken up arms in a cause in which the interest of Great Britain was more direct than his own; and founds upon this assertion the charge against Great Britain of having neglected to second and support the military operations of Russia.

His majesty willingly does justice to the motives which originally engaged Russia in the great struggle against France. His majesty avows, with equal readiness, the interest which Great Britain has uniformly taken in the fates and fortunes of the powers of the continent. But it would surely be difficult to prove that Great Britain, who was herself in a state of hostility with Prussia when the war broke out between Prussia and France, had an interest and a duty more direct in espousing the Prussian quarrel than the emperor of Russia; the ally of his Prussian majesty, the protector of the north of Europe, and the guarantee of the Germanic constitution.

It is not in a public declaration that his majesty can discuss the policy of having, at any particular period of the war, effected, or omitted to effect, disembarkations of troops on the coasts of Naples.—But the instance of the war with the Porte is still more singularly chosen to illustrate the charge against Great Britain of indifference to the interests of her ally: a war undertaken by Great Britain at the instigation of Russia, and solely for the purpose of maintaining Russian interests against the influence of France.

If, however, the peace of Tilsit is indeed to be considered as the consequence and the punishment of the imputed inactivity of Great Britain, his majesty cannot but regret that the emperor of Russia should have resorted to so precipitate and fatal a measure, at the moment when he had received distinct assurances that his majesty was making the most strenuous exertions to fulfil the wishes and expectations of his ally (assurances which his imperial majesty received and acknowledged with apparent confidence and satisfaction); and when his majesty was, in fact, preparing to employ for the advancement of the common objects of the war, those forces which, after the peace of Tilsit, he was under the necessity of employing to disconcert a combination directed against his own immediate interest and security.

The vexation of Russian commerce by Great Britain is, in truth, little more than an imaginary grievance. Upon a diligent examination, made by his majesty's command, of the records of the British court of admiralty, there has been discovered only a solitary instance in the course of the present war, of the condemnation of a vessel really Russian; a vessel which had carried naval stores to a port of the common enemy. There are but few instances of Russian vessels detained, and none in which justice has been refused to a party regularly complaining of such detention. It is therefore matter of surprise, as well as of concern, to his majesty, that the emperor of Rus-

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sia should have condescended to bring forward a complaint, which, as it cannot be seriously felt by those in whose behalf it is urged, might appear to be intended to countenance those exaggerated declamations by which France perseveringly endeavours to inflame the jealousy of other countries, and to justify her own inveterate animosity against Great Britain.

The peace of Tilsit was followed by an offer of mediation on the part of the emperor of Russia, for the conclusion of a peace between Great Britain and France, which it is asserted that his majesty refused.

His majesty did not refuse the mediation of the emperor of Russia; although the offer of it was accompanied by circumstances of concealment which might well have justified his refusal. The articles of the treaty of Tilsit were not communicated to his majesty; and specifically that article of the treaty, in virtue of which the mediation was proposed; and which prescribed a limited time for the return of his majesty's answer to that proposal. And his majesty was thus led into an apparent compliance with a limitation so offensive to the dignity of an independent sovereign. But the answer so returned by his majesty was not a refusal. It was a conditional acceptance. The conditions required by his majesty were—a statement of the basis upon which the enemy was disposed to treat; and a communication of the articles of the peace of Tilsit. The first of these conditions were precisely the same which the emperor of Russia had himself annexed not four months before to his own acceptance of the proffered mediation of the emperor of Austria. The second was one which his majesty would have had a right to require even as the ally of his imperial majesty; but which it would have been highly improvident to omit, when he was invited to confide to his imperial majesty the care of his honour and of his interests.

But even if these conditions (neither of which has been fulfilled, although the fulfilment of them has been repeatedly required by his majesty's ambassador at St. Petersburg), had not been themselves perfectly natural and necessary; there were not wanting considerations which might have warranted his majesty in endeavouring, with more than ordinary anxiety, to ascertain the views and intentions of the emperor of Russia, and the precise nature and effect of the new relations which his imperial majesty had contracted.

The complete abandonment of the interests of the king of Prussia (who had twice rejected proposals of separate peace, from a strict adherence to his engagements with his imperial ally), and the character of those provisions which the emperor of Russia was contented to make for his own interests in the negotiations of Tilsit, presented no encouraging prospect of the result of any exertions which his imperial majesty might be disposed to employ in favour of Great Britain.

It is not while a French army still occupies and lays waste the remaining dominions of the king of Prussia, in spite of the stipulations of the Prussian treaty of Tilsit,—while contributions are arbitrarily exacted by France from that remnant of the Prussian monarchy, such as, in its entire and most flourishing state, the Prussian monarchy would have been unable to discharge,—while the surrender is demanded,

demanded, in time of peace, of Prussian fortresses, which had not been reduced during the war,—and while the power of France is exercised over Prussia with such shameless tyranny, as to designate and demand for instant death, individuals, subjects of his Prussian majesty, and resident in his dominions, upon a charge of disrespect towards the French government,—it is not while all these things are done and suffered, under the eyes of the emperor of Russia, and without his interference on behalf of his ally, that his majesty can feel himself called upon to account to Europe for having hesitated to repose an unconditional confidence in the efficacy of his imperial majesty's mediation.

Nor, even if that mediation had taken full effect, if a peace had been concluded under it, and that peace guarantied by his imperial majesty, could his majesty have placed implicit reliance on the stability of any such arrangement, after having seen the emperor of Russia openly transfer to France the sovereignty of the Ionian republic, the independence of which his imperial majesty had recently and solemnly guarantied.

But, while the alleged rejection of the emperor of Russia's mediation between Great Britain and France is stated as a just ground of his imperial majesty's resentment, his majesty's request of that mediation, for the reestablishment of peace between Great Britain and Denmark, is represented as an insult which it was beyond the bounds of his imperial majesty's moderation to endure.

His majesty feels himself under no obligation to offer any atonement or apology to the emperor of Russia for the expedition against Copenhagen. It is not for those who were parties to the secret arrangements of Tilsit to demand satisfaction for a measure to which those arrangements gave rise, and by which one of the objects of them has been happily defeated.

His majesty's justification of the expedition against Copenhagen is before the world. The declaration of the emperor of Russia would supply whatever was wanting in it, if any thing could be wanting to convince the most incredulous, of the urgency of that necessity under which his majesty acted.

But, until the Russian declaration was published, his majesty had no reason to suspect that any opinions which the emperor of Russia might entertain of the transactions at Copenhagen could be such as to preclude his imperial majesty from undertaking, at the request of Great Britain, that same office of mediator, which he has assumed with so much alacrity on the behalf of France; nor can his majesty forget that the first symptoms of reviving confidence, since the peace of Tilsit, the only prospect of success in the endeavours of his majesty's ambassador to restore the antient and good understanding between Great Britain and Russia, appeared when the intelligence of the siege of Copenhagen had been recently received at St. Petersburg.

The inviolability of the Baltic sea, and the reciprocal guarantees of the powers that border upon it, guarantees said to have been contracted with the knowledge of the British government, are stated as aggravations of his majesty's proceedings in the Baltic. It cannot be intended to represent his majesty as having at any time acquiesced in the principles upon which the inviolability of the Baltic is maintained;

tained; however his majesty may at particular periods have forborne, for special reasons, influencing his conduct at the time, to act in contradiction to them. Such forbearance never could have applied but to a state of peace and real neutrality in the north; and his majesty most assuredly could not be expected to recur to it, after France has been suffered to establish herself in undisputed sovereignty along the whole coast of the Baltic sea from Dantzic to Lubeck.

But the higher the value which the emperor of Russia places on the engagements respecting the tranquillity of the Baltic, which he describes himself as inheriting from his immediate predecessors, the empress Catharine and the emperor Paul, the less justly can his imperial majesty resent the appeal made to him by his majesty as the guarantee of the peace to be concluded between Great Britain and Denmark. In making that appeal, with the utmost confidence and sincerity, his majesty neither intended, nor can he imagine that he offered any insult to the emperor of Russia. Nor can his majesty conceive that, in proposing to the prince royal terms of peace, such as the most successful war on the part of Denmark could hardly have been expected to extort from Great Britain, his majesty rendered himself liable to the imputation, either of exasperating the resentment, or of outraging the dignity, of Denmark.

His majesty has thus replied to all the different accusations by which the Russian government labours to justify the rupture of a connection which has subsisted for ages, with reciprocal advantage to Great Britain and Russia, and attempts to disguise the operation of that external influence by which Russia is driven into unjust hostilities for interests not her own.

The Russian declaration proceeds to announce the several conditions on which alone these hostilities can be terminated, and the intercourse of the two countries renewed.

His majesty has already had occasion to assert, that justice has in no instance been denied to the claims of his imperial majesty's subjects.

The termination of the war with Denmark has been so anxiously sought by his majesty, that it cannot be necessary for his majesty to renew any professions upon that subject. But his majesty is at a loss to reconcile the emperor of Russia's present anxiety for the completion of such an arrangement, with his imperial majesty's recent refusal to contribute his good offices for effecting it.

The requisition of his imperial majesty for the immediate conclusion, by his majesty, of a peace with France, is as extraordinary in the substance, as it is offensive in the manner. His majesty has at no time declined to treat with France, when France has professed a willingness to treat on any admissible basis. And the emperor of Russia cannot fail to remember, that the last negotiation between Great Britain and France was broken off upon points immediately affecting not his majesty's own interests, but those of his imperial ally. But his majesty neither understands, nor will he admit the pretension of the emperor of Russia to dictate the time or the mode of his majesty's pacific negotiations with other powers. It never will be endured by his majesty, that any government shall indemnify itself for the humiliation of subserviency to France, by the adoption of an insulting and peremptory

emptory tone towards Great Britain.

His majesty proclaims anew those principles of maritime law, against which the armed neutrality, under the auspices of the empress Catharine, was originally directed; and against which the present hostilities of Russia are denounced. Those principles have been recognised and acted upon in the best periods of the history of Europe; and acted upon by no power with more strictness and severity than by Russia herself in the reign of the empress Catharine.

Those principles it is the right and the duty of his majesty to maintain: against every confederacy his majesty is determined, under the blessing of Divine Providence, to maintain them. They have at all times contributed essentially to the support of the maritime power of Great Britain; but they are become incalculably more valuable and important at a period when the maritime power of Great Britain constitutes the sole remaining bulwark against the overwhelming usurpations of France; the only refuge to which other nations may yet resort, in happier times, for assistance and protection.

When the opportunity for peace between Great Britain and Russia shall arrive, his majesty will embrace it with eagerness. The arrangements of such a negotiation will not be difficult or complicated.—His majesty, as he has nothing to concede, so he has nothing to require: satisfied, if Russia shall manifest a disposition to return to her antient feelings of friendship towards Great Britain; to a just consideration of her own true interests; and to a sense of her own dignity as an independent nation.

Westminster, Dec. 18, 1807.

Public Acts passed in the First and only Session of the Third Imperial Parliament.

January 6, 1807.

An act to revive and make perpetual and to amend an act, made in the 42d year of his present majesty, for the further regulation of the trials of controverted elections or returns of members to serve in parliament, and for expediting the proceedings relating thereto.

January 16.

An act for raising the sum of 10,500,000*l.* by loans or exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain for the year 1807.

January 22.

An act for continuing and granting to his majesty certain duties upon malt in Great Britain, for the service of the year 1807.

An act for continuing and granting to his majesty a duty on pensions, offices, and personal estates, in England; and certain duties on sugar, malt, tobacco, and snuff, in Great Britain, for the service of the year 1807.

February 19.

An act to continue during the present war and until 1 year after the termination thereof by the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, an act made in the 44th year of his present majesty, for empowering his majesty to accept the services of such parts of his militia forces in Ireland, as might voluntarily offer themselves to be employed in Great Britain.

An act to declare that certain provisions

provisions of an act of the last session of the last parliament, entitled, An act to permit the free interchange of every species of grain between Great Britain and Ireland, shall extend to grain the produce of those countries only.

An act to continue for the term of 7 years certain acts of the parliament of Ireland, for preventing the importation of arms, gunpowder, and ammunition, and the making, removing, selling, and keeping of gunpowder, arms, and ammunition, without license.

An act for allowing the exportation annually of a limited quantity of worsted yarn to Canada.

An act for raising the sum of 1,000,000*l.* by treasury bills for the service of Ireland for the year 1807.

An act to authorize his majesty, until the 25th day of March 1808, to make regulations respecting the trade and commerce to and from the Cape of Good Hope.

An act to abolish certain offices in the customs of Ireland; and to abolish or regulate certain other offices therein.

An act for investing certain commissioners appointed for the examination of accounts and expenditure relating to the office of barrack-master general, with certain powers and authorities necessary for the examination of such accounts and expenditure.

An act to amend several acts, for regulating the trial of controverted elections or returns of members to serve in parliament, so far as the same relate to Ireland.

An act to continue for the term of 7 years, certain acts for the better prevention and punishment of attempts to seduce persons serving in his majesty's forces by sea or land from their duty and allegiance to his majesty, or to incite them to mutiny or disobedience.

March 16.

An act to grant to his majesty certain inland duties of excise and taxes in Ireland, and to allow certain drawbacks in respect thereof; in lieu of former duties of excise, taxes, and drawbacks.

An act to provide more effectually for regulating the drawbacks and bounties on the exportation of sugar from Ireland; and for allowing British plantation sugar to be warehoused in Ireland, until the 25th day of March 1808.

An act to provide for regulating and securing the collection of certain rates and taxes in Ireland, in respect of dwelling houses, fire hearths, windows, male servants, horses, dogs, and carriages.

An act to allow for 2 years, from and after the passing of this act, an additional bounty on double refined sugar, and to extend former bounties on other refined sugar to such as shall be pounded, crashed, or broken; and to allow for 1 year certain bounties on British plantation raw sugar exported.

An act for repealing so much of an act, made in the 9th year of her late majesty queen Anne, as vests in the South Sea company or corporation, by the said act erected, the sole and exclusive privilege of carrying on trade and traffic to and from any part whatsoever of South America, or in the South Seas, which now are, or may at any time hereafter be, in the possession of his majesty, his heirs or successors.

An act for raising the sum of 14,200,000*l.* by way of annuities.

March 23.

An act for punishing mutiny and desertion; and for the better payment

ment of the army and their quarters.

An act for the regulation of his majesty's royal marine forces while on shore.

An act for continuing, until the 1st day of August 1808, an act of the 45th year of his present majesty, for allowing, under certain restrictions, the bringing a limited quantity of coals, culm, or cinders, to London and Westminster, by inland navigation.

March 25.

An act to secure the payment of the duties on licenses granted to persons in Ireland dealing in exciseable commodities.

AN ACT FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

April 9.

An act to amend several acts for regulating and securing the collection of the duties on paper, made in Ireland; and to make perpetual so much of an act made in the 45th year of his present majesty, as relates to paper hangings printed or stained in Ireland.

An act to rectify a mistake in an act made in the last session of parliament, for enabling his majesty to settle annuities on certain branches of the royal family.

April 25.

An act to grant to his majesty, until the 29th day of September 1808, a duty upon malt made in Ireland, and upon spirits made or distilled in Ireland, and to allow certain drawbacks on the exportation thereof.

An act to continue until the 25th day of March 1808, and from thence until the end of the then next session of parliament, an act, 1807. made in the 44th year of his present majesty's reign, for appointing commissioners to inquire into the fees, gratuities, perquisites, and emoluments received in several public offices in Ireland; to examine into abuses which may exist in the same; and into the mode of receiving, collecting, issuing, and accounting for public money in Ireland.

An act to declare, that the provisions of an act made in the parliament of Ireland in the 33d year of king Henry the eighth, relating to servants' wages, shall extend to all counties of cities and counties of towns in Ireland.

An act for raising the sum of 1,500,000 *l.* by way of annuities, for the service of Ireland.

An act to authorize the payment of prize money arising from captures made by ships of his Sicilian majesty in conjunction with British ships, to the Sicilian envoy, for the use of the officers and men of such ships; and also the payment of money arising out of proceeds of prizes or captures made by any other ships or vessels belonging to foreign states, in conjunction with his majesty's ships.

An act for permitting the exportation of fullers earth, fulling clay, and tobacco pipe clay, to any place in possession of his majesty.

An act to repeal the several duties under the care of the commissioners for managing the stamp duties in Ireland, and to grant new and additional duties in lieu thereof; and to amend the laws relating to the stamp duties in Ireland.

An act for enabling his majesty to grant the palace called the King's House, with the appurtenances, situate in Greenwich Park, in the county of Kent, to the commissioners for the government of the royal naval asylum, and for enabling the

said commissioners to appoint a chaplain to officiate therein.

An act to suspend for 12 months so much of an act of the 2d year of king James the first, entitled An act concerning tanners, curriers, shoemakers, and other artificers occupying the cutting of leather, as prohibits the regrating and ingrossing of oaken bark.

An act for increasing the rates of subsistence to be paid to innkeepers and others on quartering soldiers.

An act for charging the sum of 12,000,000 *l.* part of the loan of twelve millions two hundred thousand pounds, raised for the service of Great Britain for the year 1807, upon the duties of customs and excise, granted to his majesty during the continuance of the present war, and for certain periods after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace; and for providing a sinking fund for the redemption of the stocks or funds thereby created.

An act for the further regulating the office of treasurer of his majesty's navy.

July 7.

An act to continue until the fifth day of July, one thousand eight hundred and eight, several acts for granting certain rates and duties, and for allowing certain drawbacks and bounties on goods, wares, and merchandise, imported into and exported from Ireland.

July 17.

An act to revive and continue, until the expiration of six weeks after the commencement of the next session of parliament, three acts, passed in the thirty-seventh, forty-fifth, and forty-sixth years of his majesty's reign, for carrying into execution the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between his majesty and the United States of America; and for empowering his majesty to suspend, before the first day of March one thousand eight hundred and eight, the provisions of the said acts, for such period as his majesty may deem expedient.

An act to indemnify persons who have advised or acted under an order of council for making regulations with respect to the navigation and commerce between his majesty's subjects and the subjects of the United States of America.

An act for raising the sum of three millions by loans or exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain for the year one thousand eight hundred and seven.

An act for raising the sum of one million five hundred thousand pounds, by loans or exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain for the year one thousand eight hundred and seven.

July 25.

An act for granting to his majesty a sum of money to be raised by lotteries.

An act to provide for the recovery of penalties under certain acts, made in the forty-seventh year of his present majesty, for securing the rates and duties in Ireland in respect of dwelling houses, fire hearths, windows, male servants, horses, dogs, and carriages; and on licenses to persons dealing in exciseable commodities; and on paper and paper hangings; and to alter the condition of certain bonds to be given by brewers in Ireland.

August 1.

An act to suppress insurrections, and prevent the disturbance of the public peace in Ireland.

An

An act to repeal certain duties of excise, and also certain stamp duties in Ireland, and to grant certain new stamp duties in lieu thereof; and to amend the laws relating to the stamp duties in Ireland.

An act to grant to his majesty, until the fifth day of July one thousand eight hundred and eight, certain duties on the importation, and to allow drawbacks on the exportation of certain goods, wares, and merchandise, into and from Ireland.

An act to enable his majesty to appoint the chancellor of the exchequer for the time being in Ireland, one of the commissioners for executing the office of lord high treasurer in England, without salary.

An act to enable the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury to issue exchequer bills, on the credit of such aids or supplies as have been or shall be granted by parliament for the service of Great Britain, for the year one thousand eight hundred and seven.

An act to continue until the first day of June one thousand eight hundred and eight, an act of the forty-fifth year of his present majesty, for appointing commissioners to inquire into the public expenditure, and the conduct of the public business in the military departments therein mentioned.

August 8.

An act to enable the trustees of the British Museum to exchange, sell, or dispose of such parts of the collections, and under such restrictions as are therein specified.

An act for permitting, until the twenty-fifth day of March one thousand eight hundred and nine, and from thence to the end of the then next session of parliament, the importation of certain enumerated articles into the British colonies on the continent of North America, from the United States of America, and the exportation of other enumerated articles from the same colonies to the said States.

An act for more effectually charging public accountants with interest upon balances; and for other purposes relating to the passing of public accounts.

An act to enable the East India company to raise money upon bond, instead of increasing their capital stock.

An act to continue, until the first day of June one thousand eight hundred and ten, and from thence to the end of the then next session of parliament, and amend an act of the forty-second year of his present majesty, for the more effectual administration of the office of a justice of the peace in such parts of the counties of Middlesex and Surrey as lie in and near the metropolis; and for the more effectual prevention of felonies.

An act for transferring to his majesty certain possessions and rights vested in the Sierra Leone company, and for shortening the duration of the said company, and for preventing any dealing or trafficking in the buying or selling of slaves within the colony of Sierra Leone.

An act to enable his majesty to grant to her majesty the queen a capital messuage, called Frogmore, and divers lands and hereditaments in the parishes of New Windsor and Old Windsor, in the county of Berks, and a piece of land in Wyrothsbury, in the county of Bucks, for a term of ninety-nine years, if her majesty and the princesses, her

five

five younger daughters, or any of them, shall so long live, for and in lieu of her majesty's present terms and interest therein; and also to make exchanges.

An act to grant certain duties on calicoes, muslins, cotton yarn, and cotton twist, of the manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland respectively, on their importation into either country from the other, according to the regulations contained in the acts for the union of Great Britain and Ireland.

An act to explain an act, of the forty-seventh year of his present majesty, for enabling the Albion fire and life insurance company to sue in the name of their secretary, and to inrol annuities.

An act to explain an act, of the forty-seventh year of his present majesty, for enabling the Globe insurance company to sue in the name of their treasurer, and to inrol annuities.

An act to explain an act, of the forty-seventh year of his present majesty, for enabling the Pelican life insurance company to sue in the name of their secretary, and to inrol annuities.

August 13.

An act to prevent improper persons from having arms in Ireland.

An act for allowing a certain proportion of the militia in Ireland, voluntarily to enlist into his majesty's regular forces.

An act for increasing the militia of Ireland, under certain limitations and restrictions.

An act for allowing a certain proportion of the militia in Great Britain voluntarily to enlist into his majesty's regular forces.

An act for encouraging the exportation of salt from Ireland.

An act to amend an act, of the forty-sixth year of his majesty, for the better regulation of the office of receiver general of the post-office in England.

August 14.

An act for the speedy completing the militia of Great Britain, and increasing the same under certain limitations and restrictions.

An act for raising the sum of five hundred thousand pounds by treasury bills for the service of Ireland for the year one thousand eight hundred and seven.

An act for enabling his majesty to raise the sum of four millions five hundred thousand pounds for the service of Great Britain.

An act for more effectually securing the payment of the debts of traders.

An act for suspending the operation of an act of the thirty-sixth year of his present majesty, for the further support and maintenance of curates within the church of England, and for other purposes in the said act mentioned, so far as relates to the avoidance of benefices by the incumbents thereof having accepted augmented curacies.

An act for granting to his majesty a certain sum of money out of the consolidated fund of Great Britain, and for applying certain moneys there mentioned for the service of the year one thousand eight hundred and seven, and for further appropriating the supplies granted in this session of parliament.

1807.	Bank Stock	3 p. ct. red.	3 p. ct. cons.	4 p. ct. cons.	5 p. ct. Navy.	5 p. ct. 1797	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	India Stock.	India Bonds.	S. Sea Stock.	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Exch. Bills.	Omn.	Irish 5 p. ct.	Imp. 3 p. ct.	Lottery Tickets.
Jan.	217 208½	60¾ 58⅞	61⅜ 59⅛	79⅛ 77	95¼ 91	100⅛	17¼ 16¾		185½ 179	5 pr. par.	68½ 66½	60¾ 59¾	59⅛ 59	5 pr. 2 dis.	4 pr. ¾ pr.	91¾ 88½	59¾ 58	19l. 16s. 21 10
Feb.	216 229	63⅛ 61⅝	61¼ 62¾	81¼ 79½	95¼ 96½		18 17¼		186¼ 181½	5 pr. 1 pr.	68¼	63 62⅞		2 pr. 2 dis.	7½ pr. 4¼	92 91⅛	62⅜ 60⅝	25 0 19 16
March	224¾ 229		62⅞ 61¾	81¼ 80⅞	96½ 95¼		17⅞	1⅛	186 185½	4 pr. 1 pr.	68½	62¾	62½ 61½	1 pr. 3 dis.	2¼ pr. 1½ pr.	94½	62¼ 62	19 16 19 17
April	235½ 234	62⅛ 62	63 61⅞	80⅞ 80¼	97 95¾			⅝	186½ 185½	5 pr. 1 dis.	67⅝			3 pr. 1 dis.		91	61¾	19 18
May	229 233½	63½ 62⅛	63¾ 62⅞	81¼ 80¼	99 97¼		18 17¾	⅝	183 186½	7 pr. 1 pr.	68½	63½ 62⅓		3 pr. 1 dis.	2 pr. 1 pr.	92¼ 91⅛	62¼ 61⅝	19 18 19 16
June	235½ 230½	63⅜ 62¼	64⅞ 63¼	81½ 80¼			17⅞ 17⅛		189 187	9 pr. 1 pr.	69	63⅛ 62⅝	63¼	4 pr. 1 dis.	1½ pr. ½ pr.	93¾	62⅜ 61⅝	19 17 19 16
July	233 228	63 62¼	63⅝ 61⅛	80⅝ 79¼	95½ 94		17⅞	⅝	182½ 172½	6 pr. par.	68 66¼	62¾	61½ 62¾	1 pr. 2 dis.	1 pr. ½ dis.	94½ 95¼	61 62	21 11 19 18
Aug.	233¼ 231½	63⅜ 62	63 61½	81⅝ 80⅜	96⅛ 95¼		17½ 18⅛	⅝	179 175	4 pr. 1 dis.	67½ 67	63½ 62	62⅝ 62	2 pr. 2 dis.	1 pr. ¼ dis	94¼ 93	63½ 61	21 11 20 19
Sept.	234 231	64 63¼	62¾ 62¼	81½	96¾ 96¼	100⅜	18⅛ 18		177 174¼	par. 2 dis.	67½ 67	63	62⅜ 62⅛	1 pr. 2 dis.	¾ pr. ¼ dis.	94¼	62⅝ 62¼	20 19
Oct.	226½ 225½	61¾	62¾ 62¼	79½ 79⅞	96⅝ 96¼		17½		174 173½	par. 2 dis.	67½	61⅝ 61¼	62¾ 62⅛	2 pr. 2 dis.	par. ½ dis.	90⅝	62⅝	21 10
Nov.	225½ 224	63 61⅞	63⅞ 62⅓	81⅜ 80¼	98⅝ 97⅜	99⅜ 99¼	17½ 18		180 174	par. 1 dis.	68½ 67¼	63⅓ 61⅝	63⅝ 62⅜	4 pr. par.	2 pr. ¼ dis.	93¼ 91½	62⅓ 61½	21 10
Dec.	226 224½	63⅞ 62¼	64⅜ 62⅞	81¼ 80⅛			18 17¾			2 pr. 2 dis.		63 62⅝	63⅝ 63¼	3 pr.	1½ pr. ¼ pr.	93½	63⅜ 61⅜	20 19

LITERARY SELECTIONS

AND

RETROSPECT.

BIOGRAPHICAL

ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS.

PUBLIC LIFE OF THE EARL OF MACARTNEY.

[From his UNPUBLISHED WRITINGS by JOHN BARLOW, F. R. S.]

GEORGE EARL OF MACARTNEY was the only emaining son of George Macartey, and the only male descendant f his great-grandfather George Maartney who, removing into Irend in the year 1649, settled near elfast in the county of Antrim, here he acquired a large estate. his ancestor of the Earl was a capain of horse, surveyor general of he province of Ulster and, in the year 678, served the office of high sheriff f the county of Antrim. At the Reolution in 1688 he, at the head of is troop, proclaimed king William nd queen Mary at Belfast, for which e was soon after obliged to fly into ngland, and was attainted in king ames's parliament, held at Dublin 1689; but being restored, on the ettlement of Ireland, he returned Belfast, where he soon after ied. By his will, bearing date pril 22, 1691, after making ample rovision for his younger children, e constituted his wife executrix nd guardian of his sons Chichester nd George, from the latter of which was descended the late earl of Macartney.

George Macartney, the subject of the present memoir, was born the 14th May, 1737, at the family mansion of Lissanoure. As the juvenile years of most individuals in the same class of society are passed pretty nearly in the same manner, and afford but little that can be considered as worthy of record, unless where some peculiarity in the plan of their education shall appear to have given a peculiar bias to future opinions and conduct, it may be sufficient to observe, with regard to young Macartney, that at an early period of life he was placed under the tuition of a clergyman, whose library, consisting chiefly of works in theology, was but scantily supplied with books of such a description as are usually most captivating to youthful minds. It seems however that he had a curious collection of tracts on heraldry, genealogy, and chronology, subjects that are but little calculated to engage the attention of a boy; but Macartney's

fondness for books led him imperceptibly, from want of others, to the study of such as were to be had; and to the early exercise of his memory on those subjects, he used to attribute in a great degree, the peculiar retentive faculty for which through every part of his future life he was distinguished. At the age of thirteen he was admitted a fellow commoner of Trinity College, in the University of Dublin, and proceeded master of arts there in 1759. From Dublin he came to London, and was entered of the society of the Middle Temple, where he formed an intimacy with Mr. Burke, Mr. Dodwell, Mr. Bacon, and many other characters then rising into eminence; but, having no intention to study the law with a view to practice in that profession, he remained there but a short period before he had completed his arrangements for making the tour of Europe, on which he was resolved to pass a few years of his early life, in order to collect, by his own observations and the reports of others on the spot, whatever information was to be procured as to the physical strength and the resources of the several states of that continent, and the character and politics of their respective courts. This knowledge, added to that of the principles of the British constitution, he considered as the essential preparatives for the career of a public life which he already had in view, and which it was his intention to commence by endeavouring to procure a seat in the British House of Commons. In the course of his travels he made the acquaintance of several young noblemen of distinguished families and, among others, of Mr. Stephen Fox (the eldest son of the first, and father of the present Lord Holland) whom he had an opportunity of serving in a manner so essential to himself and his connections, that he was ever afterwards honored with the esteem and confidence of the old Lord and Lady Holland, and with the friendship of all the younger part of the family.

"The romantic country of Switzerland, and the unhappy and contented lot of its inhabitants at that time, were so congenial with the feelings of Mr. Macartney, who to his other accomplishments added a taste for poetry and music, that he determined to remain there for some time. At Geneva he was introduced to the acquaintance of the philosopher of Ferney, who invited him to his house, in which he passed several days greatly delighted with the society of this extraordinary man, with whom on his return to Europe he is supposed to have kept up a correspondence; this indeed appears from a letter of Captain Robert Jephson to Sir George Macartney, in the year 1775, requesting him to send a copy of his tragedy of Braganza to M. Voltaire, "whom," he observes, "you have "cultivated more than any of our "countrymen since his retirement;" and he further adds, "I cannot so "entirely suppress the partiality of "an author as not to wish you may "add a word or two of undue influ-"ence to your old acquaintance of "Ferney, to recommend the play to "his perusal."

"On his return to England he became an inmate of the Holland family, by whom he was introduced to the acquaintance of Lord Sandwich, then secretary of state for the northern department; and an arrangement was speedily concluded by these two friends to bring him into parliament for the borough of Midhurst, afterwards represented by Mr. Charles Fox. About this time the affairs of Russia had assumed a very

very interesting aspect for all Europe. The success of an unexpected revolution which had placed a woman not less extraordinary for talent than ambition on the throne, more perhaps through accident than design, gave fresh energy to a nation, which had hitherto been scarcely considered to hold a place among civilized states, and caused her as Mr. Macartney observes, "no "longer to be gazed at as a distant "glimmering star, but as a great "planet that had obtruded itself "into our system, whose place was "yet undetermined, but whose motions must powerfully affect those "of every other orb." To England, in particular, an alliance with Russia was desirable on many considerations, and especially in a commercial point of view. In fact, a treaty of commerce had for some years before engaged the attention of the British government; but neither the ministerial talents of Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, under the reign of the empress Elizabeth, nor the diplomatic skill and good humour of Mr. Keith, though a convivial favourite of the unfortunate Peter, nor the weight and splendor of the earl of Buckinghamshire at the court of Catharine, had been able to succeed in making the least progress towards a treaty either of commerce or alliance with the Russian cabinet. The old treaty of commerce of 1734 had long expired by its own limitation, yet the empress Elizabeth, though unwilling to renew it, had acquiesced in a continuation of the regulations thereby established; but Catharine at a very early period of her reign manifested a disposition less favourable to British commerce. Scarcely indeed was she seated on the throne till a flat refusal was given to Lord Buckingham, on the ground that it was not intended to enter into any exclusive engagement with any particular power.

"Under these circumstances it occurred to Lord Holland, who immediately suggested the idea to Lord Sandwich, that the various acquirements of Mr. Macartney might be employed to more advantage to the public and, perhaps, with all the success that was wished, at the court of St. Petersbourg, than by a seat in parliament. His knowledge of European politics alone fitted him for the undertaking; but a graceful person, with great suavity of manners, a conciliating disposition and winning address were considered as no slight recommendations at a female court, where such accomplishments, it was fair to conclude, might work their way, when great but unaccommodating talents alone would prove ineffectual. Accordingly, on the 22d August, 1764, Mr. Macartney was appointed envoy extraordinary to the empress of Russia; and having furnished his mind from the public records with all that had been done, attempted and failed, since the first intercourse between Great Britain and that country, he took leave in the month of October, and on this occasion received from his Majesty the honor of knighthood. Early in November he set out upon his mission, arrived at Petersbourg in December, and on the 11th January, 1765, had his first audience of the empress.

"From the Earl of Buckinghamshire he received the most polite attentions, and was lodged in his house during the short time his Lordship remained in St. Petersbourg. This gave him an opportunity of making himself acquainted with the leading plans and politics of the court, and the weight and character of the principal persons with whom he would have to negotiate.

tiate. The chancellor and vice-chancellor were represented by Lord Bucks as men wholly incapable of directing the affairs of so great a nation: that the former had no real friendship for England, and that if any point could be obtained from him favourable to its interests, it would not be determined by his inclination, but in consequence of his sovereign's orders; that Mr. Panin, governor of the grand duke and minister for foreign affairs, seemed better qualified than most of the Russian ministers to hold the first place, and that he shared the confidence of the empress; but that Catharine herself, from all the observations he could make, and from all the lights he could obtain, was, in point of talent, information, and application to business, greatly superior to every body in that country; that however her life was a mixture of trifling amusements and intense application to the concerns of her government, which, from difficulties industriously thrown in her way as well as from the variety of schemes all set in motion at once, had, as yet, produced little or no effect; that her plans were numerous and extensive, but greatly inadequate to her means. By one scheme she proposed to raise a sufficient quantity of tobacco to supply the French market; another was to open a commerce with Spain, Portugal, and Italy, by Russian merchant ships: her navy was to be increased; manufactures of silk, cloth, lace, linen, and porcelaine to be brought all at once to the highest possible perfection; the government, the laws, the manners, and the very disposition of the nation were to be changed: these and many others were all to be undertaken at once, in a country where every innovation was unpopular, by means of ignorant, indigent, and corrupt counsellors, an indolent people, averse from all manufacture, and more averse from the sea, a mutinous army, and an exhausted treasury; the sovereign hampered likewise by the obligations she had recently received, to which, in fact, she owed her throne, unable to get rid of many of those about her, whose characters and mean abilities she could not but despise, subject to plots and continual murmurs from the distinguished favors she lavished on count Gregory Orloff, who was so much considered as an upstart that all but his own family hated him, and none more inveterately than those engaged with him in the late revolution, whose plans were ruined by his mismanagement or treachery; thus situated, Catharine had hitherto scarcely ventured to act for herself.

"In this posture of affairs no sanguine hope could be entertained of drawing the attention of Russia from so many grand projects to a commercial treaty with England, which was the principal object of Sir George Macartney's mission. It required however but little consideration from one of his sagacity in what quarter he should begin his plan of operations. He waited on Mr. Panin who received him with great civility, and appointed the third day after for his first public audience. On this occasion he addressed her Imperial Majesty in a speech of some length, in which, after declaring, in the name of the king his master, the sincerest assurances of his inviolable attachment to her person, and constant zeal for her interests, he adds, "and forgive me, madam, if here I "express my own particular satis-"faction in having been chosen for "so pleasing, so important an em-"ployment. By this means I shall "have the happiness of more nearly

"contemplating

" contemplating those extraordinary " accomplishments, those heroic " virtues, which make you the de- " light of that half of the globe over " which you reign, and which ren- " der you the admiration of the " other." To this speech her Imperial Majesty condescended to deliver personally, and not as usual through her chancellor, an extemporary reply, in a manner so gracious that it was not suffered to pass unnoticed by her courtiers and the rest of his diplomatic brethren. On the same day the Earl of Buckinghamshire had his audience of leave.

" Sir George lost no occasion of cultivating the friendship of Mr. Panin, whom he soon discovered to be not only minister for foreign affairs, but, in fact, sole minister of the Russian empire, and high in the favor and confidence of Catharine; that his political notions coincided exactly with her own; that he firmly supported all her opinions and her projects against every opposition; that his character for honesty and integrity was unimpeachable; that he was proof against corruption, but immeasurably obstinate, and inflexibly attached to his own and his mistress's opinions; that his genius, though not of the most brilliant cast, was admirably adapted for the mechanical man of business, in which, if he proceeded slowly, he, at least, moved steadily; but that, when once put out of the track he had worn for himself, or worn for him by others, he was infinitely embarrassed and unable to proceed; that he had therefore adopted certain fixed notions, and formed a system for his conduct which, on most occasions, he adhered to with almost invincible obstinacy. " Of a suspi- " cious nature dreading a surprise, " he takes up arms," says Sir George, " on the slightest noise, and makes " a parade of exercise to show he is " prepared."

" To conciliate the friendship and to rivet the good opinion of this wary statesman, Sir George Macartney took care to employ all his address; and he had the satisfaction to perceive that his endeavors had not been exerted in vain. An intimacy sprang up between them, such as is not often the fruit of a ministerial intercourse; for, during the whole of his long, arduous, and painful negotiations with the court of Russia, he was at all times distinguished by Mr. Panin with unequivocal marks of his high esteem and particular regard. This gentleman used frequently to speak in terms of admiration of the various acquirements and extensive knowledge in so young a man as Sir George then was; to acknowledge freely the advantage he had derived from his information respecting the several courts of Europe, and even on points regarding Russia, particularly on that of its commerce with Great Britain, a general view of which it seems Sir George had drawn up and put into his hands for his own private use.

" Thus having laid the solid foundation of a good understanding with the Russian minister, he ventured to open the grand objects of his mission, namely, the concluding a treaty of alliance and commerce with the king of Great Britain and the empress of Russia. Mr. Panin heard what he had to say with great attention, and in return disclosed to him the projects he had conceived for the aggrandizement of his country, to the accomplishment of which he added his whole life should be devoted. His first and great object, he observed, was to effectuate a confederacy of the northern powers, of which Russia was to be the heart and centre; that one great step to-

wards

wards this end was the plan of making a common cause with England and Denmark for the total annihilation of the French interest in Sweden; that for this purpose it would be necessary to gain a majority in the diet of Stockholm, and preserve it by a subsidiary treaty; that money would be necessary, and that if England came into his plans she must either pay liberally or not at all. That Russia had just concluded a new treaty of alliance with Denmark, by one article of which a war with Turkey was made a *casus fœderis*. That when that event should happen Denmark bound herself to pay to Russia a subsidy of five hundred thousand roubles a vear by quarterly payments; and, by a most secret article she promised to disengage herself, as soon as possible, from all French connections; and to enter into all the views of Russia in the kingdom of Sweden, in the constitution of which however it was not intended to make any alteration; that, on the contrary, the royal authority was to remain the same, and the privileges of the people preserved without violation. He dwelt on the ardent desire the empress had expressed for a treaty of alliance with Great Britain, as the surest means of disappointing the views of the courts of Vienna and Versailles, against which she was irritated with uncommon resentment; but that this alliance could only be brought to a happy conclusion by England's first assenting to his Swedish project, which he took care to hint would require considerable expense; and that she would also agree, by a secret article, to pay a subsidy in case of a Turkish war, as Denmark had done. If on these grounds England consented to enter into a treaty of alliance, he observed that the treaty of commerce would grow with it *passibus æquis*.

"From this conversation Sir George was sufficiently aware of the difficulties he should have to encounter in the progress of his negotiation, as it would embrace other points which did not depend on him. In fact, every subsequent conference opened with Sweden, was closed with Sweden. Mr. Panin declared that he had already spent two hundred thousand roubles in his Swedish projects, for which, in other respects, he had spared, as much as possible, the imperial treasure, knowing that economy was most agreeable to his mistress, avarice, as Sir George observes, being perhaps the second passion of her soul. The next point was the Turkish clause. He complained bitterly of the conduct of England, who had taken notice of a *projèt* for a treaty of alliance which had been sent to London in the time of Lord Buckinghamshire, and could not forbear observing, that if England was sincere in her professions she would hardly have deviated from the common rules of politeness established between courts: that Russia having offered a scheme could not, when reflecting on the behaviour of England, be any longer amused with new assurances without wounding her own dignity. To this Sir George observed, that his predecessor had proposed certain alterations which had been rejected by Russia, and that the inflexibility of the court of St. Petersbourg in insisting on what she knew to be inadmissible, left them little cause to complain of a want of good breeding; that he would furnish him in a day or two with a counter-projèt, provided he would abandon the Turkish clause, which he knew England would never

ver agree to insert in any treaty. But he saw that every effort was in vain; in vain did he urge the unreasonableness of expecting any subsidy in time of peace; and that an alliance on an equal footing would be more safe as well as more honorable for both nations. But Panin swore by every thing sacred, that while he was minister, Russia should never make a treaty of defensive alliance with any power upon earth by which a war with Turkey was excluded from being a *casus fœderis*. In short, it was sufficiently obvious, that the Turkish clause, inserted either in the body of the treaty, or in a secret article, would be a *sine qua non* in every negotiation he might have to open with the court of Russia. This point indeed was established by the discovery he made of a treaty which had actually been concluded with Prussia, in which Frederic had agreed to the Turkish clause on condition that Russia should make no alliance with any other power but on the same terms, and count de Soms, the Prussian envoy, had orders to remonstrate, in the strongest manner, against any treaty that should be concluded contrary to this condition.

"The project of buying a majority in the diet of Sweden for the purpose of annihilating the French interest, appeared to Sir George Macartney to be less objectionable than the Turkish clause, though he felt the impolicy of England squandering money in that country; "that by augmenting their treasury "we should make money cheap and "goods dear; that as we sold little and "bought much from the Swedes, "the price of their commodities "would be raised; and thus the po- "litical measure of granting a sub- "sidy would become highly and "perpetually detrimental to our "commerce." The consideration however of destroying the influence of the French with the Northern Powers was an object in which Sir George had less difficulty to promise the co-operation of his government; and, in this respect, his private feelings kept pace with his public duty. He had seen enough of Frenchmen, in his travels through Europe, to impress on his mind no very favorable opinion either of their moral or political character, and it does not appear that he ever found reason to alter that opinion.

"Well assured therefore that, by urging his court to accede to the latter of the two obstacles to the success of his negotiations for a treaty of commerce, he should greatly facilitate the conclusion of this desirable object, several sums of money were, at his recommendation, applied for the purpose, though not to the extent of Mr. Panin's wishes, who frequently and severely took occasion to reflect on the parsimony of England. Still however the progress made in the treaty of commerce was very slow, and he saw, from the mode of conducting business at the court of Russia, that importunity and perseverance were the politician's only weapons. In fact, the delay and procrastination of the college of commerce, arising not merely from the want of method and gross ignorance, but from the ill dispositions and intentions of some of the commissioners, determined him, if possible, to get it out of their hands, that the arrangement might finally be settled between Mr. Panin and himself. This gentleman, out of pure friendship, assented with great good nature to the proposal, provided there should be no objection on the part of the empress, although he could not forbear complaining that he had the whole weight of foreign

reign affairs on his shoulders, and no person of capacity to assist him, in whom he could trust. Catharine, who was well aware of the incapability of the members of the commercial college, to transact a business of this nature, wishing to oblige the English minister, yet willing to save appearances, suggested a middle path; she proposed that count Panin should settle the points with the British minister, and that the commissioners should be invested with full powers to sign the treaty. The commissoners however were exasperated at the affront which they conceived was thus put upon them; angry at their own insignificance, and angry at Sir George for having discovered it, they soon began to manifest all that kind of malice which little minds delight in. Their resentment broke out on a particular occasion in the conduct of the vice-chancellor, to whom the empress had given orders to invite all the foreign ministers to dine with her on the anniversary of her accession to the throne. The court was at this time at the camp, and the entertainment was given there. The vice-chancellor taking advantage of the distance and the confusion that might possibly be supposed to result from that circumstance, contrived to leave Sir George Macartney out of the invitation, who, being thus pointedly neglected, conceived it would be most consistent with his official character not to go to court that day. His absence was taken very particular notice of by the empress, but to prevent its making a wrong impression he contrived to let her know the reason of it.—Having taken this step, on the Sunday following he went to court, where he enjoyed a complete triumph in witnessing the mortification of those who had put in practice their little arts of revenge. The empress singled him out and distinguished him in a very extraordinary manner both in the morning and in the evening: all the foreign ministers were present, but he was the only one she did the honor of addressing on that day.

"After a close negotiation of four months the treaty of commerce was brought to a conclusion, on such equal and impartial terms as neither party, it was hoped, would afterwards find reason to repent of; and in this confidence the duration of the treaty was extended to twenty years. The terms obtained on the part of England were, in fact, more advantageous than his majesty's ministers had ventured to hope he would be able to procure, and such as the merchants concerned in the trade expressed themselves perfectly satisfied with. Reflecting therefore on the difficulties he had experienced, and on the uncertainty of a convulsive government, he was anxious to seize the advantage which the moment offered, and which, if once lost, might not easily be recovered, and signed the treaty; not doubting the approbation of his majesty's ministers for having done more than they expected, and accomplished that which three former ministers at this court had not been able to effect. He did, in fact, receive a letter dated the 17th September, written by direction of the duke of Grafton, then secretary of state for the northern department, acknowledging the receipt of the treaty which, it was stated, was very agreeable to his grace, as well as to the rest of his majesty's ministers; no objection was then taken at his having signed it: but in a subsequent letter, dated the 27th of the same month, he is informed by the duke's same secretary, that he is extremely

extremely concerned not to be able to send him a confirmation of those hopes, which his former letter had given, that his treaty and his conduct would meet with *general approbation;* for that, upon a thorough examination of it, a very material objection had appeared. Two days afterwards the duke himself informs him that his majesty's ministers were highly dissatisfied, that he should have taken upon himself, contrary to his instructions, to sign a treaty of commerce before he had sent it over for his majesty's approbation.

"The objection which his majesty's ministers were pleased to make to the treaty appears principally to have lain against the following expression, which makes part of a clause in the fourth article, "*En reciprocité de l'acte de navigation de la Grande Bretagne.*" These words it seems, they considered not only as a reservation in favor of Russia, but as an infringement on the act of navigation, to the very name of which the Duke tells him this country is enthusiast, and the mention of it therefore is carefully avoided in all treaties. Sir George acknowledges that he was perfectly aware of the objection that might probably be made; but, when he considered that, by admitting the reservation in favor of Russia (of which he knew she could make no use) he had obtained an equality of duties upon exports, which neither his majesty's ministers nor the merchants had hoped for; knowing, as he did, that our trade with Russia being a trade of necessity on our part, she would grant no other terms; having already been threatened that if the treaty was not signed an *ukase* would be issued, by which the English factory would be deprived of their privileges, and put upon the same footing as other traders; knowing also that the favorite and the minister were on the worst terms, and that if Orloff got the better of Panin there was an end to the treaty for ever; having moreover ascertained, that the merchants who are always the first to complain, were highly satisfied with the terms he had procured; feeling likewise, as well as the Duke of Grafton, that those merchants were enthusiasts to the very name of the navigation act, yet made no objection to the wording of the fourth article; and seeing the absolute necessity of bringing the treaty to an immediate conclusion, armed as he was with full powers, he ventured to judge of that necessity. On these grounds, and in the temper of the court, at that time highly dissatisfied with the parsimony of England in regard to Sweden, and trembling for the fatal consequences of a delay, he thought it most expedient on every consideration to sign the treaty, "preferring," as he observes, "the "public service to his own private "security, and daring a fault which "he thought success might convert "into a virtue."

"Among other motives which weighed with Sir George Macartney to bring his treaty to as speedy a conclusion as possible, were the intrigues of the French. From the moment of the arrival of Beausset as minister from the Court of Versailles, this gentleman had taken uncommon pains to make the court of St. Petersbourg relish a treaty of commerce with France: and although Sir George had received the strongest assurances from Mr. Panin that, so long as he was minister, Russia should contract no other commercial engagements than those with England, yet he was too well acquainted with the intriguing charac-

ter of the French to trust to such an assurance. He knew that the court of Versailles was anxious for a treaty of commerce with Russia; that the Spanish envoy had proposed one, and that a Dutch *projèt* had lain on the ministerial table for the last twenty years. The French, it is true, by that levity and absurdity which one would almost be led to conclude were ingrafted in their nature, had taken uncommon pains to defeat their own projects at the court of St. Petersbourg. The king of France having, in his minister's credentials, thought proper to give to Catharine the title of *Majesté* only without the addition of *Imperiale*, the court of Russia was so highly offended at the incivility as to refuse an audience to Monsieur Beausset; stating, as a ground for such refusal, that, as this title had already been granted, the objection to it could now be construed in no other way than as a personal affront to the empress. The French minister alleged that if his court had granted it before it must have been owing rather to an oversight in the office than to an avowal on their part; for that it was contrary to the idiom of their language, and therefore impossible; that in writing they never say, *votre majesté imperiale* even to the emperor of Germany. This explanation, however satisfactory it might appear to the vanity of a Frenchman, was by no means so to the Russian court. Its ambassador at Paris, Prince Galitzin, was instructed to complain of the indignity that was thus offered to the person of his sovereign; but all the satisfaction he could obtain was an avowal from the *Duc de Choiseul*, that although the court of Versailles had no objection to allow the imperial title to the crown of Russia, they could not possibly in writing use the expression *majesté imperiale* without wilfully consenting to corrupt the purity of their language; on which important consideration he hoped the court of St. Petersbourg would no longer insist upon it. The Duc de Choiseul is said to have pushed his pleasantry on this occasion still farther by declaring, when speaking on this subject a few days after, "*Qu'il ne pouvoit pas introduire* "*dans la langue Francoise un bar-*" *barisme en faveur de la Russie.*" The effect may readily be imagined which such a sarcasm produced on a court of the complexion of Russia, whose sensibility was generally less hurt by a real injury than by the slightest insult on its pride. Sir George was too good a patriot not to take every due advantage of this hostile disposition against France. He succeeded so far as to prevail on the Russian minister to discourage as much as possible the predilection of his countrymen for French customs, and the fashion of wearing French silks and velvets; and, in the present temper of the court, the empress was easily prevailed upon to set the example. Still, however, there was a general sort of attachment in St. Peterbourg for every thing that was French, and from the representations of the embassadors of this nation, it was strongly suspected that the court of Versailles would abate of its obstinacy, and condescend even to sacrifice the purity of the French language, in order to carry an important point with Russia.

"But independent of all these circumstances, Sir George Macartney had seen enough of Russia to be convinced that all its efforts to encourage the commerce of its own subjects would prove abortive; he knew, from the temper of the inhabitants, from the state of her navy,

navy, her dock-yards, her officers and seamen, that there was not the least apprehension, for many years to come, of her assuming either a naval or a commercial aspect that could possibly give to England the slightest umbrage or jealousy. The genius of Catharine had scarcely yet began to operate on the national character, which she found, as it were, in a state of inaction. At that time it might fairly have been doubted, whether a single subject in the Russian empire had ever even seen our Navigation Act, or had any more acquaintance with it than the mere name. "An act," says Sir George, "which, like the bow of Ulysses, "bends only to the hands of its "master, may well defy the exertion "of every Muscovite effort."

"From this time Sir George seems to have labored with unceasing diligence and unexampled assiduity to carry the point, which his superiors at home appeared to have so much at heart. But every application was fruitless, every endeavour vain, to induce Mr. Panin to alter his sentiments. He ventured even to speak to the empress herself at the masquerade upon the subject, and almost went on his knees to persuade her into compliance, but he found her, to use his own expression "inflexible even beyond a wo-"man's obstinacy;" and he had the mortification to perceive that it would be no less difficult to draw from them such a declaration as was required than "to count the billows "of the Baltic or number the trees "in the forest of Onega." Still however he persevered till he discovered that Mr. Panin had actually received orders to cancel the signatures, and to put an end for ever to the treaty; a step that was immediately to be followed by a revocation of the declaration given by the empress Elizabeth in favor of the British factory: and it required all his powers of persuasion to prevail on Mr. Panin to delay the execution of this violent and precipitate measure.

"He now proposed that the objectionable reservation in favor of Russia should be left out, and the treaty newly written and signed afresh. As the omission of the words "*En reciprocité de l'acte de naviga-*"*tion de la Grand Bretagne*" made no alteration in the terms, and left Russia free to make what laws she might think fit respecting her own commerce and navigation, Mr. Panin thought there could be no objection on the part of the empress, and as his majesty's ministers had taken the alarm only on the introduction of the Navigation Act by name, it was not probable they could start any objection to the total omission of it. Sir George therefore caused the treaty to be written out afresh with the omission and sent to England. But the cabinet of St. James's acted on this occasion with more than Russian obstinacy; it required that not only the objectionable words but the whole clause should be left out. Thus three times did they refuse to ratify the treaty, and three times sent back fresh proposals.

The court of St. Petersbourg began now to consider the conduct of England so trifling on the subject of the treaty of commerce, and so repugnant to her more cherished schemes, that Catharine determined to break off all negotiation for the future, and with this view gave directions for an *ukase* to be prepared, revoking the declaration of the empress Elizabeth in favor of British merchants, to be published as soon as the first British ship should arrive at Cronstadt. In vain did Sir George endeavor

endeavor to impress on the minds of the empress and her minister, the advantages which Russia would derive from a close alliance with England. But vain of her past successes, giddy with her present prosperity, blind and incredulous to the possibility of a reverse, both the empress and her minister seemed every day to be more intoxicated with pride, more contemptuous toward other powers, more elated with their own. "No art," says Sir George, "has been left untried, no "argument unenforced, and no ef- "fort unexerted. All that my own "ingenuity could inspire, the na- "ture of the subject furnish, or the "circumstances of the times sug- "gest to me, I have employed "with most unshaken attention, "the most unceasing diligence and "unremitted assiduity. But this "court has listened to me with the "most provoking phlegm, and the "most stoical indifference." So painful was the task now become that in one of his public letters he observes, "Nothing on this side of "heaven could bribe me to pass the "last six months over again: mor- "tified and dejected as I am, I have "long since disclaimed the least "hopes of applause for any minis- "terial endeavors, however judi- "ciously conducted, or fortunately "concluded; persuaded that no- "thing is more dangerous than to "do more than is commanded, and "that he alone is secure and happy "who entrenches himself within "the bounds of his duty, unambi- "tious of the renown which arises "from enterprising boldness or suc- "cessful temerity." Such however was the strength of his zeal, and such his eagerness to execute his majesty's commands, that his ardor neither appears to have cooled by repeated denials, nor slackened by ill success; though often repulsed he still returned to the charge. At a conference with Mr. Panin it occurred to him that the same inveterate objection might not lay against the new modelling of the clause as against its total omission; and with this idea he took up a sheet of paper and folding it in two columns he drew on the first the clause as it originally stood, and in the opposite one as he now proposed it to stand. To his great astonishment Mr. Panin thought the alteration admissible, but could not undertake to say any thing positively until he had seen the empress. After keeping it six weeks he at length returned it with a proposal to have it altered in the following manner:

Clause as proposed by Great Britain.

"Mais alors on se reserve de la part des deux hautes parties contractantes la liberté de faire dans l'interieur tel arrangement particulier qu'il sera trouvé bon pour encourager et etendre leur navigation respective."

Clause as proposed by Russia.

"Mais alors chaque haute partie contractante se reserve pour elle la liberté de faire dans l'interieur de ses etats, tel arrangement particulier qu'elle trouvera bon pour encourager et etendre sa propre navigation."

"In this as in other instances the pride of Russia sustained itself to the end. Mr. Panin remained obstinate and inflexible, and Sir George found it expedient to submit to the vanity and obstinacy which suggested the alteration in the words, especially as there was none in the sense. He then demanded new full powers to be given

to

to the plenipotentiaries, but was answered that they continued to act under their former powers. It was useless to contend, knowing that it would be as easy for him, to use his own expression, " to heave Pelion " upon Ossa as to perstuade them " to grant a new power to the com- " missioners." Considering therefore the consequences of delay he once more, as he observes, " put " his own safety on the cast for the " public service, and signed the " treaty a second time."

" The management of the northern department had now devolved upon Mr. Conway, from whom he at length received his majesty's ratification of the treaty, and at the same time a notification of Mr. Stanley's appointment as embassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of St. Petersbourg, without however the least intimation whether he was to continue as minister until Mr. Stanley's arrival, remain in that capacity after his arrival, or what was intended with regard to his future destination. He thought it right however particularly to request that Mr. Stanley might be furnished with very pointed instructions, to inform himself of his conduct. " Conscious," says he, " of " having acted in all things entrusted " to my care, with the utmost inte- " grity, vigilance, and activity, hav- " ing exerted every talent which " nature and education have given " me for the service of my sove- " reign and the interest of the " public, ambitious only of honest " fame, I present myself to every " scrutiny, convinced of being able " to prove, that no man in my si- " tuation could have obtained what " I have done, convinced that you, " Sir, and every branch of adminis- " tration will in the end see the " strongest reasons for approving " every particular of my conduct."— *Letter from Sir George Macartney, to Mr. Secretary Conway, dated August 26, 1766.*

"From this period till the month of March 1767, he remained in complete ignorance as to the time of Mr. Stanley's setting out and of his own destination. The disappointments and vexations he had so long suffered had a severe effect on his health, and he had the additional mortification of observing, that although the personal attentions both of the empress and Mr. Panin continued the same, he had now lost all the ministerial confidence of the latter. He entreated his court to relieve him from so embarrassing a situation, by sending his letters of recall, that he might take advantage of the shipping season to return to England. He represented the state of his health as every day getting worse, that the court was preparing to go to Mosco, where all the foreign ministers were to attend it; that after its departure he could be of no use in St. Petersbourg, where he would be left in the most disagreeable, and, for a public minister, in a most ridiculous situation, as the whole court, the senate, and all the principal chanceries and offices were to be removed to Mosco. Notwithstanding these statements he received directions from his court to remain at St. Petersbourg. What his feelings and sentiments were on this occasion will best appear from his own letters which are inserted in the Appendix.

" As there was not the slightest hope of negotiating a treaty of alliance without admitting the Turkish clause, and for many other reasons given by Sir George in his letter to Mr. Secretary Conway; and as his majesty's ministers were at length convinced that his remaining at St. Petersbourg, while an embassador

sador was expected, could answer no good purpose, they gave him permission to return to England for the benefit of his health; but without any letter of recall, or any intimation that Mr. Stanley was about to proceed. Having sent his secretary Mr. Shirley, as *charge d'Affaires* to Mosco, he left Petersbourg about the end of May, and proceeding by the way of Stockholm and Gottenburgh took his passage at the latter for England.

"There was an idle story propagated in St. Petersbourg by persons who could not explain the circumstance of his remaining behind, when the court and foreign ministers proceeded to Mosco, that Catharine had instructed her embassador in London to request he might be recalled, and had forbid his appearance at court. Such an absurdity scarcely requires a serious refutation; but if any proof was wanting of the continuance of that distinguished attention with which he was honored to the last moment of his stay in Russia, the following letter from Mr. Panin, written by command of the empress at Mosco, is alone sufficient for that purpose: "Dans le moment ou je lui (l'imperatrice) ai presenté vos homages "en vous congédiant de sa cour, "j'ai reçu, pour vous, Monsieur, "les assurances les plus positives de "sa bienveillance, et je vous les transmets avec un contentement qu'il "vous sera facile de vous represen"ter. Sa majesté imperiale ne veut "point que vous partiez sans en em"porter une marque distinguée. "La maniere dont vous vous con"gediez sans produire de lettres de "rappel, nous engageant à vous "considerer toujours comme mi"nistre actuel auprès de notre cour, "vous n'êtes pas encore dans le cas "de recevoir le present d'etiquette "que nous faisons aux ministres, et "nous le renvoyons au tems où il "doit avoir lieu. Mais indepen"damment de se present, sa ma"jesté m'a ordonné de vous envoyer "la boëte que j'ai l'honneur de "joindre ici, comme un temoignage "de son approbation et de l'estime "qu'elle a jugé que vous meritez. "Trouvez bon, Monsieur, que mes "sentiments particuliers s'expri"ment tous dans la satisfaction avec "la quelle je vois ceux de ma souve"raine. Je vous demande avec "empressement la continuation de "votre amitié, et vous prie de croire "que l'attachment que je vous ai "voué est aussi sincere qu'inviola"ble." The mark of distinguished regard, mentioned in Mr. Panin's letter, was a present from the empress of a very magnificent gold snuff-box enriched with diamonds, in value about six hundred pounds. As to their wishing his recall it is contradicted in the declaration of Mr. Panin in the above extract, that they must still consider him as the actual minister at the court of Russia, and more strongly by his subsequent appointment in England as embassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to that court.

"During his residence at St. Petersbourg he had many opportunities of rendering very signal services to Stanislaus the unfortunate king of Poland, by forwarding his views and assisting his minister count Rzewuski to discover and counteract the mean and unjust artifices of the king of Prussia towards that nation. As an acknowledgment of those services Stanislaus sent him, in 1766, the ensigns of the order of the White Eagle, which his majesty was graciously pleased to permit him to accept. At the same time they

they were accompanied by a very handsome letter from the king of Poland.

"Whether before his return to England the cabinet of St. James's had begun to reflect on the impolicy of removing a minister who had concluded a "just and satisfactory "treaty of commerce," and who stood so high in the estimation of the court with which he had to treat, or whether Mr. Stanley, on contemplating the difficulties which, in all probability, he would have to encounter as every English minister before him had encountered, does not appear: but shortly after his arrival in London Mr. Stanley gave in his resignation, and Sir George Macartney was immediately appointed to succeed him as embassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of Russia. Some particular circumstances however occurred, and were followed by other engagements, which were likely to prevent him from proceeding on his embassy, at least in any reasonable length of time. He conceived therefore, that it would be most expedient for himself and the public service to give up the situation at once, than to continue to hold it while any uncertainty remained of his ever being able to fulfil the duties of it. On this occasion he acted with a liberality which is not usually met with among public men. Notwithstanding the large sums of money he had expended out of his own pocket in the public service, by which he contracted a debt of near 6000l. in order to support his ministerial character, he voluntarily and without any requisition returned the warrants for a service of plate, usually granted to embassadors, the equipage money and every other emolument, receiving no advantage of any kind from his appointment except their majesties pictures, which he particularly desired he might be allowed to keep, setting thus an example of disinterestedness, perhaps the only one of the kind in the diplomatic history of this country."

Embassy of Earl Macartney to the Court of Pekin.

(From the same.)

"THE beneficial effects which were immediately experienced from the commutation act, whose operation threw almost the whole of the tea trade into the hands of the British East India Company, were attended however with the temporary disadvantage of draining the country of its bullion to make good the large yearly balances in favor of China. The exportation of broad cloths and camblets, of lead, tin, and some trifling articles of manufacture, to that country, kept no sort of pace with the vast increase in the importation of tea: but it was conceived that if a new market could be opened on the northern part of the coast of that extensive empire, a new and increased demand for these articles, and others not wanted in the southern provinces, might there be created, and thus diminish the inconvenience arising from the difficulty of procuring bullion. Another circumstance had for some time occupied the attention of the Court of Directors. Their commercial concerns, at the only port in which they were permitted to carry them on, had long been subject to many inconvenient and humiliating restrictions;

tions; and the persons, who were occasionally resident there to manage their concerns, were liable to many gross impositions and indignant usage. This kind of treatment, it is true, was exercised in common against all foreigners, but the English in particular were cut off from any hope of redress to their grievances, on the part of the government, being wholly unknown to it as the avowed subjects of any sovereign. The French, the Dutch, the Spanish, and the Portugueze, were either represented by the missionaries of their respective nations, residing at the court of Pekin, or were known from occasional embassies which had been sent to that court from their respective sovereigns. But the English were a set of adventurers who had originally forced their way into the trading ports of China, and were known only by the opprobrious name of *Hung-mao* or red pates, which, though bestowed in common on all Europeans, was more particularly applied to them.

"To establish therefore a more equal and, at the same time, a more creditable intercourse with China, the president of the Board of Control was strongly impressed with the expediency of opening a communication with the court of Pekin by means of an embassy; to be conducted on a more liberal and extensive scale than a former mission entrusted to Colonel Cathcart a few years before, which was rendered abortive by the death of that deserving officer, before he reached the point of his destination. Mr. Dundas justly concluded that if such an embassy should answer no other good purpose than that of procuring a due respect for the national character, and protection for the trading part of its subjects who might visit China, the expense would not be ill bestowed. The time was most proper for such an undertaking; for England was then at peace with the whole world. It was a suitable and distinguished attention on the part of his majesty's ministers to the manufacturing and commercial interests of the nation, who, overlooking the consideration of expense in the magnitude of the object, omitted no probable opportunity of extending the fame, intercourse, and commerce of Great Britain to the remotest regions.

"The Court of Directors of the East India Company entered with becoming spirit into the views of Mr. Dundas. The choice of a proper person to fill a situation so new and delicate as that of embassador to the emperor of China, a situation which, from its nature, required great address, strong talent, steady perseverance, and inflexible integrity, was not however thought difficult to fix; he who, in fact, originated the embassy had coupled, with the first suggestion, Lord Macartney as the only person capable of undertaking the mission with a probability of success. But as his Lordship had not yet been consulted, it was doubtful whether he might be inclined to accept the appointment. Having however laid it down as a rule to refuse no public employment, wherein he conceived there was a probability of being useful to the state, he felt not the least hesitation in acceding to the proposal, but with this single condition that, as the nature of the employment was altogether new, he should be allowed to make choice of the several persons attached to the embassy, as a knowledge of their characters appeared to him an essential point towards ensuring its success. "I flat-
"ter myself," says he, in a letter to Mr. Secretary Dundas, of the 7th January 1792, "you will forgive me
"if I take the liberty to observe
"that

" that, in preparing for all distant " expeditions, one ought to use every " precaution for ensuring success in " proportion to the difficulties of " finding resources against accidents. " None of any kind happen more " frequently or are more pernicious " than those which arise from dis- " union among the persons engaged " in such undertakings. And as " none, in fact, are to be sent in " the present instance, but such as " are deemed necessary in the prose- " cution of it, so there are none who " might not, in their several situa- " tions, have it occasionally in their " power by a perverse spirit, to cause " delay or throw obstructions in the " progress of the business, or, at " least, to render it more irksome " and embarrassing. Such a spirit " often breaks forth where the " source of authority is too far re- " moved to check it in time, or to " punish those who are actuated by " it, and substitute others in their " room; but it is not so likely to " take place in men whom a sense " of gratitude for their appoint- " ments attaches to him with whom " it is their duty to concur." The truth was, that a secretary of embassy had been recommended from a very high quarter, which made his Lordship deem it expedient to start the above objection to a stranger, having already determined in his own mind, that his confidential friend and former secretary, Sir George Staunton, should accompany him on this new and interesting mission. " But," says he, " were " Sir George Staunton out of the " question, I doubt whether it would " be in my power to gratify any of " those who have applied, as there " are some gentlemen with whom I " have been nearly connected in the " course of my public employments, " during a space of twenty-eight " years, a neglect of whom, on such " an occasion, would be equally un- " just in me and unmerited by them; " especially as I have never had cre- " dit with government to obtain the " smallest favour for any of them." To which Mr. Dundas with great candour and pleasantry, observed, " A secretary in my opinion is no " more a subject of recommendation " than a wife is, and in this, as well " as in every other part of your ar- " rangement, I mean to give one " uniform answer—that I will re- " commend nobody."

" Nothing indeed could be more flattering to Lord Macartney than the conduct of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas on this occasion.

" The salary recommended was so liberal, that a governor-general of Bengal might not have been offended with the offer. It was fixed at 15,000l. a year, on the ground that his Lordship ought not to be permitted to double the Cape of Good Hope at an inferior salary to what he had formerly enjoyed in those regions, especially as his new office of embassador extraordinary to Pekin neither was inferior in dignity nor exposed to less difficulty or danger, or less likely to call for the exertion, in this first essay, of talents and address, than his former employment of president of Fort St. George. Nor did such salary, considerable as it was, bear the proportion to the emoluments of some of the Company's servants in India, which the difference between their rank and situation and the rank and situation of an embassador, would seem naturally to point out. Not only every person in the civil department of the embassy was the choice of Lord Macartney, but the officers of the guard were likewise of his nomination. The first lord of the admiralty, then Lord Chatham,

allowed him to select whatever ship of sixty-four guns then in commission he might think proper, and also to mention the captain he wished to command her, and, by a singular indulgence, that captain was permitted to appoint his own officers. The directors of the East India Company, by whom the expense of the embassy was to be supported, made no difficulty in leaving to his judgment the selection of the valuable presents intended for the emperor of China, and they permitted, at his request, one of the finest ships in their service, the Hindostan, to accompany the embassy, together with a small vessel which they purchased as a tender. In short, it was impossible for any appointment to be conferred under circumstances more agreeable and flattering than was that of embassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary from the king of Great Britain to the emperor of China.

"Lord Macartney, on his part, from the moment the expedition was opened to him, gave to it his whole mind and attention, "I have "resolved," says he, in a letter to Mr. Dundas, "all the advantages "that may result to the public, and "the disappointments which I may "meet with myself. From the "first I feel the highest anticipated "satisfaction, and the latter, when "they happen, I am prepared to "suffer.

"Non ulla laborum
"In terris nova mi facies, inopinave surget
"Omnia præcepi, atque animo mecum
"antè per regis."

"As it would have been a fruitless endeavor to search for a person in England who possessed the least knowledge that could be useful in the Chinese language, Sir George Staunton set off for Paris without delay, in the hope of finding there some one qualified for the office of interpreter, or, in case of failure, to obtain information from the society of the *Missions Etrangères* respecting the most probable means of procuring one elsewhere. Here he was recommended to proceed to Naples, where the society *De Propaganda Fide* were known to receive occasionally young Chinese, sent over by the missionaries with a view to their being instructed in the Christian religion, and, at the same time, in the Latin and Italian languages. After some hesitation on the part of the heads of the college in venturing to trust their neophytes to the care of heretics, Sir George at length succeeded in obtaining two native Chinese who, having finished their instruction, and taken the order of priesthood, were preparing to return to their own country.—These two men readily engaged their services as interpreters to the embassy, and two others, desirous of availing themselves of so favorable an opportunity of getting to China, followed their companions to London, and were accommodated with a passage in the Hindostan.

"As it was thought proper to give notice to the court of China of the approach of the embassy, Lord Macartney suggested that a king's consul should proceed to Canton for that purpose; a proposal which created some little alarm in the Court of Directors, lest an appointment of this nature might interfere with their patronage; it was settled therefore that the three commissioners in their own service, who were about to be sent out to make some arrangements on the part of the Company, should, at the same time, announce the intended embassy. The two chairs seemed anxious likewise that his Lordship should apply to their supercargoes at Canton

Canton for information, adding, that the only chance of success in the embassy would arise from a perfect previous knowledge of the laws, customs, and manners of the Chinese; to which Lord Macartney could not avoid observing, "that "there was something discouraging "in the observation of the chairman "and deputy chairman, that the "only chance of success must arise "from a perfect previous know-"ledge of the laws, customs, and "manners of the Chinese; because "I fear," says he, "that it cannot "be acquired from the supercargoes "and others who have resided at "Canton, and with whom a per-"sonal communication is recom-"mended, for I have not been able "to discover any of them now liv-"ing who had ever penetrated into "the country above a mile from the "suburbs; few of them have ever "been in the city itself, and not one "of them has had the industry or "curiosity to acquire the language." Upon the whole however the directors of the East India Company, while naturally jealous lest the embassy might in some shape or other affect their rights and privileges, behaved with great liberality; and they declared, "that the very able "and honorable manner in which "his Lordship had ever conducted "himself towards the Company "would justify every degree of con-"fidence which they could place in "an individual."

"The difficulty of finding interpreters being removed, the presents in a train of preparation, and the Lion man of war and Hindostan Indiaman in a state of readiness, Lord Macartney, on the 3d May 1792, received his appointment of embassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary from the king of Great Britain to the emperor of China, and the same day was sworn of his majesty's privy council at St. James's: and on the 28th June following, his majesty, by privy seal at St. James's, and by patent at Dublin the 1st day of August following, was pleased further to advance him to the title of Viscount Macartney of Dervock in the county of Antrim.

"But, notwithstanding every exertion that could be made, the ships were not in readiness to proceed till the month of September, on the 26th of which they sailed from Spithead. The detailed account of their progress, and the honorable reception of the embassador at the various places which they had occasion to touch at on the voyage, have already been made public in Sir George Staunton's *Authentic Account of the Embassy*. It is therefore unnecessary here to repeat those particulars; and the embassador's own journal, contains so accurate and circumstantial an account of his Lordship's transactions, negotiations, and remarks, from the moment he came in sight of China till the day of his departure from it, that any abridgment of it in this place would be wholly superfluous. A few observations on the nature of a China embassy may not however be wholly uninteresting to those who shall be concerned in any future mission to the court of Pekin.

"In making preparations for this new and extraordinary embassy to a court and people, whose manners and customs were entirely unknown to Englishmen, the best, and, indeed, the only information to guide their proceedings, was sought for among the voluminous writings of the French missionaries. The accounts furnished by some of the most intelligent of these men convey the impression of a very extraordinary

traordinary taste prevailing at the court of China for the sciences in general, and more particularly for astronomy and experimental philosophy. It was natural therefore that Lord Macartney should provide, among other presents, some valuable instruments of different kinds, and of the latest improvements. On delivering these articles however to those who were appointed to the care and management of them, it was presently discovered that the taste, if it ever existed, was now completely worn out. A large planetarium of curious and intricate workmanship, which to a poor German mechanic had cost the labor and thought of twenty years, and to the East India Company the expense of about fifteen hundred pounds—the largest and most perfect glass lens that perhaps was ever fabricated—orreries, transit instruments, reflecting and refracting telescopes, theodolites, air-pumps, electrical machines, and an extensive apparatus for assisting to explain and illustrate the principles of science—were all lost and thrown away upon the ignorant Chinese, who immediately after the departure of the embassador are said to have piled them up in one of the lumber-rooms of *Yuen-min-yuen*. Not more successful were the various specimens of elegance and art displayed in the choicest examples of British manufactures. The impression which the contemplation of such articles seemed to make on the minds of the courtiers was that alone of jealousy; and if the novelty or beauty of some of those samples seemed to force their admiration, they were mindful to suppress any appearance of it, and to view them, in the presence of the English, with all the indifference and composure of men, who are in the daily and familiar habit of seeing things of the same kind. Such conduct may probably be ascribed to a kind of state policy, which discourages the introduction of all novelties, that the subjects of the emperor of China may not be tempted to entertain an higher opinion of the talent and ingenuity of foreigners than of themselves; and so deeply are they rooted in self-conceit, that the emperor of China has little to apprehend in this respect; his courtiers are well acquainted with that tacit species of insolence which is sometimes assumed, not exclusively by them, as a cover for ignorance. It will be prudent therefore, on any future occasion, to send out such articles only in the shape of presents (for presents are indispensable) as will be considered of real solid value by the Chinese; such as will neither offend their pride, nor be thrown away upon their ignorance: their effect will be greater while the expense will be less. Gold and silver, for instance, are metals whose value are not better known to the Jews than to the Chinese, and will be acceptable to them under any shape. Derbyshire spars and red coral are articles that rank high in their estimation; and broad cloths, kerseymeres, and camblets, to the manufacture of which they set up no pretensions, are in great demand in every part of the empire. Watches and musical clocks may serve as presents; but the market has for some time been overstocked with them.

"The humiliating ceremonial required by the Chinese court from all embassadors has generally led to discussions in which, except in the instance of Lord Macartney, the Chinese have never failed to carry their point. And though such discussions may not materially affect the issue

issue of the negotiations, it would be as well perhaps to avoid them, if possible, were it only to keep the agents of the court in good humor. If it be thought too degrading to submit to a ceremonial which the emperor himself is obliged to go through several times in the year before the person of his mother, if she be living, and before the manes of his ancestors, and from which no creature in the whole empire is exempt, some means should be devised for evading a ceremony, with which a reluctance to comply will always be construed into disrespect for the sovereign. The instructions of Lord Macartney left it to his own discretion to devise such means as might be satisfactory to the court of China, without compromising the honor of his sovereign or the dignity of his embassador: the plan succeeded; but a person of less address and management might have found himself placed in an embarrassing situation. This offensive ceremonial might perhaps be avoided if, in the embassador's credentials it were observed, that his majesty had particularly instructed him to approach the throne of China with the same ceremonial of respect as he was accustomed to appear before himself. Such an instruction from the sovereign to his embassador might probably be admitted by those who are taught to consider the will of the prince as the law of the land.

"The missionaries have pretended that all the presents carried by embassadors to the court of China are considered there as voluntary offerings of tribute to the emperor. Such an idea is not likely to accord with the feelings of a high spirited Englishman justly proud of the honor of his country; but it is an idea that has been adopted without examination into the truth or falsity of the fact. The inscription on the flags of the vessels were translated by the interpreter to Lord Macartney's embassy, who had learned his European language from the dictionaries of the missionaries, by "*The English Embassador bearing Tribute to the Emperor of China.*" By examining the literal signification of the two characters which these gentlemen have been pleased to translate into *bearing tribute*, it will be found they have no such meaning; and that there is not in reality the least necessity for objecting to this display of such flags by which the vanity of the Chinese nation is flattered at a very trifling expence to another.

"One great object of Lord Macartney's instructions was to gain an establishment for commercial purposes on some part of the eastern coast of China, or on some of the numerous islands that are scattered over the Yellow Sea. However desirable such an object might have been, a request of this nature was not likely to be complied with at that time. Many persons were still living in China, and one of some rank had intercourse with the embassy, in whose recollection were still fresh those unfavorable circumstances to the English character, which caused their expulsion from one of those very islands where, in their early intercourse with China, they had been permitted to hold a factory. Other nations of Europe were known to the Chinese by their services, and had received rewards for those services; the English were known only by their broad cloths and their bravery; for the very first of their connection with China was brought about by forcing their way, in spite of forts and ships of war, to the

the city of Canton. The Dutch, in return for their assistance in destroying a powerful pirate, were allowed to erect commercial establishments at Aimoi, and on the island of Formosa; the Portuguese in acknowledgment of very slender services were rewarded with a grant of the strong and almost impregnable peninsula of Macao; but the English had no services to plead that could reasonably entitle them to any such favors. But whenever an opportunity should present itself the endeavor to open a northern market ought not to be neglected, as such a measure would be attended with infinite advantage to the commercial and manufacturing interests of Great Britain. Few of the articles that are imported into Canton find their way to the northern parts of the empire, and such as do arrive there bear prices so extravagant as to operate almost to their exclusion. The true spirit of trade is but little understood in China; it is carried on by barter for other goods or for bullion; no system of credit has ever been established for facilitating distant intercourse. In fact, the merchant of Canton has no direct correspondence with the merchant of Pekin: every article imported into the former must pass through several intermediate hands, and be subject to as many profits before it can reach the latter. If therefore permission could be obtained to land our cargoes at the mouth of the *Pei-ho* in the gulph of *Pe-tche-lee*, there can be little doubt that the demand for British manufactures in Pekin alone would, at least, be equal to the present consumption in the southern provinces of the empire.

"If however these solid advantages were not obtained by Lord Macartney's embassy, it was at least productive of other important results that amply compensated the very moderate expense occasioned by the undertaking, which, instead of half a million sterling, as was ridiculously supposed, did not exceed in the whole 80,000l. By this embassy the British character became better known to the Chinese, and protection and respect were obtained for the British subjects resident at Canton. At the request of Lord Macartney they have since been permitted to address their complaints personally or by letter to the viceroy, whom before they could never approach but through the channel of the Hong merchants, who are generally interested in the continuance of the grievances of which they had to complain. By the interposition of Lord Macartney's good offices many trifling but teasing inconveniences and impediments were done away, and some more serious extortions removed. A considerable increase in the demand for broad cloths, from specimens circulated through the country, immediately followed the embassy. It opened an amicable correspondence between his majesty and the emperor of China, which has continued ever since, and which, it may be hoped, will ultimately produce those advantages that were, perhaps unreasonably, expected to spring up at once on the first intercourse. It furnished means to one of the gentlemen of acquiring a competent knowledge of the extraordinary language of this nation, which in England had been considered as an almost hopeless undertaking. This alone will prove, and indeed has proved, an invaluable acquisition, by enabling us to communicate directly with the Chinese government, and not through the channel of the missionaries,

missionaries, who, from the difference of our national religion, are inspired with a national hatred against us, and are ready to avail themselves of every occasion to do us an injury. Thus, in the instance of the late embassy, they impressed the court with an idea that our religion was the same as their own, and that the embassador was no doubt instructed to make proselytes in China as well as themselves, a circumstance which the emperor thought not unworthy to notice in his letter to the king of England. By the mission to China we obtained a knowledge of the navigation of the Yellow Sea, hitherto unvisited by European ships, and of the wide gulph of *Pe-tche-lee* to the very mouth of the river leading to the capital; it furnished an opportunity to those who composed it of travelling more than a thousand miles through the heart of the empire; and it has been the means of making us somewhat better informed of the real character of the Chinese nation, which has been most extravagantly misrepresented. These were advantages which, few will be disposed to deny, were obtained by the embassy of Lord Macartney to the court of China.

"It was his Lordship's intention, had not the war broken out, to proceed to the court of Japan, a nation concerning which our information is still more confined than that of China: but, having justly considered that the protection of a convoy of the value of several millions was paramount to the doubtful success of an experiment, he sacrificed his inclination to his duty, and determined to bring home the China fleet under the protection of the Lion. On the 17th March she left the coast of China, and on the 5th September 1794, Lord Macartney landed at Portsmouth, where he had the gratification to find that, in his absence from England, he had not been forgotten by his sovereign, who, by patent at Dublin dated the 1st of March 1794, had been pleased to advance him to the title of Earl of Macartney in the county of Antrim."

Character and General Characteristics of Earl Macartney.

(From the same.)

"LORD MACARTNEY, on his return from his travels on the continent, was considered among the handsomest and most accomplished young men of the day. His features were regular and well proportioned, his complexion wore the glow of health, and his countenance was open, placid, and agreeable. This description appears to be correct from the concurring resemblance of two or three portraits that were painted before his leaving England on his embassy to the court of Russia, one of which by Sir Joshua Reynolds is now in the possession of Major-general Benson, a near relation of his lordship. The portrait at the head of this volume, from a full length drawing by Mr. Edridge, in his 65th year, is perhaps as strong a character as the pencil is capable of producing. From these two portraits it would appear that so great an alteration had been made in his features in the lapse of near 40 years, in the course of which he was exposed to the extremes of heat and cold, to dangers, difficulties, anxieties, and mortifications, to severe and repeated attacks of sickness,

sickness, and an unremitting application to business, as to render it difficult to trace any resemblance between them. His person was somewhat above the middle size and rather corpulent; in the early part of his life it must have been powerful and athletic; his manners were engaging, and his carriage easy but dignified; in conversation he was extremely affable, cheerful, and entertaining; he possessed all the dignity of the old school without its stiffness; and he retained in his dress, the fashion of which for the last forty years of his life could scarcely be said to have undergone any change; in his person he was always remarkably neat. Although the public character of the Earl of Macartney has, it is presumed, sufficiently developed itself in the course of the preceding pages, yet it may not be amiss to subjoin a few of the more striking characteristics by which he was distinguished, and of the general opinions which swayed his conduct.—We have seen that his perseverance and address were amply put to the test in Russia; his indefatigable application to business and management of a turbulent assembly in Ireland; and the good effects of his conciliating disposition, his zeal and courage were sufficiently manifested in his government of Grenada; but India was the touchstone to try his sterling merit; and he was proof to the test. It has been observed, maliciously enough, that every man has his price; but if this satire on human nature were strictly true, taken in its greatest latitude, it must however be allowed that a few public men do now and then appear on the stage, whose price, at least, has never been ascertained. One of those few was Lord Macartney. The whole revenues of the Carnatic, which were, in fact, at his command, with the fee simple of Bengal added to them, could not have bribed him to swerve one inch from his public duty. That wealth which is able to purchase power, and influence, and honors, and without which they are rarely attainable, had no temptation for him. "I think," says he, in a letter to Lord Hillsborough, "I am now worth about "10,000l. more than when I arrived "in India, and I do assure you that I "might have been easily worth ten "times the sum, if I pleased, without any reproaches but those of "my own conscience." In fact, the system of corruption is so well established in India, that those who are disposed to avail themselves of that source of wealth run very little risk of detection. No blame was ever thrown by the nabob of Arcot on any of Lord Macartney's predecessors for taking his money; but torrents of abuse were poured out against his Lordship, because he would not take it. It was a maxim with him that plain dealing and clean hands will always be in the end an overmatch for artifice and dishonesty; the truth of which he had frequent occasion to put to the test. Nothing indeed could have supported him in the line of conduct he pursued in India, against the intrigues, the duplicity, and the universal corruption which surrounded him, but an unsullied integrity, and an inflexible firmness. Never perhaps was the *mens conscia recti* more eminently displayed than in the arduous struggles he was called upon to make in his government of Madras. But conscious of standing upon high and solid ground, perhaps on such as few, if any, ever stood before in that part of the world, he maintained his elevated position with the most perfect calmness in himself though surrounded by turbulence and

and agitation. Like the proud rock dashed by the waves of the ocean, he remained unsullied and unshaken in the midst of a sea of corruption. For the purity of his conduct he pretended to little merit. "Let it not be "supposed," says he, "that the "spirit of disinterestedness and in- "tegrity which governs my actions "arises from any heroic virtue or "better motives than those which "actuate the generality of man- "kind. I am free to confess I have "a stronger passion than for the love "of wealth—to reinstate India in "its former glory would give me "more pride and satisfaction than I "should be able to derive from ten "times the fortune of Mr. Hastings. "It is, in fact, a bad calculation in the "accounts of the world to sacrifice "reputation for any increase of for- "tune. Such," continues he, "is "the opinion of one upon this sub- "ject, who has had it twenty times "in his power to make a large for- "tune, and yet never has had it in "his thoughts." For the usual modes that are practised in India to obtain wealth, he entertained the most sovereign contempt. "Not- "withstanding the indignation I feel, "I am really," says he, "some- "times diverted with some of these "woodcocks, who thrust their bills "into the ground, shut their eyes, "and then think nobody sees them." He used to say that a man who has not been in India knows mankind but by halves, and that he who has been there, knows mankind, alas! but too much.

"Few men perhaps ever pos- sessed more real disinterestedness than Lord Macartney. The mo- ment that the public service required his attention, every personal consi- deration seemed to vanish. He was at all times ready to furnish his own money, and the extent of his credit, to relieve the public necessities, which in India he saw occasion to employ in more than one instance. "Every "private concern," says he, "ap- "pears to me at this moment of the "least consideration. I cheerfully "leave to the chance of a very dis- "tant day the retrieval of my own "affairs. I feel no uneasiness but "for my friends who, upon deceit- "ful representations, have accom- "panied me to this country, and "given up better prospects else- "where." In another place, he ob- serves, "that I was disinterested so "as no other man excepting per- "haps Sir John Clavering, is well "known. I have been twenty-two "years in his majesty's service, and "my appointments never, before "that to India, equalled my neces- "sary expenses. In Russia I sus- "tained my character by involving "myself in a debt of 6000l. When "I resigned the embassy I gave up "the plate warrant, equipage mo- "ney, &c. which I might have re- "tained, as my predecessor who "never left England kept to the va- "lue of 10,000l. I gave up the "muster-master's place in Ireland, "which was settled at near 2000l. "*per annum*, to accommodate the "lord-lieutenant, and received a "pension, which produced in Eng- "land 1000l. *per annum*, and which "I sold to pay my debts. At Gre- "nada I lost my service of plate "and all my property there to a very "great amount at the storm of the "Hill, for which I never received "the least compensation, yet I do "not complain, nor am I discon- "tented." So scrupulous was he when in India in the rigid adherence to his instructions, that he paid into the treasury all the *nazzars* or pre- sents that are made to the several governors on various and unavoid- able occasions, together with the dresses and jewels that were sent to him;

him from the Nizam and from Tippoo Saheb on the ratification of the treaty of peace; and all the little compliments of fine cloths, muslins, silks, shawls, and other trifling articles, which cannot be refused without giving offence, he punctually delivered into the export warehouse, without reserving a single article, however insignificant, for the gratification of his dearest connections at home, being determined to observe the same attention to correctness and accuracy in the minutest lines of the Company's service, as to order and economy in the greatest.

"His economy indeed, in all public expenditure, was not more rigid than his conduct was pure and disinterested. He made it a rule not to suffer a *fanam* to be expended that could be avoided. In the hope that example might have some effect, he would not allow any of the usual expenses to be incurred at the several government houses he inhabited on the public account for his private accommodation; and so desirous was he to discountenance that spirit of extravagance, which pervades every department in India, that he would neither suffer tatties to the windows to cool his apartment nor a palankeen to be kept for his own use. "I confess," says he, "I think I should not shine in the "meridian of Bengal. I should "have ten times as many difficulties "to encounter there as I have had "at Madras. Here I rumble on in "the same old equipage which I "carried out with me, live in my "usual style of moderation, and "feel no increase of avarice or ambition. My object for the public "has been rather a safe than a brilliant government. The same principle directs my private views "merely to independence, and that "the remains of my paternal estate "when unincumbered will give me." It was considered indeed at Madras that as a governor he entered too minutely into the detail of business, or in other words that he inspected too closely into contracts and other transactions connected with his government. "I confess my faults," says he, "but I am too deeply en-"gaged to think of any thing but "proceeding forward, and proceed "I will, though my life, I am per-"suaded, will be the sacrifice; for "though I have long been accus-"tomed to intense application, I "already feel the ill effects of it here "in every respect, except on my "temper which, thank God! yet "remains to me unshaken." It has indeed been sufficiently shown, that the government of Madras was productive to him of nothing but excessive labor, continual exercise of mind, ill health and mortification; but his spirit always rose to difficulties and distresses, and though frequently disappointed, he never appeared to be discontented. It was observed that no one ever saw him out of temper, and that no one ever witnessed a harsh or unguarded expression in the midst of the most trying difficulties, except in the single instance when it was forced from him by a most audacious contradiction. "It is a rule with me," says he, "when any thing unplea-"sant happens that I cannot help, "to divert myself with it, instead "of letting it vex me; and by these "means I make shift to rub through "the thorns of the world, and con-"vert them into roses and daffo-"downdillies."

"He possessed a firmness of character which those who did not know him well considered as bordering upon obstinacy. He was slow to act when the case was not pressing; but having once taken his ground

ground he never deserted it. "Before I decide," says he, "on any "matter of moment, I revolve the "subject well on my pillow, after "which I have generally found my "decision to be just." If, by his integrity and impartiality, he inspired confidence, his steady and decided conduct never left a doubt remaining on the minds of others, that his measures would not be carried into execution. This steadiness extended to his opinions of men as well as to the prosecution of measures: "I am of all men," says he, "perhaps the most cautious; but, "at the same time, the most decisive. I have no malignity in my "nature: I have only that steadiness which will prevent me from "being twice deceived by the same "person." But if he was cautious in bestowing his confidence, he was equally steady in his friendships. There was nothing capricious in his nature; his actions were guided by cool and deliberate judgment, free from passion, prejudice, or precipitation. Yet in compliance with custom he twice found it expedient to expose himself to the fire of his antagonist, but he could very safely say on both occasions he took his ground without being moved by the least resentment to the parties who thought fit to call him out. "I "have never," says he, "had a "private quarrel in my life, but "have unfortunately been engaged "in two public ones, and suffered "severely from wounds received in "both. These I might easily have "avoided, had I not preferred the "public service to all private considerations. I have invariably adhered to my first principles, an "unshaken attachment to the king's "person and government: and have "acted up to them fearless of the "consequences. I have no malice "in my heart against any one, and "I am more inclined to forward "than to thwart the views of others "where I can do it consistently with "my public duty. Every strong "measure I was compelled to take "in India was contrary to my own "natural disposition. The disobedience of the king's officers was, "in fact, to the king; for the Company, to whom I was a sworn "servant, stood in the king's place "just as the lord-lieutenant does in "Ireland. It is therefore an idle "thing to pretend to make a difference between the two services; "the king has delegated his authority in India to the company, whether constitutionally or not, it was "not for me to judge; but this "being the law I was to obey it. "It is now a matter of no further "moment to me, as I have done "with India for ever; but I wish to "stand well with the king; to do "away any prejudice that may be "entertained of me, and also to "have my merits, whatever they "may be, properly understood."

"He appears indeed to have observed in every situation of life the most steady and loyal attachment to his sovereign. Whether in place or out of place, whether favored with the smiles of the court, or apparently neglected, his sentiments in this respect were invariably the same. On all occasions he boldly stood forward in support of the king's prerogative. To those who labored to abridge it, and among them were some of his particular friends, he would say—"surely you would not treat the so-"vereign of this country as the "weird sisters did Macbeth,

"Upon his head to place a fruitless crown,
"And put a barren sceptre in his gripe;"

"which must be the case if you refuse

" fuse the king his just prerogative " of conferring favor and rewarding " merit. I know," says he, in the Irish House of Commons, " that the " word *pension* gives great offence " to some gentlemen of delicate ears " and delicate feelings; but, for my " part, I have lived too much in the " world to suffer myself to be im- " posed upon by a word or a name. " In every other country in Europe " a pension is considered as the most " honorable recompense which a " subject can enjoy. I speak of " free countries such as our own. " I know that in Sweden a pension " to a person who deserves well of " the state is the most honorable ac- " knowledgment of his merit, a re- " compense which implies haste and " eagerness in the sovereign autho- " rity to confer a reward where a " reward is due; to seize the ear- " liest opportunity of recompensing " it, not coldly waiting for a death " or removal, not marking the wind- " ing sheet of a decrepit old man in " office as the only passport to re- " tribution and gratitude. A pen- " sion," says he, " is infinitely " more honorable than a sinecure " office; the one loudly speaks its " meaning; but the other hypocri- " tically lurks under a supposition " of duty where there is nothing " to do."

" As a minister at a foreign court his qualifications were of the first rank. By his extensive knowledge of men and things, by address and management, he could make himself master of intrigues and projects while yet hatching, and exhibit them to his court in all their various bearings. It was the opinion of many of his friends, that the minister could not have employed the talents of Lord Macartney to a better purpose in the service of his country, than as a negotiator at the different courts of Europe, few men being perhaps so well qualified in every respect for such situations as he was.

" Throughout a long and active life, and with a very extensive and intimate acquaintance among the leading characters of various administrations and oppositions, he had the resolution to keep himself totally unconnected with party in politics, the spirit of which, however gentle and good tempered the individuals who compose it might be, is always productive of violence and ill humour, which were so contrary to his disposition. This party spirit he considered as tending only to impede the public service, by embarrassing government, to create dissensions among intimate friends, and to unite the bitterest enemies and the most jarring dispositions. But a respectable opposition in parliament he conceived to be among the most efficient and salutary checks on any abuse of power in those who are entrusted with the administration of the government. The speech he made on this subject in the Irish House of Commons is not unworthy of being recorded. " I most " firmly hope," says he, " never to " see opposition crushed. In a free " government like ours, I hope al- " ways to see an opposition to a cer- " tain degree; but it is an opposi- " tion to check, not to enchain; to " balance, not to overturn; vigi- " lant but not jealous; spirited, not " violent: neither vindictive nor " rancorous; but candid, vigorous, " and active. Such an opposition " might do honor to an indifferent " cause. Such an opposition might " invite even a bad administration " to a conduct, which craft or " peevishness might never be able " to obtain. But a systematic op- " position to all the measures of

" government

"government is what no man of "sense or common honesty can ap- "prove. An opposition of this sort "reminds me of a fable I have some- "where met with: An angel car- "ried a simple European to the re- "gions of Asia, where a hundred "thousand Turks stood in battle "array against a hundred thousand "Russians. The man asked what "was the cause of the war? To "which the angel replied, because "these men wear hats and those "wear turbans. I fear, Sir, we "should not be able to assign a bet- "ter reason for our present wordy "warfare than that some gentle- "men chuse to sit on that side of "the house and others on this side. "As to those indeed who have lost "places and want to recover them, "it is no wonder they should be "angry when out of office since "they were so when in. But those "sound patriots whose only inquiry "is, from whom does the question "proceed? who have no opi- "nion of their own as to the right or "the wrong of any measure, those "gentlemen remind me of Mr. Ba- "con's pupils at whist, who were "told that, whenever they were "at a loss what to play, they "should always play clubs, and I "make no doubt the good gentle- "men I allude to will play their "clubs against government to the "end of the game. Let no gen- "tleman however imagine that I "have any wish to cut off opposi- "tion. I know it is most salutary "when the greatness of the occa- "sion demands it, when the time "promises its efficacy, and the sin- "cerity of the opponents secures "them both success and honor. It "has been hinted that I esteemed "opposition a rope of sand. I have "seen such oppositions, made up of "the most motley materials, of "men with different passions, dif- "ferent pursuits, without concert in "council, or unity in action; where "the firmness of individuals caused "the weakness of the party, which "agreed in no one point but the ob- "stinacy of wanton opposition.— "Such is indeed a rope of sand; "but when men unite on public not "on private views; when indivi- "dual advantage is sacrificed for the "general good; when there is a har- "mony of council and a steadiness "of action; when neither accident "nor disappointment can make "them lose sight of the great object "before them, and the firmness of "each individual is exercised to "add strength to the whole—then, "I say, that opposition is not a "rope of sand, but a chain of ada- "mant."

"In the Irish House of Commons he was considered as an able and energetic speaker, studiously avoiding any of those sallies of passion, impetuosity, and personal invective which were but too common in this assembly; he fought the battles of his principal with great good humor, and with equal success; he seldom failed, by the introduction of some pleasant story, to keep the house in temper, and divert any petulance or peevishness from mixing in the debate. In the latter part of his life, he attended the English House of Peers on questions of moment whenever his bad state of health would allow him, but he never spoke on any question; he used to say, that if ministers would give more of their attention to what was to be done rather than to what was to be said, on any occasion, the country would be no sufferer by the loss of a few fine speeches.

"Few men were more conver-

sant

sant in polite literature than Lord Macartney, and his acquaintance was sought by the first literary characters of his time. With Dr. Johnson, Edmund Burke, David Hume, and all those who used to meet at Sir Joshua Reynolds's, he was particularly intimate. He was one of the original members of Dr. Johnson's Literary Club, which he continued to frequent with great pleasure in the latter years of his life whenever his health would permit him, and he was a member of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies of London. He was fond of social conversation, but reading was to him a never failing source of delight; a book was not merely a luxury; it was an article of the first necessity. It was rare to find him, when alone, without a book or a pen in his hand. He was considered, when a young man, as a sound classical scholar, and to possess a critical knowledge of the ancient poets and historians. It appears, from the correspondence of several eminent characters, that he was himself no mean poet, and that he took great delight in courting the acquaintance of the Muses. In his letters to the late Mr. Charles Fox, when a student at Oxford, he strongly recommends history as the best polisher of the manners, and the best introduction to the knowledge of the human heart. "Livy," says he, "is written in a style that "must charm every one. He is "master of our passions, and catches "the soul by surprize. Look at "that admirable passage where Co-"riolanus going to embrace his mo-"ther, she stops him with *sine pri-"usquam amplexum accipio, sciam "ad hostem an ad filium venerim.*" Tacitus he thought less graceful in style than Sallust, but more pungent, and he calls him the true anatomist of the human heart. The unadorned easy style of Xenophon he preferred to that of Cæsar: but of Homer and Virgil he always speaks in raptures; the latter indeed he could almost repeat by heart.—From a letter of the late Charles Fox to him, dated Oxford, 13th February 1765, it would appear that in the early part of his life he had no taste for mathematics, and that he valued them lightly. His opinion however must have greatly changed in this respect, on entering upon business, for no man could be more convinced than he was of the transcendant utility of what are usually called mixed mathematics as applicable to so many of the common and important concerns of life; and he was sufficiently acquainted with most of the modern sciences to make a conversation on their subject interesting both to himself and to others. His memory was of the most retentive kind, and had stored up an abundant supply of anecdotes relating to persons and events, to times present and past; and the pleasing manner and genuine good humor, in which he could relate a story, seldom failed of communicating to it an additional interest. By some peculiar arrangement, or classification of objects in his mind, he contrived to recollect the date of an event as correctly as the more important circumstances connected with it. It was observed of him at Turin, that he was much better acquainted with the history and connections of the Italian and French families he met with there than they were themselves; indeed so wonderful was his recollection on points of genealogy, that there was scarcely a person of any note mentioned by sacred or profane writers, whose history and connections were not perfectly

fectly fresh in his memory. When he passed the Hague, on his way to Petersbourg, Sir Joseph Yorke, then minister at that place from the court of London, invited all his brother ministers to meet Sir George Macartney at dinner. The conversation, as might be expected, turned on the affairs of Europe; and although some of the company were pretty well hackneyed in the diplomatic service, and Sir George but just entering upon his career of public life, yet it was observed that he was much better informed with regard to the respective courts of Europe, than any of the ministers were themselves who represented them.

"He had a peculiar facility in extracting information from those he conversed with, even where there might be an unwillingness to communicate it; but whatever knowledge he obtained in this way, he used to consider as problematical until corroborated or contradicted by other sources; thus the information he procured on subjects connected with his official situations was generally considered, in the department of state to which it was transmitted, as superseding all former information on the same points.

"It is thought by some of his friends, and, indeed, has been confidently asserted by others, that he had employed some part of the latter years of his life in drawing up a connected narrative of the events and transactions, in which he had borne a principal share, with memoirs and anecdotes of distinguished characters. But it appears, from the best authority, that nothing of this kind was found among his papers; nor any notes or memorandums that could warrant such a conclusion. The only writings of Lord Macartney that were digested by him into any thing like the shape of regular treatises, may be said to consist of three articles, namely, *An Account of Russia in 1767: An Account of Ireland in 1773; and a Journal of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China.*"

Memoirs of David Hume, Esq.

[From Mr. Ritchie's Account of his Life and Writings.]

"DAVID HUME, the second son of Joseph Hume, esq. was born at Edinburgh on the 20th of April, O. S. 1711. His ancestors, for several generations, had been proprietors of a small estate called Ninewells, lying on the river Whitwater, about five miles to the east of Dunse, in the county of Berwick; and this estate is still enjoyed by their posterity. At a short distance from Ninewells, stands the mansion-house of Kames, which belonged to the late Henry Home, who, under the title of lord Kames, officially assumed by him as a lord of session, or judge of the supreme court of justice in Scotland, is so well known in the republic of letters, as a philosopher, a lawyer, and a man of

taste. His lordship was the contemporary and intimate friend of our historian.

"The family name of Hume's mother was Falconer. She was the daughter of sir David Falconer, who was appointed a lord of session, by the title of lord Newton, on the 11th of June 1676, and six years afterwards raised to the chair of president of that court. Sir David died in 1685, and was succeeded in his office by sir George Lockhart of Carnwath. The title of lord Halkerston devolved by succession on his eldest son; and it may also be mentioned, that Mr. Hume's father claimed his descent from the noble family of Home: a circumstance which derives its importance solely from the family pride, or, more properly speaking, from the vanity of our author, who, during the whole course of his life, valued himself not a little on this double connection with nobility.

As Hume was a younger brother, his patrimony, according to the custom of his country, was very slender; and this, combined with his disinclination to the business of a lawyer, and the representations of his friends, induced him to repair to Bristol in 1734, with a design to engage in the commercial line. He carried with him letters of recommendation to several eminent merchants of that city; but from his confirmed love of literature, or some other cause now unknown, he found himself, in a few months, totally unequal to the bustle incident to his new situation. He therefore abandoned it, and went to France.

"His motive for this journey, as he himself informs us, was to prosecute his studies in a rural retreat; but that was an object which he might have attained more readily and completely by continuing in his own country. It is believed, that he did not chuse to return to Ninewells, as his relations must, by this time, have regarded him as a young man, whose habits of indolence were repulsive to all their exertions in his behalf. The cheapness of living in France suited the smallness of the fortune he inherited; and this seems to have been, if not the inducement, at least the excuse for his retiring into that country. Hume was, at an early period, sensible of the inadequacy of his income to support the easy enjoyments of a literary life; and he, at the same time, formed a resolution to remedy this misfortune, as far as he was able. After mentioning his journey to France, he adds, in the biographical sketch formerly alluded to,—"I there laid that plan of life "which I have steadily and successfully pursued. I resolved to "make a very rigid frugality supply my deficiency of fortune, to "maintain unimpaired my independency, and to regard every "object as contemptible, except "the improvement of my talents in "literature."

"On his arrival in France, he established his residence at Rheims, but soon afterwards removed to La Fleche in Anjou. During his abode there, he completed his Treatise on Human Nature, the plan of which he had formed while at the University of Edinburgh; and after spending three years in these agreeable labours, and acquiring an intimate knowledge of the French language, he returned to London in 1737. In the end of the following year he printed and published, in octavo, the two first volumes of his work under the title of A Treatise of (on) Human Nature: *being an attempt to introduce*

troduce the experimental Method of Reasoning into Moral Subjects.

"The first volume of this performance treats of the Understanding, and the second of the Passions. From a diffidence in his own abilities, or from a wish to hear the opinion of the public before he acknowledged himself to be the author of the work, it was published without his name. The third volume, which comprises the subject of *Morals*, did not appear until the year 1740. It was sold by a different bookseller; a circumstance owing probably to the discouraging reception of the two first. Annexed to the last volume is AN APPENDIX, *wherein some passages of the foregoing volumes are illustrated and explained.*

"Mr. Hume, it has been stated, formed the plan of his Treatise, while he was at college; and although, from the very imperfect manner in which it was executed, a severe critic might be inclined to condemn the presumption of a stripling in thus venturing to enter the lists with a formidable body of metaphysicians, whose elaborate works were the matured productions of advanced life, it must be confessed, that the boldness of the undertaking was worthy of the future reputation of the author. That a lad of only twenty-seven years of age should fail in accomplishing a task, which had baffled the labours of so many philosophers, eminent for their erudition and sagacity, cannot excite surprise. It would indeed have been a rare instance of early precocity, if he had succeeded in a branch of science in which even the primary rules of investigation have not yet been satisfactorily settled.

"On the fate of this performance our author is extremely candid. "Never literary attempt," says he, "was more unfortunate than my "Treatise on Human Nature. It "fell *dead-born* (still-born) from "the press, without reaching such "distinction, as even to excite a "murmur among the zealots."

"After publishing his Treatise, our author retired to Ninewells, where his mother resided, and where he found his brother very succesfully employed in cultivating the family estate. In the statistical account of Scotland, this gentleman is mentioned in honourable terms, for having set the example of agricultural improvement in that part of the country.

"The self-complacency of a young writer is ever ready to discover reasons, and contrive excuses, for the want of success in his earlier undertakings; and David, being naturally of a sanguine temper, gradually recovered from his chagrin. Even his literary ardour was not abated by the bad reception which his last production experienced; and during his abode at Ninewells he laboured with so much assiduity, as to be able to usher into the world, in 1742, two small volumes of *Essays Moral and Philosophical.* These tracts, which form the first part of his Essays, as now collected, were more propitiously received by the public; and this compensated, in some degree, for his former disappointment, and even effaced the recollection of it.

"In this state of lettered ease, he spent more than three years at Ninewells. His station in life secured him from the danger of want; yet, as he had no settled pursuit, and was a younger brother without a profession, his prospects were not the most brilliant. The reputation, which he had acquired, was too feeble to serve by itself as a sufficient recommendation to public no-

tice; but he was prepared to improve opportunity. The friends of the marquis of Annandale, a young nobleman whose unfortunate state of mind and health required the superintendance of another, pitched on our author as a proper person to undertake that charge; and, accordingly, in 1745, he was invited by the marquis to come and reside with him in England. The invitation was accepted, and Mr. Hume continued with him about a year. The salary allowed him made a considerable addition to his small fortune, which he had husbanded with the most persevering frugality. It would, perhaps, have been fortunate for the marquis if he had retained his literary companion; as, in that case, it is probable, that the latter part of his life would not have been involved in the mysterious gloom in which it was enveloped.

"In 1746, the British ministry, having planned an expedition against Canada, conferred the command of it on lieutenant-general James St. Clair, who appointed Mr. Hume to be his secretary. He accordingly left the marquis, and joined the general; but the destination of this expedition was altered to a cold and unimportant incursion on the coast of France. In 1747, Hume was again invited by the general to accompany him in his embassy to the courts of Vienna and Turin. He held, on this occasion, the station of secretary, and, by mingling in the gay world, familiarized himself with the manners of the great.

"In 1749, he retired to his brother's house at Ninewells, where he resided two years. During this period he composed the second part of his Essays, which he styled *Political Discourses*. He likewise wrote his *Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals*, which, as has been already noticed, originally formed part of his treatise on Human Nature, but which he now thought proper to new-model. It was published in London, in Nov. 1751, by Andrew Millar, the well-known bookseller in the Strand. This production stood highly in the author's favour, who, during the whole of his life, manifested a strong predilection for it; and he frankly tells us, that, in his own opinion, it was, of all his writings, historical, philosophical, or literary, incomparably the best: yet, like all his former labours, it came unnoticed into the world.

"Mr. Hume left Ninewells in 1751, and established his residence at Edinburgh, where his *Political Discourses* were printed in one volume, 8vo. and published in the following year. This performance was the only one, which met with a flattering reception on its first appearance; and in the short space of two years, it reached a third edition, which was published at London, with additions and corrections.

"The office of librarian to the faculty of advocates becoming vacant by the resignation of the learned Ruddiman, Mr. Hume, in January 1752, was chosen to fill it: a station from which he derived little emolument, but which compensated this want by placing an extensive library at his command. In the same month his friend Henry Home was appointed one of the lords of session by the title of lord Kames; and his illustrious antagonist, Dr. Reid, was translated from the pastoral charge of the parish of New Machar to a professorship of philosophy in King's College Aberdeen. Adam Smith had been made professor of logic at Glasgow in January 1751; and, in April 1752, he succeeded Mr. Thomas Craigie, as professor of philosophy

losophy at the same university. The vacant chair of logic became the subject of competition. The candidates were Mr. James Clough, and the celebrated Edmund Burke; and the former gained no vulgar laurel, when he beheld his rival retiring discomfited from the contest.

"Gerard, another opponent of our author, was, in the month of July of this year, appointed a professor of philosophy in the Marischal College, Aberdeen. Blair was, at this time, one of the ministers of the Canongate of Edinburgh; but it was not until the year 1756, that Robertson received a pastoral charge in the capital. It is impossible to contemplate so bright a constellation of talents with indifference: and while we yield to an impulse of generous feeling, let us endeavour to impress on the remembrance of the present race of Scottish literati, that to preserve the reputation, which their country has already attained, is no easy task. But it is the part of posterity not merely to emulate, but to excel their predecessors, else science must become stationary. We enjoy the benefit of the learned labours of the last generation: and vast as these were, let us console ourselves with reflecting, that a well-directed industry will still carry us beyond them. Formidable, therefore, as the list of distinguished Scotsmen was at the period to which we allude, to outdo them is worthy of the noble daring of liberal minds.

"So vast a range of literature, as the library of the Faculty of Advocates presented to Mr. Hume, seems to have emboldened his industry; for he immediately formed the resolution of compiling a history of England. At this time, Rapin de Thoyras, a French refugee, was the only reputable writer on the subject. His work, however, was esteemed chiefly as a faithful chronicle or register of facts; for, as was to be expected from the production of a stranger writing in a foreign tongue, it could not boast of elegance of language, and was unadorned with those political reflections which constitute the philosophy of historical composition, and of which Thucydides and Polybius have transmitted valuable examples. The history of Rapin was a work of labour, but not of taste. Hume had been accustomed to disquisition; and he carried with him to his new undertaking the bold and liberal spirit of enquiry, which he had displayed in his former writings. Intimidated, however, by the magnitude of a work, which was to contain a narrative of English affairs during a period of 1700 years, he selected, for his first essay, that portion of which it commences with, the accession of the House of Stuart, and forms a most important epoch in the British annals.

"Other motives seem likewise to have influenced his choice. The historian of those times, when the gloom of feudalism darkened Europe, has little else to relate but the sanguinary disputes of semi-barbarians, and the fatal consequences of family feuds. The contests between rival candidates for the throne are not susceptible of much ornament in point of language; while the ferocious manners of warlike but illiterate chieftains, and their followers, do not promise much gratification to the inquisitive mind, in point of legislation and useful policy. But society, like the individual, is progressive: the invention of printing, and the gradual diffusion of knowledge among all ranks of men, spread their benign influence throughout Europe; and the peasant

sant and the artizan rose, as it were, in the scale of being. They learned to inquire, to calculate their own value, and to probe, with daring hands, the civil and ecclesiastical impostures of former days. Such were the happy effects resulting from the blaze of science, which, at the time of the Reformation, illumined Christendom: effects fortunate indeed when compared with that ignorance, torpor, and abasement which formerly oppressed it. The castellated mansions of the nobility ceased to display the standards of rebellion; and the sovereign, in his turn, was constrained to cultivate, in his administration, that liberality which accorded with the popular sentiment, and to consult the wants and wishes of his subjects in preference to his own caprice and selfish interests. It is this conflict, and the glorious result of it, that constitute a subject of research, which can repay the labours of the philosophic inquirer.

"The political events under the dynasty of the Stuarts appeared to Mr. Hume to form the æra most worthy of the exertion of his talents; and as he flattered himself with a belief of his own impartiality, he fancied that he was destined to free that portion of our history from the misrepresentations of party. This idea stimulated his diligence, and great were his expectations of success. Devoting himself wholly to the recluse habits of a literary life, he laboured with unceasing perseverance until he had accomplished part of his undertaking; and accordingly, in the month of October 1754, the first volume of his History of Great Britain, containing the reigns of James I. and Charles I. was published at Edinburgh.

"A more convenient opportunity to enquire into the merits of this volume will hereafter occur: suffice it, at present, to observe, that the sanguine hopes, in which our author had indulged himself, were completely disappointed. The sale of the work was extremely dull, insomuch that he felt it necessary to hold a consultation with his bookseller, the late Mr. John Balfour of Edinburgh, as to what should be done to lessen the load of expence he had incurred. The indefatigable Andrew Millar was then taking the lead as a bookseller in London, and his name and extensive correspondence with the country dealers were sufficient to buoy up, in some degree, the character of a book, and faciliate its circulation. Mr. Balfour urged the necessity of obtaining the aid of Millar, in order to push the work into notice; and this advice was prudently followed.

"Another incident had lately occurred, which not a little chagrined our author. The professorship of Moral Philosophy, in the university of Edinburgh, having become vacant by the death of Mr. William Cleghorn, Mr. Hume appeared as a candidate for the chair, which is in the gift of the town-council. But the interest of his friends proved unsuccesful: his philosophical opinions were misrepresented, his character was traduced, and so great an outcry raised by the religious zealots as to endanger his personal safety. The clergy were particularly active on this occasion, some of whom represented Mr. Hume's principles to be those of an atheist, while others charitably branded them as the dogmas of deism. Their remonstrances succeeded; but the event gave rise to a rooted antipathy on the part of Hume towards the Scottish clergy, although at this time he lived, and continued afterwards to live, in the strictest intimacy, and most

cordial

cordial friendship, with Blair, Wallace, Drysdale, Wishart, Jardine, Home, Robertson, Carlysle, and a few others.

"The election took place on the 28th of August, and the office was conferred on Mr. James Balfour of Pilrig, advocate and sheriff depute of the county of Edinburgh. Mr. Balfour was the author of the Delineation of the Nature and Obligations of Morality, written in opposition to Mr. Hume's Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals; and from this pious specimen of his erudition, it must be acknowledged, that he was a *safer man* than our historian, in the chair of Moral Philosophy. The Delineation is a work not destitute of sound argument, though its prolixy is tiresome; and as Mr. Balfour attacked propositions in the Enquiry, which were unfounded in fair reasoning, and exceptionable in point of morality, he had, in every way, the better of Hume in the dispute. From the observations on the philosophical and ethical writings of the latter, inserted in the concluding part of this biography, the reader, who bears in his recollection that Hume's reputation rested as yet on these only, will perhaps, join with us in thinking that the university was no loser by the issue of the contest.

"Confirmed as was Mr. Hume's philosophic habit of bearing up against disappointment, a kind of despondency began, at this time, to ruffle the usual serenity of his mind. He himself tells us, that he was prevented only by the war, which had broken out between Great Britain and France, from retiring to some provincial town in the latter kingdom, where he might, under a borrowed name, spend his days at a distance from his native country. This scheme of a solitary retreat was, however, no longer practicable; and as he had made considerable progress with the second volume of his history, and been invited by some persons of respectability, among whom he enumerates, with just satisfaction, Dr. Herring, archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr. Stone, the primate of Ireland, to proceed in completing his work, he plucked up courage, and resolved to persevere.

"As our author acknowledges, and had serious reasons to regret the cold neglect and languid sale which his history met with, one is rather surprised to find him employing, in the narrative of his own life, a language calculated to deceive us into an opinion, that his performance burst on the world with uncommon attraction, and that it was the general and sole topic of public discussion. Speaking of the applause, which he expected from his historical labours, he adds—"but miserable was my disappointment: "I was assailed by one cry of reproach, disapprobation, and even "detestation. English, Scoth, "and Irish, whig and tory, church-"man and sectary, free-thinker, "and religionist, patriot, and cour-"tier, united in their rage against "the man who had presumed to "shed a generous tear for the fate "of Charles I. and the Earl of "Strafford; and after the first "ebullitions of their fury were over, "what was still more mortifying, "the book seemed to sink into ob-"livion"

"Jansenism and the Bull Unigenitus did not excite a greater flame, than the awful description, given in the preceding quotation, might lead us to infer to have been produced by the first volume of his History. Yet it is not easy to conceive, how a work could engage universal notice, and meet with such ardent and general

general reprehension, without being in the hands of every one. Mr. Hume, however, discloses a secret fatal to the warm representation, which he has given of the tremendous tempest he had raised; for in the very next sentence he tells us, that Millar sold only *forty-five* copies of it in a twelve-month.

"Mr. Hume resigned his office of librarian on the 4th of January 1757. This step was owing, according to our information, to the piety of the late lord Hales, who was then a barrister, and who affected to take offence at our author's official conduct, alleging that he brought improper books into the library. Nettled at this charge, and still smarting under the calumny of zealots, Hume threw up his appointment in disgust, and was succeeded by his friend Mr. (now Dr.) Adam Ferguson, who was chaplain to lord John Murray's Highland regiment. Thus, in the number of librarians, the faculty of Advocates can boast of having Ruddiman, Hume, and Ferguson, who held succesively the office, and form a series which reproaches the indolence of their successors.

"In February 1757, Mr. Hume published at London, a tract intitled, *Four Dissertations*: viz. 1. *The Natural History of Religion.*—2. *Of the Passions.*—3. *Of Tragedy.* 4. *Of the Standard of Taste.* It might have been expected, that the violent clamour, which, according to his own account, the first volume of his History had excited; and late events would, together, have conferred such celebrity on his name, that the public would have sought with avidity any performance coming from his pen. Yet this new work experienced the same obscurity and neglect, which its predecessors had done.

Such was the fate that his Dissertations met with, and which Mr. Hume himself has mentioned with his usual *naivete;* but they seem to have received more notice in the literary world, than he has mentioned in his narrative. In May 1757, there appered *Remarks on Hume's Natural History of Religion:* in June 1758, a pamphlet, likewise entitled *Remarks on Hume's Essays on the Natural History of Religion,* was published at London; and in November that year, appeared *Remarks upon the Natural History of Religion, by Mr. Hume, with Dialogues on Heathen Idolatry and the Christian Religion.* The last mentioned tract, which is alluded to by our author in his own Life, was the production of Dr. Hurd, now bishop of Worcester, the friend and biographer of Warburton; and this slight mark of attention contributed to sooth the chagrin, which oppressed the breast of our historian in consequence of the old reception of his performance.

"In 1758, his philosophical and literary works, with the omission of his Treatise on Human Nature, were collected into a quarto volume, under the title of *Essays and Treatises on several Subjects, by* DAVID HUME, *Esq.* It contained all the tracts, which, in 1760, were published in the more convenient form of 4 vols. 12mo., and compose our present editions in two volumes, 8vo. after undergoing several alterations, some of which will be noticed in the course of our remarks on his literary and political pieces.

"The year 1759 forms a kind of epoch in Scottish literature. Adam Smith made his first essay in authorship by the publication of his *Theory of Moral Sentiments.* The *History of Scotland,* in 2 vols. 4to. by Dr. Robertson, appeared on the first of February,

February, and met with such flattering reception, that, by the end of the month, the bookseller sent him word to make the requisite preparations for a second edition. Mr. Hume went to London in 1758, for the purpose of superintending the new edition of his essays, and for the more important object of correcting the proof sheets of two additional volumes of his historical work. In March 1759, that part of the History of England, which comprises the reigns of the house of Tudor, from the accession of Henry VII. to the death of queen Elizabeth, was published in two volumes 4to.

"Of all his works this seems to have been the most kindly received. It embraced a portion of our national annals, which had given rise to much controversy, and which was at this very time recommended to the public attention by Dr. Robertson's performance. Mr. Hume, in speaking of the reception which this portion of his history experienced, tells us, that "the clamour against it "was almost equal to that against "the history of the two first Stuarts. "The reign of Elizabeth was par- "ticularly obnoxious. But I was," says he, "now callous against the "impressions of public folly, and "continued very peaceably and "contentedly in my retreat at Edin- "burgh." Induced by this detail to believe that the republic of letters had been thrown into commotion by his publication, we searched with earnestness into the literary histories of that period; but have been unable to discover any of that outcry which assailed the too sensitive ears of Mr. Hume. In later times, indeed, his accuracy, impartiality, and political tenets have been attacked, and with justice, but without any clamour, and seldom with illiberality.

"Being now turned of fifty years of age, our author thought only of passing the residue of his life in philosophic retirement and literary pursuits at Edinburgh, when he received a very flattering invitation from the earl of Hertford, with whom he was not in the least acquainted, to attend him on his embassy to the court of France, and, in the meanwhile, to act as secretary. This offer, however, he declined, "both," says he, "because I "was reluctant to begin connec- "tions with the great, and because "I was afraid, that the civilities and "gay company of Paris would prove "disagreeable to a person of my "age and humour; but on his "lordship's repeating the invitation, "I accepted of it. I have every "reason, both of pleasure and in- "terest, to think myself happy in "my connexions with that noble- "man, as well as afterwards with "his brother, general Conway."

"In December 1763, a pension of 200*l.* a-year was settled on him by the interest of lord Hertford. His friend, John Home, having been obliged to resign his cure for the crime of being the author of the tragedy of Douglas, obtained, in 1761, a pension of 300*l.* per annum from his majesty. Dr. Robertson, who had been made principal of the University in 1762, and one of his majesty's chaplains in the year preceding, was appointed, in the month of August 1763, historiographer for Scotland, with a salary for life of 200*l.* per annum. This office was revived for the express purpose of befriending the doctor. The last person who held it was Mr. David Crawford of Drumsay, by a commission from queen Anne in 1704, with a salary of 40*l.* a year.

"Lord

"Lord Kames, Hume's fellow-sufferer under ecclesiastical intolerance, was, in the month of May 1763, nominated a lord of justiciary in the room of sir Gilbert Elliot; and even Mallet partook of this flow of good fortune in favour of *liberal opinions*, for, in February that year, he was appointed keeper of the books, in which entries are made of all ships coming into the port of London. It is however a lamentable drawback on the generosity of the times, that Peter Annet, the famous deist, was sentenced for his scepticism to stand on the pillory at Charing Cross, and the Royal Exchange.

"At Paris, the *gens de lettres* are certainly in more estimation than in any other part of the world; and the welcome which Mr. Hume experienced, was, according to his own account, peculiarly gratifying to a man of his easy and social disposition. "Those," says he, "who "have not seen the strange effect of "modes, will never imagine the re-"ception I met with at Paris from "men and women of all ranks and "stations. The more I *resiled* from "their excessive civilities, the more "I was loaded with them. There "is, however, a real satisfaction in "living at Paris, from the great "number of sensible, knowing, "and polite company, with which "that city abounds above all places "in the universe. I thought once "of settling there for life."

"His letters to his friends at this time bear evidence of the felicity of his situation in the French capital.

Mr. Hume to Dr. Robertson.

"Paris, Dec. 1, 1763.

"Dear Robertson,

"Among other agreeable circum-"stances, which attend me at Paris, "I must mention that of having a "lady for a translator, a woman of "merit, the widow of an advocate. "She was before very poor, and "known but to few; but this work "has got her reputation, and pro-"cured her a pension from the "court, which sets her at her ease. "She tells me, that she has got a "habit of industry; and would "continue, if I could point out to "her any other English book she "could undertake, without running "the risk of being anticipated by "any other translator. Your history "of Scotland is translated, and is in "the press; but I recommended "to her your history of Charles V., "and promised to write to you, in "order to know when it would be "printed, and to desire you to send "over the sheets from London as "they come from the press; I "should put them into her hands, "and she would by that means have "the start of every other translator. "My two volumes last published "are at present in the press. She "has a very easy natural style: "sometimes she mistakes the sense; "but I now correct her manuscript, "and should be happy to render "you the same service, if my leisure "permit me, as I hope it will.

"Do you ask me about my course "of life? I can only say, that I eat "nothing but ambrosia, drink no-"thing but nectar, breathe nothing "but incense, and tread on nothing "but flowers. Every man I meet, "and still more, every lady, would "think they were wanting in the "most indispensable duty, if they "did not make a long and elaborate "harangue in my praise. What "happened last week, when I had "the honour of being presented to "the D——n's children at Ver-"sailles, is one of the most curious "scenes I have yet passed through.

"The

"The Duc de B. the eldest, a boy "of ten years old, stepped forth, "and told me how many friends "and admirers I had in this coun- "try, and that he reckoned himself "in the number, from the pleasure "he had received from the reading "of many passages in my works. "When he had finished, his bro- "ther, the count de P. who is two "years younger, began his discourse, "and informed, that I had been "long and impatiently expected in "France; and that he himself ex- "pected soon to have great satisfac- "tion from the reading of my fine "history. But what is more curious: "when I was carried thence to the "count d'A. who is but four years of "age, I heard him mumble some- "thing, which, though he had forgot "it in the way, I conjectured from "some scattered words, to have been "also a panegyric dictated to him. "Nothing could more surprise my "friends, the Parisian philosophers, "than this incident.

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"It is conjectured that this honour "was paid me by express order "from the D. who, indeed, is not, "on any occasion, sparing in my "praise.

"All this attention and panegy- "ric was at first oppressive to me; "but now it sits more easy. I have "recovered, in some measure, the "use of the language, and am fall- "ing into friendships which are "very agreeable; much more so "than silly, distant admiration. "They now begin to banter me, "and tell droll stories of me, which "they have either observed them- "selves, or have heard from others; "so that you see I am beginning to "be at home. It is probable, that "this place will be long my home. "I feel little inclination to the fac- "tious barbarians of London; and "have ever desired to remain in the "place where I am planted. How "much more so, when it is the best "place in the world? I could here "live in great abundance on the "half of my income; for there is "no place where money is so little "requisite to a man who is distin- "guished either by his birth or by "personal qualities. I could run "out, you see, in a panegyric on the "people: but you would suspect "that this was a mutual convention "between us. However I cannot "forbear observing on what a dif- "ferent footing learning and the "learned are here, from what they "are among the factious barbarians "above mentioned.

"I have here met with a prodi- "gious historical curiosity, the me- "moirs of king James II. in four- "teen volumes, all wrote with his "own hand, and kept in the Scots "college. I have looked into it, "and have made great discoveries. "It will be all communicated to me: "and I have had an offer of access "to the secretary of state's office, if "I want to know the dispatches of "any French minister that resided "in London. But these matters are "much out of my head. I beg of "you to visit lord Marischal, who "will be pleased with your com- "pany. I have little paper remain- "ing, and less time; and therefore "conclude abruptly, by assuring "you that I am, dear doctor, your's "sincerely, &c."

"Mr. Hume's expectation of be- ing appointed secretary to the em- bassy was very soon realized. In summer 1765, the viceroyalty of Ireland was given to lord Hertford, and on his departure from Paris, Hume officiated as *chargé d'affaires* until the arrival of the duke of Rich- mond in the end of the year. In the

the beginning of 1766, our author left France, and returned to England, where an incident happened which he has not thought proper to notice in his own biographic narrative, but which engrossed the public attention at the time, and was certainly one of the most important occurrences in his life. We allude to his unfortunate dispute with Jean Jacques Rousseau.

"In the summer of 1766, Mr. Hume went to Edinburgh with an intention of spending his days there in philosophical retirement. He himself tells us, that he returned to that place, not richer, but with much more money, and a much larger income, by means of lord Hertford's friendship, than he had left it: and that he was now desirous of trying what superfluity could produce, as he had formerly made an experiment of a competency. Of this scheme, however, he was not long permitted to make trial. General Henry Seymour Conway, the brother of lord Hertford, had been made one of the secretaries of state, in 1765, in place of lord Sandwich, with Mr. Burke as his under secretary; but in February 1767, Mr. Burke resigned, and the general invited Mr. Hume to succeed him. Our author accordingly repaired to London, and entered on his high office. Whether he possessed talents eminently adapted to his situation, it would now be superfluous to inquire; certain it is that the state papers of those times evince no extraordinary marks of splendid abilities. On the 20th January 1768, the general retired, and was succeeded by Viscount Weymouth; and Mr. Hume followed his example.

"Notwithstanding the interruption, which politics necessarily occasioned to his literary pursuits, Mr. Hume continued to correspond with his old friends as usual, and to employ in their behalf what influence he possessed. Some of these letters have been preserved.

"In 1768, a new edition of Mr. Hume's Essays and Treatises on several subjects was published in two volumes, quarto. In the following year he returned to Edinburgh; and though now advanced in life, he had still, from the state of his health, the prospect of long enjoying his ease, and perceiving the increase of his reputation. He was now become opulent, for he possessed a revenue of 1000*l.* a year, including a pension of 500*l.* from government.

"From this time to the period of his death, his life presents nothing worthy of notice; for his migrations from Edinburgh to London, and back again, ceased to be interesting in the history of literature, and were so devoid of incident as not to entitle them to attention. In spring 1775, he was struck with a disorder in his bowels, which at first gave him no alarm; but, a twelvemonth afterwards, proved mortal. It is impossible not to admire and envy the serenity of his mind, at the very time he felt the malady to be incurable. "I now," says he, "reckon upon a speedy dissolution. I have suffered very little pain from my disorder; and what is more strange, have, notwithstanding the great decline of my person, never suffered a moment's abatement of my spirits; insomuch, that were I to name a period of my life, which I should most chuse to pass over again, I might be tempted to point to this latter period. I possess the same ardour as ever in study, and the same gaiety in company. I consider besides, that a man of sixty-five, by dying, cuts off only a few years of infirmities; and though I see many symptoms of my literary

literary reputation breaking out at last with additional lustre, I knew that I could have but few years to enjoy it. It is difficult to be more detached from life than I am at present." Such was the state of mind in which this extraordinary man sat down to compose the biographic sketch he has entitled, *My Own Life*. He had already settled his affairs, and it is said, that the property he left to his relations amounted to upwards of ten thousand pounds, all of his own acquiring.

"In 1775, Mr. Gibbon published the first volume of his history, in quarto; and Mr. Hume, who was ever gratified by the success of his friends, testified his happiness on the occasion in the following letter to the author.

"Edinburgh, March 18, 1776.

"Dear Sir,

"As I ran through your volume "of history with great avidity and "impatience, I cannot forbear dis- "covering somewhat of the same "impatience in returning you thanks "for your agreeable present, and "expressing the satisfaction which "the performance has given me. "Whether I consider the dignity "of your style, the depth of your "matter, or the extensiveness of "your learning, I must regard the "work as equally the object of es- "teem; and I own, that if I had "not previously had the happiness "of your personal acquaintance, "such a performance, from an Eng- "lishman in our age, would have "given me some surprise. You "may smile at this sentiment; but "as it seems to me that your coun- "trymen, for almost a whole gene- "ration, have given themselves up "to barbarous and absurd faction, "and have totally neglected all po- "lite letters, I no longer expected "any valuable production ever to "come from them. I know it will "give you pleasure (as it did me) "to find that all the men of letters "in this place concur in their ad- "miration of your work, and in their "anxious desire of your continuing "it.

"When I heard of your under- "taking (which was some time ago) "I own I was a little curious to see "how you would extricate yourself "from the subject of your two last "chapters. I think you have ob- "served a very prudent tempera- "ment; but it was impossible to "treat the subject so as not to give "grounds of suspicion against you, "and you may expect that a cla- "mour will arise. This, if any "thing, will retard your success "with the public; for in every other "respect your work is calculated "to be popular. But, among many "other marks of decline, the pre- "valence of superstition in Eng- "land prognosticates the fall of phi- "losophy and decay of taste; and "though nobody be more capable "than you to revive them, you will "probably find a struggle in your "first advances.

"I see you entertain a great "doubt with regard to the authen- "ticity of the poems of Ossian. "You are certainly right in so do- "ing. It is, indeed, strange, that "any men of sense could have ima- "gined it possible, that above "twenty thousand verses, along "with numberless historical facts, "could have been preserved by oral "tradition during fifty generations, "by the rudest, perhaps, of all Eu- "ropean nations, the most necessi- "tous, the most turbulent, and the "most unsettled. Where a suppo- "sition is so contrary to common "sense, any positive evidence of it "ought never to be regarded. Men

" run with great avidity to give " their evidence in favour of what " flatters their passions, and their " national prejudices. You are, " therefore, over and above indul- " gent to us in speaking of the mat- " ter with hesitation.

" I must inform you, that we are " all very anxious to hear, that you " have fully collected the materials " for your second volume, and that " you are even considerably ad- " vanced in the composition of it. " I speak this more in the name of " my friends than in my own; as I " cannot expect to live so long as to " see the publication of it. Your " ensuing volume will be more de- " licate than the preceding, but I " trust in your prudence for extri- " cating you from difficulties; and, " in all events, you have courage to " despise the clamour of bigots.

" I am, with great regard."

" A few months before his death, Mr. Hume was prevailed on by the entreaties of his friends to try the effects of a long journey and the Bath waters. Having accordingly settled his affairs, and drawn up the account of his life, which was afterwards published by Mr. Strahan, he set out for London towards the end of April 1776. At Morpeth he met Mr. John Home and Dr. Adam Smith, who had come from London purposely to see him. Mr. Home returned with him to the capital, and Dr. Smith proceeded to Edinburgh.

" On his arrival in London, our author found his health so much improved by exercise and the change of air, that he was able to continue his journey to Bath, where he derived so much benefit from the waters, that even he himself began to entertain a slight hope of his recovery. But the symptoms returning with their accustomed violence, and his malady increasing, he found it necessary to set out for Scotland. His cheerfulness, however, never forsook him. He wrote letters to his literary friends, informing them of his intention to be at Edinburgh on a certain day, and inviting them to dine with him on the day following. It was a kind of farewel dinner, and among those who came to partake of the hospitality of the dying historian, were lord Elibank, Dr. Smith, Dr. Blair, Dr. Black, Professor Ferguson, and John Home.

" After his return to Edinburgh, Mr. Hume, though extremely debilitated by disease, went abroad at times in a sedan chair, and called on his friends; but his ghastly looks indicated the rapid approach of death. He diverted himself with correcting his works for a new edition, with reading books of amusement, with the conversation of his friends, and sometimes in the evening with a party at his favourite game of whist. His facetiousness led him to indulge occasionally in the bagatelle. Among other verbal legacies, in making which he amused himself, the following whimsical one has been related. The author of Douglas is said to have a mortal aversion to port wine, and to have had frequent disputes with the historian about the manner of spelling his name. Both these circumstances were often the subject of Mr. Hume's raillery; and he verbally bequeathed to the poet a quantity of port wine, on condition that he should always drink a bottle at a sitting, and give a receipt for it under the signature of John Hume.

" Dr. Smith has recorded an instance of Mr. Hume's sportive disposition, and it also shews the placidity of his mind, notwithstanding the prospect of speedy dissolution.

Colonel

Colonel Edmonstone came to take leave of him; and on his way home, he could not forbear writing Hume a letter, bidding him once more an eternal adieu, and applying to him the French verses in which the Abbé Chaulieu, in expectation of his own death, laments his approaching separation from his friend the marquis de la Fare. Dr. Smith happened to enter the room while Mr. Hume was reading the letter; and in the conrse of the conversation it gave rise to, Hume expressed the satisfaction he had of leaving his friends, and his brother's family in particular, in prosperous circumstances. This, he said, he felt so sensibly, that when he was reading, a few days before, Lucian's Dialogues of the Dead, he could not, among all the excuses which are alleged to Charon for not entering readily into his boat, find one that fitted him. He had no house to finish; he had no daughter to provide for; he had no enemies upon whom he wished to revenge himself. "I could not well imagine," said he, "what excuse I could make to Charon, in order to obtain a little delay. I have done every thing of consequence which I ever meant to do, and I could at no time expect to leave my relations and friends in a better situation than that in which I am now likely to leave them: I therefore have all reason to die contented."

"He then diverted himself, continues Dr. Smith, with inventing several jocular excuses which he supposed he might make to Charon, and with imagining the very surly answers which it might suit the character of Charon to return to them. "Upon further consideration," said he, "I thought I might say to him, good Charon, I have been correcting my works for a new edition. Allow me a little time, that I may see how the public receives the alterations." But Charon would answer, "when you see the effect of these, you will be for making other alterations. There will be no end to such excuses; so, honest friend, please step into the boat." But I might still urge, "have a little patience, good Charon, I have been endeavouring to open the eyes of the public. If I live a few years longer, I may have the satisfaction of seeing the downfal of some of the prevailing systems of superstition." But Charon would then lose all temper and decency: "you loitering rogue, that will not happen these many hundred years. Do you fancy I will grant you a lease for so long a term? Get into the boat this instant, you lazy loitering rogue."

"The hour of his departure had now arrived. His decline being gradual, he was, in his last moments, perfectly sensible, and free from pain. He shewed not the slightest indication of impatience or fretfulness, but conversed with the people around him in a tone of mildness and affection; and his whole conduct evinced a happy composure of mind. On Sunday, the 25th of August 1776, about four o'clock in the afternoon, this great and amiable man expired. He was buried in a rocky spot, which he had purchased in the Calton burying-ground; and, agreeably to his will, a plain monument was afterwards erected on the place of his interment.

Con-

Controversy between Hume and Rousseau.

[From the Same.]

"IN 1762, the parliament of Paris issued an *arrêt* against Rousseau, on account of his Emilius, which had given offence to the ecclesiastical order. Hume was then at Edinburgh, where he received a letter from a friend at Paris, informing him that Rousseau intended to seek an asylum in England, and desiring our historian to do him all the good offices in his power. Mr. Hume believing that Rousseau had already put his design in execution, wrote to several of his friends in London, and warmly recommended this celebrated exile to their favour. He also wrote to Rousseau himself, assuring him of his desire to serve him, and inviting him to come to Edinburgh, and reside in his own house as long as he, Rousseau, should please to continue. No other motive, says Mr. Hume in a pamphlet, which he published in French on this affair,—'no other motive was wanting to incite me to this act of humanity, than the account given me of M. Rousseau's personal character by the friend who had recommended him;—his well known genius and abilities, and above all, his misfortunes.'

"To this letter Rousseau returned the following answer:

'Motiers-Travers, Feb. 19, 1763.

'Sir,

'I did not receive till lately, and at this place, the letter you did me the honour to direct to me at London, the 2d of July last, on the supposition that I was then in that capital. I should doubtless have made choice of a retreat in your country, and as near as possible to yourself, if I had foreseen what a reception I was to meet with in my own. There was no other nation I could prefer to England. And this prepossession for which I have dearly suffered was, at that time, very excusable; but to my great astonishment, as well as that of the public, I have met with nothing but affronts and insults, where I hoped to have found consolation, if not gratitude. How many things make me regret the want of that asylum and philosophical hospitality I should have found with you! My misfortunes, indeed, have constantly seemed to lead me in a manner that way. The protection and kindness of lord Marischal, your worthy and illustrious countryman, have brought Scotland home to me, if I may so express myself, in the midst of Switzerland; he has made you so often bear a part in our conversation; he has brought me so well acquainted with your virtues, while I before was only with your talents; he has inspired me with the most tender friendship for you, and the most ardent desire of obtaining yours, before I knew you were disposed to grant it. Judge then of the pleasure I feel, at finding this inclination reciprocal. No, sir, I should pay your merit but half its due, if it were the subject only of my admiration. Your great views, your astonishing impartiality, your genius would lift you far above the rest of mankind, if you were less attached to them by the goodness of your heart. My lord Marischal, in acquainting me that the amiableness of your disposition was still greater than the sublimity of your genius, rendered a correspondence with you every day

more

more desirable, and cherished in me those wishes which he inspired, of ending my days near you. Oh, sir, that a better state of health, and more convenient circumstances, would but enable me to take such a journey in the manner I could like! Could I but hope to see you and lord Marischal one day settled in your common country, which should for ever after be mine, I should be thankful, in so agreeable a society, for the very misfortunes that led me into it, and should account the day of its commencement as the first of my life. Would to heaven I might see that happy day more to be desired than expected! With what transports should I not exclaim, on setting foot in that happy country which gave birth to David Hume and the lord Marischal of Scotland,

"Salve, facis mihi debita tellus!
"Hæc domus, hæc patria est."

"Rousseau was afterwards obliged to fly from Motiers to avoid being stoned by the populace, whose religious zeal he had offended. He chose the isle of St. Peter in the midst of the lake of Bienne for the place of his retreat; and in a work intitled, Les Reveries du Promeneur Solitaire, he has introduced an interesting description of that island. His caprices again exposed him to the popular indignation, and he was ordered by their excellencies the syndics or magistrates to leave the country: he accordingly withdrew to Strasburgh.

"From the date of the preceding letter, all correspondence ceased between Hume and Rousseau till about the middle of autumn 1765, when it was renewed by the following accident. The marchioness de Verdelin happened to be on a journey to one of the provinces bordering on Switzerland; and being acquainted with Rousseau, she took the opportunity of paying a visit to him in his retreat at Motiers-Travers. He complained to the marchioness, that his residence at Neufchatel was become extremely disagreeable, as well on account of the superstition of the people, as the resentment of the clergy; and expressed his fear, that he should shortly be under the necessity of seeking an asylum elsewhere; in which case England appeared to him to be the most eligible place he could retire to with perfect security. He added, that his friend lord Marischal had advised him to put himself under Mr. Hume's protection, and that if he did not think it would have been giving the latter too much trouble, he would have already addressed him on the subject.

"Hume, who was then *chargé d'affaires* at Paris, but had a prospect of soon returning to England, immediately wrote to Rousseau, and made him an offer of his services. To this letter he received the following answer:

'Strasburgh, Dec. 4, 1765.

'Sir,

'Your goodness affects me as much as it does me honour. The best reply I can make to your offers is to accept them, which I do. I shall set out in five or six days to throw myself into your arms. It is the advice of my lord Marischal, my protector, friend, and father: it is the advice also of madame * * *, whose good sense and benevolence serve equally for my direction and consolation; in fine, I may say it is the advice of my own heart, which takes a pleasure in being indebted to the most illustrious of my contemporaries, to a man whose goodness surpasses his glory. I sigh for

a solitary and free retirement, where I may finish my days in peace. If this be procured me by means of your benevolent solicitude, I shall then enjoy at once the only good my heart desires, and the pleasure of being indebted for it to you.

'I am, sir, with all my heart, &c."

"Rousseau having obtained a passport by the aid of his friends, repaired to Paris, and afterwards accompanied Mr. Hume to England. Many were the plans devised for obtaining a comfortable residence for him after his arrival, some of which are detailed in the *Exposé* inserted in the appendix. 'For upwards of two months,' says Hume, 'I employed myself and my friends in looking out for a situation which might be agreeable to him. We gave way to all his caprices, excused all his singularities, indulged him in all his humours; in short, neither time nor trouble was spared to procure him what he desired; and although he rejected most of the projects I had formed for his establishment, I thought myself sufficiently recompensed for my trouble, by the gratitude, and even affection with which he appeared to repay my solicitude.'

"Mr. Davenport, a gentleman of family, fortune, and worth, had a house at Wooton, in the county of Derby, where he himself seldom resided. This house he offered to Rousseau, who finally agreed to live there at a very moderate board.

"On his arrival at Wooton he wrote to Mr. Hume the following letter

'Wooton, March 22, 1766.

'You see already, my dear patron, by the date of my letter, that I am arrived at the place of my destination; but you cannot see all the charms which I find in it; to do this, you should be acquainted with the situation, and be able to read my heart. You ought, however, to read there my sentiments with respect to you, sentiments which you have so well deserved. If I live in this agreeable asylum as happy as I hope to do, one of the greatest pleasures of my life will be, to reflect that I owe it to you. To make another happy is to deserve to be happy one's self. May you, therefore, find in yourself the reward of all you have done for me! Alone, I might perhaps have met with hospitality, but I should never have relished it so highly as I now do, in owing it to your friendship. Retain still that friendship for me, my dear patron; love me for my sake, who am so much indebted to you; love me for your own, for the good you have done me. I am sensible of the full value of your sincere friendship: I ardently wish it: I am ready to repay it with all mine, and feel something in my heart which may one day convince you that it is not without its value. As, for the reasons agreed on between us, I shall receive nothing by the post, I beseech you, when you have the goodness to write to me, to send your letters to Mr. Davenport. The affair of the carriage is not yet adjusted, because I know I was imposed on; it is a trifling fault, however, which may be only the effect of an obliging vanity, unless it should happen to be repeated. If you were concerned in it, I would advise you to give up, once for all, these little impositions, which cannot proceed from any good motive, when converted into snares for simplicity. I embrace you, my dear patron, with the same cordiality I hope to find in you.'

"Some days afterwards Mr. Hume received

received another letter from Rousseau, as follows:

'Wooton, March 29, 1766.

'You will see, my dear patron, by the letter which Mr. Davenport will have transmitted you, how I find myself situated in this place, according to my wishes. I might, perhaps, be more at my ease if I were less noticed; but the solicitude of so polite a host as mine is too obliging to give offence; and as every thing in life is mingled with inconvenience, that of being too good is one of those which is the most tolerable. I find a much greater inconvenience in not being able to make the servants understand me, and particularly in my not understanding a word of what they say. Luckily mademoiselle le Vasseur serves me as interpreter, and her fingers speak better than my tongue. There is one advantage, however, attending my ignorance, which is a kind of compensation; it serves to tire and keep at a distance impertinent visitors. The minister of the parish came to see me yesterday, who, finding that I spoke to him only in French, would not speak to me in English, so that our interview was almost without the interchange of a word. I have taken a fancy to this expedient, and shall make use of it with all my neighbours, if I have any. Nay, if I should learn to speak English, I will converse with them only in French, especially if I were so happy as to find they did not understand a word of that language. It is an artifice much of the same kind with that which the negroes say the monkies practise, who, though they are capable of speech, will not be prevailed upon to talk, lest they should be set to work.

'It is by no means true, that I agreed to accept of a model from Mr. Gosset as a present. On the contrary, I asked him the price, which he told me was a guinea and a half, adding that he intended to present me with it; an offer I did not accept. I beg of you, therefore, to pay him for it, and Mr. Davenport will be so good as repay you the money. If Mr. Gosset does not consent to this, it must be returned to him, and purchased by some other hand. It is designed by M. du Peyrou, who long since desired to have my portrait, and caused one to be painted in miniature, which is not at all like me. You were more fortunate in this respect than he, but I am sorry that, by your assiduity to serve me, you deprive me of the pleasure of discharging the same friendly obligation with regard to yourself. Be so good, my dear patron, as to order the model to be sent to Messrs. Guinand and Hankey, Little St. Helen's, Bishopsgate-street, in order to be transmitted to M. du Peyrou by the first safe conveyance. It has been a frost ever since I have been here: the snow falls daily, and the wind is cutting and severe; notwithstanding all which I had rather lodge in the hollow trunk of an old tree in this country, than in the most superb apartment in London. Good day, my dear patron. I embrace you with all my heart.'

"When it was first proposed, that Rousseau should take up his residence in Britain, it was also in view with his friends to procure a pension of a 100*l.* a-year to him from his majesty; but the arrangement of this was likely to be much impeded by the peculiar sensibility of Rousseau's temper. As Hume and he were conversing together one evening at Calais, where they were detained on their way to Eng-

land by contrary winds, our historian asked him, if he would accept of a pension from the king in case his majesty should grant it. He replied, that it was a matter of some difficulty to resolve on; but that he would be entirely guided by the advice of lord Marischal.

"Encouraged by this answer, Hume, immediately on his arrival in London, stated the matter to his majesty's ministers, and particularly to general Conway, secretary of state, and general Græme, secretary and chamberlain to the queen. Application was accordingly made to their majesties, who readily assented, on condition that the transaction should not be made public. The reason of this stipulation was, that these great personages did not chuse to appear publicly to countenance the author of obnoxious writings. Hume afterwards wrote to lord Marischal, to whom Rousseau also wrote, and expressed himself highly pleased with the conditional article of secresy. Lord Marischal, as it will easily be supposed, sent his approbation, and Rousseau set out for Wooton, the completion of the affair being retarded by the indisposition of general Conway.

'In the mean time,' observes Mr. Hume, 'I began to be afraid, from what I had observed of M. Rousseau's disposition and character, that his natural restlessness of mind would prevent his enjoying that repose, to which the hospitality and security he found in England invited him. I saw with infinite regret, that he was born for storms and tumults, and that the disgust which might succeed the peaceful enjoyment of solitude and tranquillity, would soon render him a burden to himself and every body about him. But as I lived at the distance of a hundred and fifty miles from the place of his residence, and was constantly employed in doing him good offices, I did not expect that I myself should be the victim of this unhappy disposition.'

"The late lord Orford, better known as Horace Walpole, happened to be at Paris, while Hume resided there; and his turn for pleasantry led him to exercise it at the expence of poor Rousseau, in the following letter written in the name of the king of Prussia.

'My Dear Jean Jacques,

'You have renounced Geneva, your native land. You have been driven from Switzerland, a country of which you have made such boast in your writings. In France you are outlawed: come then to me. I admire your talents, and amuse myself with your reveries; on which, however, by the way, you bestow too much time and attention. It is high time to grow prudent and happy: you have made yourself sufficiently talked of for singularities little becoming a truly great man: show your enemies that you have sometimes common sense: this will vex them without hurting you. My dominions offer you a peaceful retreat; I am desirous to do you good, and will do it, if you can but think it such. But if you are obstinate in refusing my assistance, you may expect that I shall say not a word about it to any one. If you persist in perplexing your brains to find out new misfortunes, chuse such as you like best; I am a king, and can make you as miserable as you can wish; and, what your enemies certainly never will, I will cease to persecute you, when you are no longer vain of persecution.

'Your sincere friend,

'FREDERICK.'

"Although

" Although this letter had been written three weeks before the departure of the two philosophers from the French capital, its author, out of regard to Hume, concealed it from him, although they lodged in the same hotel. Walpole afterwards showed it to his friends, and copies of it being taken, the epistle was handed about and spread over Europe. ' It was, says Hume, ' in every body's hands when I saw it, for the first time, in London. I believe every one, who knows any thing of the liberty of this country, will allow that such a piece of raillery could not even by the utmost influence of king, lords, and commons, by all the authority ecclesiastical, civil, and military, be kept from finding its way to the press.'

" It was accordingly published in the St. James's Chronicle, and a few days afterwards the following piece appeared in the same paper.

' M. Rousseau to the Author of the St. James's Chronicle.

' Wooton, April 7, 1766.

' Sir,

' You have been wanting in that respect which every private person owes to crowned heads, in publicly ascribing to the king of Prussia a letter full of extravagance and baseness; by which circumstance alone you might be very well assured he could not be the author. You have even dared to subscribe his name, as if you had seen him write it with his own hand. I inform you, sir, that that letter was fabricated at Paris; and, what rends and afflicts my heart, the impostor has his accomplices in England.

' In justice to the king of Prussia, to truth, and to myself, you ought therefore to print the letter I now write you, and to which I set my name; by way of reparation for a fault, which you would undoubtedly reproach yourself for, if you knew of what atrociousness you have been made the instrument. Sir, I make you my sincere salutations.'

" However much Mr. Hume might regret, that his friend should have condescended to notice a puerile *jeu d'esprit* in a newspaper, he never could have surmised that he himself would have been accused of being the writer of it. ' I am surely,' says he, ' the last man in the world, who, in common sense, ought to be suspected: yet, without even the pretence of the smallest proof of probability, I am, of a sudden, the first man, not merely suspected, but fixed upon to be the publisher: I am, without any inquiry or explanation, insulted in a public journal: I am, from the dearest friend, converted into a treacherous and malignant enemy; and all my present and past services are at once adroitly cancelled. Were it not ridiculous to employ reasoning on such a subject, and with such a man, I might ask M. Rousseau, why I am supposed to have any malignity against him! My actions, in a hundred instances, had sufficiently demonstrated the contrary; and it is not usual for favours conferred to beget ill will in the person who confers them.'

" Two days after the last letter of Rousseau to Hume (29th March) in which he employs the most fulsome adulation, he wrote to M. d'Ivernois, in a very different style, his sentiments of our author; and it appears from the following passage of his letters to that gentleman, that at the time this philosopher was overwhelming Mr. Hume with ardent expressions of gratitude, he had conceived against him the most absurd suspicion and violent animosity.

' Wooton,

'Wooton, March 31, 1766.

'My friend, I wrote you the day before yesterday, and the same evening I received your letter of the 15th. It had been opened and sealed again: it came to me through Mr. Hume, who is very intimate with the son of the juggler Fronchin, and resided in the same house with him. He is also much connected with my most dangerous enemies at Paris, and if he be not a cheat, I owe him in my heart many reparations, I owe him thanks for the trouble he has taken respecting me, in a land where I know not the language. He concerns himself much about my little interests; but my reputation gains not by this, and I know not how it happens, that the public papers, which spoke much of me, and always with honour, before our arrival, have ceased to do so since he came to London, or only speak to my disadvantage. All my affairs, all my letters pass through his hands: those I write arrive not; those I receive, are open. Several other circumstances render me suspicious of his conduct, and even of his zeal. I cannot yet discover what his intentions are, but I cannot help thinking them sinister; and I am much deceived, if all our letters are not divulged by the jugglers, who will infallibly endeavour to injure us. In the hope of learning something to aid my enquiry, seal your letters with more care, and I will try on my part to open with your correspondents a direct communication, without the letters passing through this dangerous enrepot.'

"Rousseau had brought over with him a copy of M. du Peyrou's letters concerning the treatment he met with at Neufchatel, and given them to Mr. Becket the bookseller to publish. A delay having arisen in consequence of the indisposition of the translator, the fretful Rousseau immediately perceived conspiracy and treason in this circumstance; and under that impression wrote the following letter to Messrs. Becket and De Hondt: a further explanation of the accidental causes of this delay will be afterwards given.

'Wooton, April 9, 1766.

'Gentlemen,

'I was surprised at not seeing published the translation of the letters of M. du Peyrou, which I had transmitted to you, and about which you seemed so earnest. But on reading in the public papers a pretended letter of the king of Prussia to me, I readily conceived why those of M. du Peyrou had not appeared. Well, gentlemen, as the public wish to be deceived, let them be so. I myself feel but very little interest in it, and hope that the black vapours, raised at London, will not disturb the serenity of the air I breathe here. But it appears to me, that as you make no use of the copy, you ought to have returned it, before my bringing it to your recollection. Have the goodness, I request you, to send it back, &c.'

"It was the practice of Rousseau, on the occurrence of a storm, of which he himself was generally the author, to fill Europe with his complaints; and he was not wanting in industry upon the present occasion. The countess de Boufleurs, the common friend of both philosophers, had long interested herself in behalf of Rousseau, and was one of those who had arranged his journey to England; she was a woman of ability, a sçavante, mistress of the prince of Conti, and very desirous of being his wife. To this lady the angry citizen of Geneva, two days after he had written to the editor

editor of the St. James's Chronicle, sent a letter containing a violent attack on the integrity of Hume. He wrote in a like style to the marchioness de Verdelin, to lord Marischal, to M. d'Ivernois, and M. de Malsherbes.

" Inconscious of having committed any fault, the unsuspecting Hume continued his kind offices in behalf of Rousseau, and renewed his solicitations respecting the pension, as soon as the state of general Conway's health permitted. The general applied again to his majesty, who likewise renewed his consent. Application had been also made to the marquis of Rockingham, then first commissioner of the treasury. In fine, Hume, having happily accomplished his purpose according to his wishes, informed Rousseau of his success; but all his exertions were blasted by the following letter, which the philosopher thought proper to write to general Conway.

' May 12, 1766.

' Sir,

' Affected by a most lively sense of the favour his majesty has honoured me with, and of your goodness, which procured it me; I experience the most agreeable sensation in reflecting that the best of kings, and the person most worthy of his confidence, are pleased to interest themselves in my fortune. This, sir, is an advantage of which I am justly tenacious, and which I will never deserve to lose. But it is necessary I should speak to you with the frankness you admire. After so many misfortunes, I thought myself armed against all possible events; there have happened to me some, however, which I did not foresee; and which indeed an ingenuous mind could not have foreseen. Hence it is that they affect me so much the more severely, and the trouble in which they involve me deprives me of the ease of mind necessary for directing my conduct. All I can reasonably do, in so distressed a situation, is to suspend my resolutions about every affair of such importance as that in agitation. So far from refusing the beneficence of the king from pride, as is imputed to me, I am proud of acknowledging it, and am only sorry I cannot do so more publicly. But when I actually receive it, I wish to be able to give up myself entirely to those sentiments which it would inspire, and to have a heart replete with gratitude for his majesty's goodness and yours. I am not at all afraid that this manner of thinking will make any alteration in yours towards me. Deign, therefore, sir, to preserve that kindness for me, till a more happy opportunity: you will then be satisfied, that I defer taking advantage of it, only to render myself more worthy of it. I beg of you, sir, to accept of my most humble and respectful salutations.'

" This letter appeared both to general Conway and to our historian a plain refusal, as long as the stipulation of secrecy was insisted on. Hume, however, being willing to overlook the apparent neglect in writing him, prevailed on the general to keep the matter still open, and wrote a friendly letter to Rousseau, exhorting him to return to his former way of thinking, and to accept of the pension. As to the pretended distress which he mentions in his letter to the general, all fears were removed by a letter from Mr. Davenport, who reported his guest to be at the time extremely happy, easy, cheerful, and even sociable ' I saw plainly in this occurrence,' observes Mr. Hume, ' the usual infirmity of my friend, who wishes to interest

interest the world in his favour by passing for sickly, and persecuted, and distressed, and unfortunate, beyond all measure, even while he is the most happy and contented. His pretences of an extreme sensibility had been too frequently repeated, to have any effect on a man who was so well acquainted with them.'

" After waiting three weeks in vain for an answer to his letter, but having to do with a very eccentric character, and still accounting for his silence by supposing him ashamed to write to him, Hume nevertheless determined not to abate in his endeavours to do him an essential service; and accordingly renewed his application to the ministers, the result of which he communicated to him in the following letter:

' Lisle-street, Leicester-fields,
June 19, 1766.

' Sir,

' As I have not received any answer from you, I conclude, that you persevere in the resolution of refusing all marks of his majesty's goodness, as long as they must remain a secret. I have, therefore, applied to general Conway to have this condition removed; and I have been so fortunate as to obtain his promise that he would speak to the king for that purpose. ' It will only be requite,' said he, ' that we know previously from M. Rousseau, whether he would accept of a pension publicly granted him, that his majesty may not be exposed to a second refusal. He gave me authority to write to you on the subject; and I beg to hear your resolution as soon as possible. If you give your consent, which I earnestly entreat you to do, I know that I can depend on the good offices of the duke of Richmond to second general Conway's application; so that I have no doubt of success. I am, my dear sir, your's, with great sincerity.'

" Five days afterwards Rousseau returned the following answer:

' Wooton, June 23, 1766.

' Sir,

' I imagined that my silence, truly interpreted by your conscience, had said enough; but since you have some design in not understanding me, I shall speak. You have but ill disguised yourself. I know you, and you are not ignorant of it. Before we had any connection, quarrels or disputes: while we knew each other only by literary reputation, you affectionately made me an offer of the good offices of yourself and friends. Affected by this generosity, I threw myself into your arms; you brought me to England apparently to procure me an asylum; but, in fact, to bring me to dishonour. You applied to this noble work, with a zeal worthy of your heart, and a success worthy of your abilities. To succeed, it was not necessary to take so much pains; you live in the world, and I in solitude. The public love to be deceived, and you were formed to deceive them. I know one man, however, whom you cannot deceive; I mean yourself. You know with what horror my heart rejected the first suspicion of your designs. I told you with tears in my eyes, while I embraced you, that if you were not the best of men, you must be the basest. In reflecting on your secret conduct, you must say to yourself, sometimes, you are not the best of men; and I doubt, if, under that impression, you will ever be the happiest.

" I leave your friends and you to carry on your schemes as you please; and I give up to you, without regret, my reputation during life, certain

tain that, one day, justice will be done to the reputation of both. As to your good offices in matters of interest, which you have made use of as a mask, I thank you for them, and shall dispense with profiting by them. I ought not to hold a correspondence with you any longer, or to accept of it even to my advantage in any affair in which you are to be the mediator. Adieu, sir, I wish you the truest happiness; but as we ought not to have any thing to say to each other for the future, this is the last letter you will receive from me.'

"To this letter Mr. Hume immediately sent the following reply:

'June 26, 1766.

'As I am conscious of having ever acted towards you the most friendly part, of having always given you the most tender and the most active proofs of sincere affection, you may judge of my extreme surprise on perusing your epistle. Such violent accusations, confined altogether to generalities, it is as impossible to answer, as it is impossible to comprehend them. But affairs cannot, must not remain on that footing. I shall charitably suppose, that some infamous calumniator has belied me to you. But, in that case, it is your duty, and, I am persuaded, it will be your inclination, to give me an opportunity of detecting him, and of justifying myself; which can only be done by your mentioning the particulars of which I am accused. You say, that I myself know that I have been false to you; but I say it loudly, and will say it to the whole world, that I know the contrary; that I know my friendship towards you has been unbounded and uninterrupted; and that though I have given you instances of it, which have been universally remarked both in France and England, the public as yet are acquainted only with the smallest part of it. I demand, that you name to me the man who dares assert the contrary; and, above all, I demand, that he shall mention any one particular in which I have been wanting to you. You owe this to me; you owe it to yourself; you owe it to truth, and honour, and justice, and to every thing deemed sacred among men. As an innocent man—for I will not say, as your friend; I will not say, as your benefactor; but I repeat it, as an innocent man, I claim the privilege of proving my innocence, and of refuting any scandalous falsehood which may have been invented against me. Mr. Davenport, to whom I have sent a copy of your letter, and who will read this before he delivers it, will, I am confident, second my demand, and tell you, that nothing can be more equitable. Happily I have preserved the letter you wrote me after your arrival at Wooton; and you there express, in the strongest terms, in terms indeed, too strong, your satisfaction in my poor endeavours to serve you. The little epistolary intercourse, which afterwards passed between us, has been all employed on my side to the most friendly purposes. Tell me, then, what has since given you offence. Tell me of what I am accused. Tell me the man who accuses me. Even after you have fulfilled all these conditions to my satisfaction, and to that of Mr. Davenport, you will still have great difficulty to justify your employing such outrageous terms towards a man, with whom you have been so intimately connected, and who was entitled, on many accounts, to have been treated by you with more regard and decency.

"Mr. Davenport knows the whole

whole transaction about your pension, because I thought it necessary that the person who had undertaken your settlement, should be fully acquainted with your circumstances; lest he should be tempted to perform towards you concealed acts of generosity, which, if they accidentally came to your knowledge, might give you some grounds of offence.

'I am, Sir.'

"In consequence of Mr. Davenport's interposition, Rousseau was prevailed on to write, three weeks afterwards, the following long epistle to Hume, which is the more interesting, as it contains Rousseau's statement of facts, and to which are subjoined the notes annexed by our historian, in his French pamphlet, already mentioned, and inserted in the appendix.

'Wooton, July 10, 1766.

'Sir,

'I am indisposed, and little in a condition to write; but you require an explanation, and it must be given you. It was your own fault, that you had it not long since; but as you did not desire it, I was silent: at present you do, and I have sent it. It will be a long one: for this I am sorry; but I have much to say, and wish not to return hereafter to the subject.

'I live retired from the world, and am ignorant of what passes in it. I have no party, no associate, no intrigue. I am told nothing, and I know only what I feel; but that I well know, as care has been taken to make me severely feel. The first care of those who engage in bad designs is to secure themselves from legal proofs of detection; it would not be very adviseable to seek a remedy against them at law. The innate conviction of the heart admits of another kind of proof, which influences the sentiments of an honest man. You well know the basis of mine.

'You ask me, with great confidence, to name your accuser. That accuser, sir, is the only man in the world whose testimony I should admit against you: it is yourself. Without reserve or fear, I shall give myself up to the natural frankness of my disposition; and being an enemy to every kind of artifice, I shall speak with the same freedom, as if you were a person in whom I placed all that confidence which I no longer have in you. I will give you a history of the emotions of my heart, and of what produced them. While speaking of Mr. Hume in the third person, I shall make yourself the judge of what I ought to think of him. Notwithstanding the length of my letter, I shall pursue no other order than that of my ideas, beginning with the premises, and ending with the demonstration.

'I quitted Switzerland, wearied out by the barbarous treatment which I had experienced, but which affected only my personal safety, while my honour was secure. I was going, as my heart directed me, to join lord Marischal, when I received at Strasburgh a most affectionate invitation from Mr. Hume, to go over with him to England, where he promised me the most agreeable reception, and more tranquillity than I had met with. I hesitated some time between my old friend and my new one; in this I was wrong. I preferred the latter, and in this was still more so; but the desire of visiting in person a celebrated nation, of which I had heard both so much good and so much ill, prevailed. Assured that I was not to lose George Keith, I was flattered by the acquisition of David Hume. His great merit, extraordi-

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nary abilities, and established probity of character, made me desirous of annexing his friendship to that with which I was honoured by his illustrious countryman. Besides, I gloried not a little in setting an example to men of letters, in a sincere union between two men so different in their principles.

'Before I had received an invitation from the king of Prussia, and lord Marischal, and while undetermined about the place of my retreat, I had requested and obtained, by the interest of my friends, a passport from the court of France. I made use of this, and went to Paris to join Mr. Hume. He saw, and perhaps saw too much of the favourable reception I met with from a great prince, and, I will venture to say, from the public. I yielded, as it was my duty, though with reluctance, to that *eclat;* concluding how far it would excite the envy of my enemies. At the same time, I saw, with pleasure, the regard which the public entertained for Mr. Hume sensibly increasing throughout Paris, on account of the good work he had undertaken with respect to me. Doubtless he was affected too; but I know not if it was in the same manner as I was.

'We set out with one of my friends, who came to England almost entirely on my account. When we landed at Dover, I was transported with the thoughts of having set foot in this land of liberty, under the conduct of so celebrated a person; I threw my arms round his neck, and pressed him to my heart, without speaking a syllable; bathing his cheeks, as I kissed them, with tears sufficiently expressive. This was not the only time, nor the most remarkable instance I have given him of the effusions of a heart full of sensibility. I know not what he does with the recollection of them, when that happens; but I have a notion they must be sometimes troublesome to him.

'On our arrival in London, all ranks of people eagerly pressed to give me marks of their kindness and esteem. Mr. Hume politely presented me to every body: and it was natural for me to ascribe to him as I did, the best part of my good reception. My heart was full of him: I spoke in his praise to every one; I wrote to the same purpose to all my friends: my attachment to him gathered new strength every day, while his appeared the most affectionate to me; of which he frequently gave me instances that touched me extremely. That of causing my portrait to be painted, however, was not of the number. This seemed to me to carry with it too much affectation, and had an air of ostentation which by no means pleased me. All this, however, might have been easily excusable, if Mr. Hume had been a man apt to throw away his money, or had a gallery of pictures, containing the portraits of his friends. After all, I freely confess, that, on this head, I may be in the wrong.

'But what appears to me an act of friendship and generosity the most undoubted and estimable, in a word, the most worthy of Mr. Hume, was the care he took to solicit for me of his own accord, a pension from the king; to which, most assuredly, I had no right to aspire. As I was a witness to the zeal he exerted in that affair, I was greatly affected by it. Nothing could flatter me more than a piece of service of that nature; not merely for the sake of interest; for, too much attached perhaps to what I actually possess, I am not capable of desiring what I have not; and as I am able

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to subsist on my labour and the aid of my friends, I covet nothing more. But the honour of receiving testimonies of the goodness, I will not say of so great a monarch, but of so good a father, so good a husband, so good a master, so good a friend, and, above all, so worthy a man, sensibly affected me; and when I considered farther, that the minister who had obtained for me this favour, was a living instance of that probity so useful to mankind, and so rarely met with in one of his situation, I could not forbear to pride myself, at having for my benefactors three men, whom, of all the world, I could most desire to have my friends. Thus, so far from refusing the pension offered me, I only made one condition necessary for my acceptance; and that was the consent of a person, whom I could not, without neglecting my duty, fail to consult.

'Being honoured with the civilities of all the world, I endeavoured to make a proper return. In the mean time, my bad state of health, and my custom of living in the country, made my residence in town very disagreeable. Immediately country-houses presented themselves in plenty; I had my choice of all the counties of England. Mr. Hume took the trouble to receive these proposals, and to represent them to me; accompanying me to two or three places in the neighbouring counties. I hesitated a good while in my choice, and he increased the difficulty of determination. At length I fixed on this place, and immediately Mr. Hume settled the affair; all difficulties vanished, and I departed. I arrived at this solitary, convenient, and agreeable habitation; where the owner of the house superintends every thing, and provides every thing; and where nothing is wanting. I became tranquil and independent; and this seemed to be the wished for moment when all my misfortunes were to have an end. On the contrary, it was now they began; misfortunes more cruel than any I had yet experienced.

'Hitherto I have spoken in the fulness of my heart, and to do justice, with the greatest pleasure, to the good offices of Mr. Hume. Would to heaven, that what remains for me to say were of the same nature! It would never give me pain to speak what would redound to his honour; nor is it proper to set a value on benefits till one is accused of ingratitude; and Mr. Hume now accuses me. I will, therefore, venture to make one observation. In estimating his services by the time and pains they cost him, they were of an infinite value, and that still more from his good will in their performance; but for the actual service they were of to me, it was much more in appearance than in reality. I did not come over as a mendicant to beg my bread in England; I brought the means of subsistence with me. I came merely to seek an asylum in a country which is open to every stranger. I was, besides, not so totally unknown, that even, if I had arrived alone, I should have wanted either assistance or service. If some persons have sought my acquaintance for the sake of Mr. Hume, others have sought it for my own. Thus when Mr. Davenport, for example, was so kind as to offer my present retreat, it was not for the sake of Mr. Hume, whom he did not know, and whom he saw only in order to desire him to make me his obliging proposal. So that when Mr. Hume endeavours to alienate from me this worthy man, he seeks to take from me what he did not give me. All the

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good that has been done me, would have been done me nearly the same without him, and perhaps better; but the evil would not have been done me: for why should I have enemies in England? Why are those enemies the very friends of Mr. Hume? Who could have excited their enmity against me? It was certainly not I, who knew nothing of them, nor ever saw them in my life: I should not have had a single enemy, if I had come to England alone.

'I have hitherto dwelt upon public and notorious facts, which, from their own nature, and my acknowledgment, have made the greatest *eclat*. Those which are to follow are not only particular, but secret, at least, in their cause, and all possible measures have been taken to keep the knowledge of them from the public; but as they are well known to the person interested, they will not have the less influence towards his own conviction.

'A very short time after our arrival in London, I observed there an absurd change in the minds of the people regarding me, which soon became very apparent. Before I arrived in England, there was not a country in Europe in which I had a greater reputation, I might indeed venture to say, greater estimation. The public papers were full of encomiums on me, and a general outcry prevailed against my persecutors. This was the case at my arrival, which was announced in the newspapers with triumph: England prided itself in affording me refuge, and justly gloried on that occasion in its laws and government. On a sudden, and without the least assignable cause, this tone was changed; and that so speedily and totally, that of all the caprices of the public, there never was known any thing more surprising. The signal was given in a certain magazine, equally full of follies and falsehoods, in which the author, being well informed, or pretending to be so, gives me out for the son of a musician. From this time, I was constantly spoken of in the public prints in a very equivocal or slighting manner. Every thing that had been published concerning my misfortunes was misrepresented, altered, or placed in a wrong light, and always as much as possible to my disadvantage. So far was any body from speaking of the reception which it met with at Paris, and which had made but too much noise, it was not even supposed, that I durst have appeared in that city; and one of Mr. Hume's friends was very much surprised when I told him I came through it.

'Accustomed as I had too much been to the inconstancy of the public, to be affected by this instance of it, I could not help being astonished, however, at a change so very sudden and general, that not one of those who had so much praised me in my absence, appeared, now I was present, to think even of my existence. I thought it something very odd, that, exactly after the return of Mr. Hume, who has so much credit in London, so much influence over the booksellers and men of letters, and such great connections with them, his presence should produce an effect so contrary to what might have been expected; that among so many writers of every kind, not one of his friends should shew himself to be mine; while it was easy to be seen, that those who spoke of him were not his enemies, since, in noticing his public character, they reported that I had come through France under his protection, and by favour of a passport which he had

obtained

obtained of the court; nay, they almost went so far as to insinuate, that I came over in his retinue, and at his expence.

'All this was of little signification, and was only singular; but what was much more so, was, that his friends changed their tone with me as much as the public. I shall always take a pleasure in saying, that they were still equally solicitous to serve me, and that they exerted themselves greatly in my favour; but so far were they from shewing me the same respect, particularly the gentleman at whose house we alighted on our arrival, that he accompanied all his actions with discourse so rude, and sometimes so insulting, that one would have thought he had taken an occasion to oblige me, merely to have a right to express his contempt. His brother, who was at first very polite and obliging, altered his behaviour with so little reserve, that he would hardly deign to speak a single word to me, even in their own house, in return to a civil salutation, or to pay any of those civilities which are usually paid in like circumstances to strangers. Nothing new had happened, however, except the arrival of J. J. Rousseau and David Hume; and certainly the cause of these alterations did not come from me, unless indeed too great a portion of simplicity, discretion, and modesty be the cause of offence in England.

'As to Mr. Hume, he was so far from assuming such a disgusting tone, that he gave in to the other extreme. I have always looked upon flatterers with an eye of suspicion; and he was so full of all kinds of flattery, that he even obliged me, when I could bear it no longer, to tell him my sentiments on that head. His conduct was such as to render few words necessary; yet I could have wished he had sometimes substituted, in the place of such gross encomiums, the style of a friend; but I never found in his language any thing which savoured of true friendship, not even in his manner of speaking of me to others in my presence. One would have thought that, in endeavouring to procure me patrons, he strove to deprive me of their good will; that he sought rather to have me assisted than beloved; and I have been sometimes surprised at the rude turn he has given to my behaviour before people, who might not unreasonably have taken offence at it. An example will explain this. Mr. Penneck of the museum, a friend of lord Marischal, and pastor of a parish where they wished me to reside, came to see us. Mr. Hume made my excuses, while I myself was present, for not having paid him a visit. 'Doctor Maty,' said he, 'invited us to the museum on Thursday, where M. Rousseau should have seen you; but he chose rather to go with Mrs. Garrick to the play; we could not do both the same day. You will confess, sir, this was a strange method of recommending me to Mr. Penneck.'

'I know not what Mr. Hume might say of me in private to his acquaintances, but nothing was more extraordinary than their behaviour to me, even by his own confession, and even often through his own means. Although my purse was not empty, and I needed not that of any other person, as he very well knew; yet any one would have thought, that I was come over to subsist at the expence of the public, and that nothing more was to be done than to give me alms in such a manner as to save me a little embarrassment. I must own, that this constant and insolent piece of affectation

affectation was one of those things which made me averse to reside in London. This certainly is not the footing on which a man should be introduced in England, if there be a design of procuring him ever so little respect; but this display of charity may admit of a more favourable interpretation, and I consent it should. To proceed.

'At Paris was published a fictitious letter from the king of Prussia, addressed to me, and replete with the most cruel malignity. I learned with surprise, that the publisher of it was one Mr. Walpole, a friend of Mr. Hume. I asked him, if it was true; but in answer to this question, he asked me from whom I had the information. A moment before he had given me a card for this same Mr. Walpole, for the purpose of prevailing on him to bring over some papers of mine from Paris, which I wanted to have by a safe hand.

'I was informed that the son of that quack Fronchin, my most mortal enemy, was not only the friend of Mr. Hume, and under his protection, but that they both lodged in the same house; and when Mr. Hume found that I knew this, he imparted it in confidence to me; assuring me that the son by no means resembled the father. I lodged a few nights myself, together with my governante, in the same house; and from the air and coldness with which we were received by the landladies, who are his friends, I judged in what manner either Mr. Hume, or that man, who, as he said, was by no means like his father, must have spoken to them both of her and me.

'All these facts put together, added to a certain appearance of things on the whole, insensibly gave me an uneasiness, which I rejected with horror. In the mean time, the letters I wrote did not come to hand; those I received had often been opened; and all went through the hands of Mr. Hume. If at any time a letter escaped him, he could not conceal his eagerness to see it. One evening in particular I remember a circumstance of this kind, which greatly struck me. After supper, as we were sitting silent by the fireside, I caught his eyes intently fixed on mine, as indeed happened very often; and that in a manner of which it is very difficult to give an idea. At that time he gave me a stedfast, piercing look, mingled with a sneer, which greatly disturbed me. To get rid of my embarrassment, I endeavoured to look full at him in my turn; but, in fixing my eyes upon his, I felt the most inexpressible terror, and was soon obliged to turn them away. The speech and physiognomy of the good David is that of an honest man; but where, great God! did this honest man borrow those eyes which he fixes on his friend's?

'The impression of this look remained with me, and gave me much uneasiness. My trouble increased even to a degree of fainting; and if I had not been relieved by a flood of tears, I must have been suffocated. Presently after this I was seized with the most violent remorse; I even despised myself; till, at length, in a transport, which I still remember with delight, I sprang on his neck, and embraced him eagerly; while almost choked with sobbing, and bathed in tears, I cried out, in broken accents, *No, no, David Hume cannot be treacherous; if he be not the best of men, he must be the basest.* David Hume politely returned my embraces, and gently tapping me on the back, repeated several times, in a placid tone,

Why,

Why, what, my dear sir! Nay, my dear sir! Oh! my dear sir! He said nothing more. I felt my heart yearn within me. We went to bed; and I set out the next day for the country.

'Arrived at this agreeable asylum, to which I have travelled so far in search of repose, I ought to find it in a retired, convenient, and pleasant habitation; the master of which, a man of understanding and worth, spares in nothing to render my residence agreeable. But what repose can be tasted in life, when the heart is agitated? Afflicted with the most cruel uncertainty, and ignorant what to think of a man whom I ought to love, I sought to get rid of that fatal doubt, by placing confidence in my benefactor. For from what inconceivable caprice should he display so much apparent zeal for my happiness, and, at the same time, entertain secret designs against my honour? Among the observations which disturbed me, each fact was in itself of no great moment: it was their concurrence that was surprising; yet I thought, perhaps, that Mr. Hume, informed of other facts of which I was ignorant, could have given me a satisfactory solution of them, if we had come to an explanation. The only inexplicable thing was, that he refused to come to such an explanation; which both his honour and his friendship for me rendered equally necessary. I perceived there was something in the affair which I did not comprehend, and which I earnestly wished to know. Before I came to an absolute determination, therefore, with regard to him, I was desirous of making a last effort, and to write him with a view to try to recover him, if he had permitted himself to be seduced by my enemies, or to prevail on him to explain himself one way or other. Accordingly I wrote him a letter, which he ought to have found very natural, if he were guilty; but very extraordinary, if he were innocent. For what could be more extraordinary than a letter full of gratitude for his services, and, at the same time, of distrust of his sentiments; and in which, placing, as it were, his actions on one side, and his sentiments on the other, instead of speaking of the proofs of friendship he had given me, I besought him to love me, for the good he had done me. I did not take the precaution to preserve a copy of this letter; but as he has done so, let him produce it: and whoever reads it, and sees in it a man labouring under a secret trouble, which he is desirous of expressing, but is afraid to do so, will, I am persuaded, be curious to know what eclaircissement it produced, especially after the preceding scene. None: absolutely none. Mr. Hume contented himself, in his answer, with telling me the obliging offices Mr. Davenport proposed to do for me. As for the rest, he said not a word on the principal subject of my letter, nor on the situation of my heart, of the distress of which he could not be ignorant. I was more struck with this silence, than I had been with his phlegm during our last conversation. I was wrong: this silence was very natural after the other, and was no more than I ought to have expected. For when one has ventured to declare to a man's face, *I am tempted to believe you a traitor,* and he has not the curiosity to ask you for what, it may be depended on he will never have any such curiosity as long as he lives: and it is easy to judge of this man from these slight indications.

'After the receipt of his letter, which was long delayed, I determined

mined at length to write to him no more. Soon after, every thing served to confirm me in the resolution to break off all farther correspondence with him. Curious to the last degree concerning the minutest circumstance of my affairs, he was not content to learn them of me in our conversations; but, as I learned, never let slip an opportunity of being alone with my governante, to interrogate her even importunately concerning my occupations, my resources, my friends, my acquaintances, their names, situations, places of abode; nay, with the most jesuitical address, he would ask the same questions of us separately. One ought undoubtedly to interest one's self in the affairs of a friend; but one ought to be satisfied with what he thinks proper to tell of them, especially when people are so frank and confiding as I am. Indeed all this petty inquisitiveness is very little becoming a philosopher.

'About the same time I received two other letters which had been opened. The one from Mr. Boswell, the seal of which was in so bad a condition, that Mr. Davenport, when he received it, made the same remark to Mr. Hume's servant. The other was from M. d'Ivernois, in Mr. Hume's packet: it had been sealed up again by means of a hot iron, which, being awkwardly applied, had burnt the paper round the impression. On this I wrote to Mr. Davenport, and desired him to take charge of all letters which might be sent to me, and to trust none of them in any body's hands, under any pretext whatever. I know not whether Mr. Davenport, who certainly was far from thinking that precaution regarded Mr. Hume, shewed him my letter; but I know that Mr. Hume had every reason to think he had lost my confidence, and that he proceeded nevertheless in his usual manner, without troubling himself about the recovery of it.

'But what was to become of me, when I saw, in the public papers, the pretended letter of the king of Prussia, which I had never before seen; that fictitious letter, printed in French and English, given for genuine, even with the signature of the king, and in which I recognized the pen of M. d'Alembert as certainly as if I had seen him write it.

'In a moment, a ray of light discovered to me the secret cause of that touching and sudden change in the English public respecting me; and I saw that the plot, which was put in execution at London, had been laid in Paris.

'M. d'Alembert, another intimate friend of Mr. Hume, had been long my secret enemy, and lay in watch for opportunities to injure me without exposing himself. He was the only person among the men of letters, of my old acquaintance, who did not come to see me, or send their civilities during my last journey through Paris; I knew his secret disposition, but I gave myself very little trouble about it, contenting myself with occasionally apprising my friends of it. I remember, that being asked about him one day by Mr. Hume, who afterwards asked my governante the same question; I told him that M. d'Alembert was a cunning, artful man. He contradicted me with a warmth that surprised me; who did not then know that they stood so well with each other, and that it was his own cause he defended.

'The perusal of the letter abovementioned alarmed me a good deal, when, perceiving that I had been brought over to England in consequence of a project which began to

be put in execution, but of the end of which I was ignorant, I felt the danger without knowing where it was, or on whom to rely. I then recollected four terrifying words which Mr. Hume had made use of, and of which I shall speak hereafter. What could be thought of a paper in which my misfortunes were imputed to me as a crime, which tended, in the midst of my distress, to deprive me of the compassion of the world, and, to render its effect still more cruel, pretended to have been written by a prince who had afforded me protection? What could I divine would be the consequence of such a beginning? The people in England read the public papers, and are in nowise prepossessed in favour of foreigners. Even a coat, cut in a different fashion from their own, is sufficient to excite their ill-humour. What then had not a poor stranger to expect in his rural walks, the only pleasures of his life, when the good people were persuaded he was fond of being pelted with stones? Doubtless they would be ready enough to contribute to his favourite amusement. But, my concern, my profound and cruel concern, the bitterest indeed I ever felt, did not arise from the danger to which I was exposed. I had braved too many others to be much moved by that. The treachery of a false friend to which I had fallen a prey, was the circumstance that filled my too susceptible heart with deadly sorrow. In the impetuosity of its first emotions, of which I never yet was master, and of which my enemies have artfully taken the advantage, I wrote several letters full of distress, in which I did not disguise either my uneasiness or indignation.

'I have, sir, so many things to mention, that I forget half of them by the way. For instance, a narrative in form of a letter, on my mode of living at Montmorency, was given by the booksellers to Mr. Hume, who shewed it me. I agreed to its being printed, and Mr. Hume undertook the care of editing it; but it never appeared. I had brought over with me a copy of the letters of M. du Peyrou, containing a relation of the treatment I had met with at Neufchatel. I gave them into the hands of the same booksellers at their own request, to have them translated and reprinted. Mr. Hume charged himself with the care of them; but they never appeared. The supposititious letter of the king of Prussia, and its translation, had no sooner made their appearance, than I immediately comprehended why the other pieces had been suppressed, and I wrote as much to the booksellers. I wrote several other letters also, which probably were handed about London: till at length I employed the credit of a man of quality and merit, to insert a declaration of the imposture in the public papers. In this declaration I concealed no part of my extreme concern; nor did I in the least disguise the cause.

'Hitherto Mr. Hume seems to have walked in darkness. You will soon see him appear in open day, and act without disguise. We have only to act ingenuously towards cunning people: sooner or later they will infallibly betray themselves.

'When this pretended letter from the king of Prussia was first published in London, Mr. Hume, who certainly knew that it was fictitious, as I had told him so, said nothing of the matter; he did not write to me, but was totally silent; and did not even think of making any declaration of the truth, in favour of his absent friend. It answered

swered his purpose better to let the report take its course, as he did.

'Mr. Hume having been my conductor into England, was in a manner my protector and patron. If it were natural in him to undertake my defence, it was not less so, that, when I had a public protestation to make, I should address myself to him; but having already ceased writing to him, I had no wish to renew our correspondence. I addressed myself therefore to another person. This was the first slap on the face I gave my patron. He felt nothing of it.

'In saying that the letter was fabricated at Paris, it was of very little consequence to me whether it was understood particularly of M. d'Alembert, or of Mr. Walpole, whose name he borrowed on the occasion. But in adding that what afflicted and tore my heart was, that the impostor had got his accomplices in England, I expressed myself very clearly to their friend, who was in London, and was desirous of passing for mine. For certainly he was the only person in England, whose hatred could afflict and rend my heart. This was the second slap of the face I gave my patron. He felt nothing of it.

'On the contrary, he maliciously pretended, that my affliction arose solely from the publication of the above letter, in order to make me pass for a vain man, who was excessively affected by satire. Whether I am vain or not, certain it is I was mortally afflicted: he knew it, and yet wrote me not a word. To this affectionate friend, who had so much at heart the filling of my purse, it gave little trouble to think that my heart was bleeding with sorrow.

'Another piece appeared soon after, in the same papers, by the author of the former, and still, if possible, more cruel, in which the writer could not disguise his rage at the reception I met with at Paris. This, however, did not affect me; it told me nothing new. Libels may take their course without giving me any emotion; and the inconstant public may amuse themselves as long as they please with the subject. This is not an affair of conspirators, who, bent on the destruction of my honest fame, are determined by some means or other to effect it: it was necessary to change the battery.

'The affair of the pension was not determined. It was not difficult, however, for Mr. Hume to obtain its settlement, from the humanity of the minister and the generosity of the prince. He was charged with informing me of it, and he did so. This, I must confess, was one of the critical moments of my life. How much did it cost me to do my duty. My preceding engagements, the necessity of shewing a due respect for the goodness of the king, the honour of being the object of his attentions and those of his minister, with the desire of shewing how sensible I was of both, and the advantage of being made a little more easy in circumstances in the decline of life, surrounded as I was by enemies and evils; in fine, the embarrassment I was under to find a decent excuse for declining a benefit already half accepted: all these together made the necessity of that refusal very difficult and cruel; for necessary it was, else I should have been one of the basest of mankind to have voluntarily laid myself under an obligation to a man who had betrayed me.

'I did my duty, though not without reluctance. I wrote immediately to general Conway, and, in the

civil and respectful manner possible, without giving an absolute refusal, excused myself from accepting the pension for the present.

'Mr. Hume had been the negotiator of this affair, and the only person who had spoke of it. Yet I not only did not give him any answer, though it was he who wrote to me on the subject, but did not even so much as mention him in my letter to general Conway. This was the third slap on the face I gave my patron; which, if he does not feel, it is certainly his own fault: he can feel nothing.

'My letter was not clear, nor could it be so to general Conway, who did not know the motives of my refusal; but it was very plain to Mr. Hume, who knew them but too well. He nevertheless pretended to be deceived as well with regard to the cause of my discontent, as to that of my declining the pension; and in a letter he wrote me on the occasion, gave me to understand that the king's goodness might be continued towards me, if I would re-consider the affair of the pension. In a word, he seemed determined, at all events, to remain still my patron, in spite of my teeth. You will imagine, sir, he did not expect my answer; and he had none.

'Much about this time, for I do not exactly know the date, nor is such precision necessary, appeared a letter from M. de Voltaire to me, with an English translation, which still improved on the original. The noble object of this ingenious performance was to draw on me the contempt and hatred of the people among whom I was come to reside. I made not the least doubt that my dear patron was one of the instruments of its publication; particularly when I saw that the writer, in endeavouring to alienate from me those who might render my life agreeable, had omitted the name of him who brought me over. He doubtless knew that it was superfluous, and that with regard to him, nothing more was necessary to be said. The omission of his name so impoliticly in this letter, recalled to my mind, what Tacitus says of the picture of Brutus, omitted in a funeral solemnity, viz. that every body took notice of the circumstance, merely because the picture was not there.

'Mr. Hume then is not mentioned, but he lives and converses with people that were mentioned. It is well known, that his friends are all my enemies,—the Fronchins, d'Alemberts, and Voltaires: but it is much worse in London, for here I have no enemies but what are his friends. For why, indeed, should I have any other? Why should I have even these? What have I done to lord Littleton, whom I don't even know? What have I done to Mr. Walpole, of whom I know as little? What do they know of me, except that I am unfortunate, and the friend of their friend Hume? What can he have said to them, for it is only through him they know me? I can very well imagine that, considering the part he has to play, he does not unmask himself to every body; for then he would be disguised to nobody. I can very well imagine that he does not speak of me to general Conway, or the duke of Richmond, as he does in his private conversations with Mr. Walpole, and his secret correspondence with M. d'Alembert; but let any one observe the clue which has been unravelled at London since my arrival, and it will easily be seen whether Mr. Hume does not hold the principal thread.

'At length the moment arrived when

when it was thought proper to strike the great blow; the effect of which was prepared by a new satirical piece, published in the newspapers. Had there remained in me the least doubt, it would have been impossible to have harboured it after perusing this piece, as it contained facts unknown to any body but Mr. Hume, though exaggerated, it is true, in order to render them odious to the public.

'It is said in this paper that my door was open to the rich and shut to the poor. Where is the man who knows when my door was open or shut, except Mr. Hume, with whom I lived, and by whom every body was introduced that I saw? I will except one great personage, whom I gladly received without knowing him, and whom I should still have more gladly received if I had known him. It was Mr. Hume who told me his name, when he was gone; on which information I was really chagrined, that, as he deigned to mount up two pair of stairs, he was not received in the first floor.

'As to the poor I have nothing to say. I was constantly desirous of seeing less company; but, unwilling to displease any one, I suffered myself to be directed by Mr. Hume, and received every body he introduced, without distinction, whether rich or poor.

'It is said in the same piece, that I received my relations very coldly, *not to say any thing worse.* This general charge relates to my having once received with some indifference the only relation I have out of Geneva, and that in the presence of Mr. Hume. It must necessarily be either Mr. Hume, or this relation, who furnished that piece of intelligence. Now, my cousin, whom I have always known for a friendly relative, and a worthy man, is incapable of furnishing materials for public satires against me. Besides, his situation in life confining him to the conversation of persons in trade, he has no connection with men of letters, or paragraph writers, and still less with satirists; so that the article could not come from him. At the worst, can I help thinking that Mr. Hume must have endeavoured to take advantage of what he said; and that he construed it in a way the most favourable to his own purpose? It is not improper to add, that after my rupture with Mr. Hume, I wrote an account of it to my cousin.

'In fine, it is said in the same paper, that I am apt to change my friends. No great subtlety is necessary to comprehend what this reflection was preparative to.

'But let us inquire into facts. I have preserved some very valuable and solid friends for twenty-five or thirty-years. I have others whose friendship is of a later date, but no less firm: and if I live, I may preserve them still longer. I have not found, indeed, the same security in general among those friendships I have made with men of letters. I have for this reason sometimes changed them, and shall always change them when they appear suspicious; for I am determined never to have friends by way of ceremony; I wish to have them only with a view to shew them my affection.

'If ever I was fully and clearly convinced of any thing, I am convinced that Mr. Hume furnished the materials for the above paper. What is still more, I have not only this absolute conviction, but it is very clear to me that Mr. Hume intended I should: for how can it be supposed that a man of his subtlety would expose himself thus, if he had wished

to

to conceal himself?—What was his design in it? Nothing is more clear. It was to raise my resentment to the highest pitch, that he might, with greater eclat, strike the blow he was preparing to give me. He knew, that, to make me commit a number of absurdities, he had nothing more to do than to put me in a passion. We are now arrived at the critical moment, which is to shew whether he reasoned well or ill.

'It is necessary to have all the presence of mind, all the phlegm and resolution of Mr. Hume, to be able to take the part he took, after all that has passed between us. In the embarrassment I was under, in writing to general Conway, I could make use only of obscure expressions; to which Mr. Hume, in quality of my friend, gave what interpretation he pleased. Pretending therefore, that he knew very well to the contrary, that it was the circumstance of secrecy which gave me uneasiness, he obtained the promise of the general to endeavour to remove it; and then this stoical and truly unfeeling man wrote to me the most friendly letter, in which he informed me that he was exerting his endeauours to remove this cause; but that before any thing could be done, it was necessary to know whether I would accept without that condition, in order not to expose his majesty to a second refusal.

'This was the decisive moment, the end and object of all his labours. An answer was required: he would have it. To prevent effectually my neglect of it, he sent to Mr. Davenport a duplicate of his letter; and not content with that precaution, wrote me word, in another billet, that he could not possibly stay any longer in London to serve me. I was giddy with amazement, on reading this note. Never in my life did I meet with any thing so unaccountable.

'At length he obtained from me the so much desired answer, and began presently to triumph. Already, in writing to Mr Davenport, he had treated me as a brutal man, and a monster of ingratitude. But he wanted to do still more. He thinks his measures well taken, and no proofs can be made to appear against him. He demands an explanation: he shall have it, and here it is.

'That last stroke was a masterpiece. He himself proves every thing, and that beyond reply.

'I will suppose, though by way of impossibility, that my complaints against Mr. Hume never reached his ears; that he knew nothing of them; but was as perfectly ignorant of them, as if he had no cabal with those who are acquainted with them,—as completely as if he had resided all the while in China. Yet our behaviour to each other; the last striking words which I said to him in London; the letter which followed replete with fears and anxiety; my persevering silence, more expressive than words; my public and bitter complaints with regard to the letter of M. d'Alembert; my letter to the minister, who did not write to me, in answer to that which Mr. Hume wrote to me himself, and in which I did not mention him; and in fine my refusal, without deigning to address myself to him, to acquiesce in an affair which he had managed in my favour, with my own privity, and without any opposition on my part; all this must have spoken in a very forcible manner, I will not say to any person of the least sensibility, but to every man of common sense.

'Strange, that after I had broken off

off all correspondence with him for three months; after I had made no answer to any one of his letters, however important the subject of it, surrounded as I was by both public and private marks of that affliction which his infidelity occasioned,—this man, of so penetrating a genius when he pleases, and yet so dull as if by nature, should see nothing, hear nothing, feel nothing, be moved at nothing; but without one word of complaint, justification, or explanation, should continue to give the most striking marks of his good will to serve me, in spite of myself! He wrote to me affectionately, that he could not stay any longer in London to do me service; as if we had agreed that he should stay there for that purpose! This blindness, this insensibility, this obstinacy, are not in nature; they must be accounted for from other motives. Let us set his behaviour in a still clearer light; for this is the decisive point.

'Mr. Hume must necessarily have acted in this affair, either as one of the first or last of mankind. There is no medium. It remains to determine which of the two it is.

'Could Mr. Hume, after so many instances of disdain on my part, have still the astonishing generosity to persevere sincerely in serving me? He knew it was impossible for me to accept his good offices, while I entertained for him such sentiments as I had conceived. He had himself avoided an explanation. So that to serve me without justifying himself, would have been to render his services useless; this, therefore, was no generosity.

'If he supposed that in such circumstances I should have accepted his services, he must have believed me to have been a villain. It was then in behalf of a man whom he supposed to be a scoundrel, that he so warmly solicited a pension from his Majesty. Can any thing be imagined more extravagant?

'But, suppose that Mr. Hume, constantly pursuing his plan, should only have said to himself, This is the moment for its execution; for, by pressing Rousseau to accept the pension, he will be reduced either to accept or refuse it. If he accepts it, I shall, with the proofs I have in hand against him, be able completely to disgrace him: if he refuses after having accepted it, he will have no pretext, but must give a reason for such refusal. This is what I expect: if he accuses me, he is ruined.

'If, I say, Mr. Hume reasoned with himself in this manner, he did what was consistent with his plan, and in that case very natural. Indeed, this is the only way in which his conduct in the affair can be explained, for upon any other supposition, it is inexplicable: if this be not demonstrable, nothing ever was.

'The critical situation in which he had now reduced me, recalled strongly to my mind the four words which I mentioned above, and which I heard him say and repeat, at a time when I did not comprehend their full force. It was the first night after our departure from Paris. We slept in the same chamber, when, during the night, I heard him several times cry out with great vehemence, in the French language, *I have you, Rousseau.* I know not whether he was awake or sleep.

'The expression was remarkable in the mouth of a man, who is too well acquainted with the French language to be mistaken with regard to the force or choice of words. I took these words, however, and I could not then take them otherwise than in a favourable sense, although the tone of voice indicated this less than the expression. It was indeed a tone

a tone of which it is impossible for me to give any idea; but it corresponded exactly with those terrible looks I have before mentioned. At every repetition of these words I was seized with a shuddering and horror I could not resist; though a moment's recollection restored me, and made me smile at my terror. The next day, all this was so perfectly obliterated, that I did not even once think of it during my stay in London and its neighbourhood. It was not till my arrival in this place, that so many things have contributed to recal these words to my mind; and indeed recal them every moment.

'These words, the tone of which dwells on my heart, as if I had but just heard them; the long and fatal looks so frequently cast on me: the patting me on the back, with the repetition of *my dear sir*, in answer to my suspicions of his being a traitor: all this affects me to such a degree, after what preceded, that the recollection, had I no other cause, would be sufficient to prevent all return of confidence: not a night indeed passes but I think I hear, *I have you, Rousseau*, ring in my ears, as if he had just pronounced them.

'Yes, Mr. Hume, I know you *have me*; but that only by mere externals: you have me in the public opinion and judgment of mankind. You have my reputation, and perhaps my security. The general prepossession is in your favour; it will be very easy for you to make me pass for the monster you have begun to represent me; and I already see the barbarous exultation of my implacable enemies. The public will no longer spare me, and without any further inquiry; every body is on the side of those who have conferred favours, because each is desirous to attract the same good offices, by displaying a sensibility of the obligation. I foresee readily the consequences of all this, particularly in the country to which you have conducted me; and where, being without friends and a stranger to everybody, I lie almost entirely at your mercy. The sensible part of mankind, however, will comprehend that I must have been so far from seeking this affair, that nothing more terrible could possibly have happened to me in my present situation. They will perceive that nothing but my invincible aversion to all kind of falsehood, and the impossibility of my professing a regard for a person who had forfeited it, could have prevented dissimulation on my part, at a time when my interests made it, on so many accounts, a law. But the sensible part of mankind are few in number, nor do they make a noise in the world.

'Yes, Mr. Hume, you *have me* by all the ties of this life; but you have no power over my probity or my fortitude, which being independent either of you or of mankind, I will preserve in spite of you. Think not to frighten me with the fortune that awaits me. I know the opinions of mankind. I am accustomed to their injustice, and have learned to care little about it. If you have taken your resolution, as I have reason to believe you have, be assured mine is also taken. I am feeble indeed in body, but my strength of mind was never greater. Mankind may say and do what they please. It is of little consequence to me; but it is of consequence to me, that I should end as I have begun; that I should maintain my rectitude and candour to the end, whatever may happen; and that I should have no cause to reproach myself

myself either with meanness in adversity, or insolence in prosperity. Whatever disgrace may attend, or misfortune threaten me, I am prepared. Though I am to be pitied, I am much less so than you; and all the revenge I shall take on you, is, to leave you the tormenting consciousness of being obliged, in spite of yourself, to respect the unfortunate person you have oppressed.

'In concluding this letter, I am surprised at my having been able to write it. If it were possible to die with grief, every line was sufficient to kill me. Every circumstance of the affair is equally incomprehensible. Such conduct as yours is not in nature: it is contradictory, and yet it is demonstrable. On each side of me there is an abyss, and I am lost in one or the other.

'If you are guilty, I am the most unfortunate of mankind; if you are innocent, I am the most culpable. You even make me desire to be that contemptible object. Yes, the situation to which you see me reduced, prostrate at your feet, crying out for mercy, and doing every thing to obtain it; publishing aloud my own unworthiness, and paying the most marked homage to your virtues, would be to my heart a state of joy and genial emotion, after the state of restraint and mortification into which you have plunged me.

'I have but one word more to say. If you are guilty, write to me no more: it would be superfluous, for certainly you could not deceive me. If you are innocent, deign to justify yourself. I know my duty; I love, and shall always love it, however difficult and severe. There is no state of abjection from which a heart, not formed for it, may not recover. Once again, I say, if you are innocent, deign to justify yourself; if you are not, adieu for ever.

'JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU.'

"After hesitating some time whether he should make any reply to this strange memorial, Hume at last resolved to write to Rousseau, as follows:

'Lisle-street, Leicester-fields,
July 22, 1766.

'Sir,

'I shall only answer one article of your long letter: it is that which regards the conversation we had the evening before your departure. Mr. Davenport had contrived a good-natured artifice, to make you believe that a retour chaise was ready to set out for Wooton; and I believe he caused an advertisement to be put in the papers, in order the better to deceive you. His purpose only was to save you some expences in the journey, which I thought a laudable project; though I had no hand either in contriving or conducting it. You entertained, however, a suspicion of his design, while we were sitting alone by my fireside; and you reproached me with concurring in it. I endeavoured to pacify you, and to divert the discourse; but to no purpose. You sat sullen, and was either silent, or made me very peevish answers. At last you rose up, and took a turn or two about the room; when all of a sudden, and to my great surprise, you clapped yourself on my knee, threw your arms about my neck, kissed me with seeming ardour, and bedewed my face with tears. You exclaimed, 'My dear friend, can you ever pardon this folly! After all the pains you have taken to serve me, after the numberless instances of friendship you have given me, here

here I reward you with this ill-humour and sullenness. But your forgiveness of me will be a new instance of your friendship; and I hope you will find at bottom, that my heart is not unworthy of it.'

'I was very much affected, I own; and I believe a very tender scene passed between us. You added, by way of compliment no doubt, that though I had many better titles to recommend me to posterity, yet perhaps my uncommon attachment to a poor unhappy and persecuted man would not be altogether overlooked.

'This incident was somewhat remarkable; and it is impossible that either you or I could so soon have forgot it. But you have had the assurance to tell me the story twice, in a manner so different, or rather so opposite, that when I persist, as I do, in this account, it necessarily follows that either you are, or I am, a liar. You imagine, perhaps, that because the incident passed privately without a witness, the question will lie between the credibility of your assertion and of mine. But you shall not have this advantage or disadvantage, which ever you are pleased to term it. I shall produce against you other proofs, which will put the matter beyond controversy.

'First, you are not aware, that I have a letter under your hand, which is totally irreconcileable with your account, and confirms mine.

'Secondly, I told the story the next day, or the day after, to Mr. Davenport, with a view of preventing any such good-natured artifices for the future. He surely remembers it.

'Thirdly, as I thought the story much to your honour, I told it to several of my friends here. I even wrote an account of it to Mad. de Boufflers at Paris. I believe no one will imagine that I was preparing before-hand an apology, in case of a rupture with you; which, of all human events, I should then have thought the most incredible, especially as we were separated almost for ever, and I still continued to render you the most essential services.

'Fourthly, the story, as I tell it, is consistent and rational: there is not common sense in your account. What! because sometimes, when absent in thought (a circumstance common enough with men whose minds are intensely occupied), I have a fixed look or stare, you suspect me to be a traitor, and you have the assurance to tell me of such black and ridiculous suspicions! For you do not even pretend that before you left London you had any other solid grounds of suspicion against me.

'I shall enter into no detail with regard to your letter: you yourself well know, that all the other articles of it are without foundation. I shall only add in general, that I enjoyed about a month ago an uncommon pleasure, in thinking that, in spite of many difficulties, I had, by assiduity and care, and even beyond my most sanguine expectations, provided for your repose, honour, and fortune. But that pleasure was soon embittered, by finding that you had voluntarily and wantonly thrown away all those advantages, and was become the declared enemy of your own repose, fortune, and honour: I cannot be surprised after this that you are my enemy. Adieu, and for ever.

'D. H.'

"Not content with writing this exculpatory letter, Mr. Hume called on Mr. Horace Walpole, to state publicly the concern he had in the affair; and an epistolary correspondence took place between these two

two gentlemen, which nearly terminated in an open rupture.

'Mr. Hume to Mr. Walpole.

'Dear Sir,

'When I came home last night, I found on my table a very long letter from d'Alembert, who tells me, that on receiving from me an account of my affair with Rousseau, he summoned a meeting of all my literary friends at Paris, and found them all unanimously of the same opinion with himself, and of a contrary opinion to me with regard to my conduct. They all think I ought to give to the public a narrative of the whole. However, I persist still more closely in my first opinion, especially after receiving the last mad letter. D'Alembert tells us, that it is of great importance for me, to justify myself from having any hand in the letter from the King of Prussia. I am told by Crawford, that you had wrote it a fortnight before I left Paris, but did not shew it to a mortal for fear of hurting me; a delicacy of which I am very sensible. Pray recollect if it was so. Though I do not intend to publish, I am collecting all the original pieces, and I shall connect them by a concise narrative. It is necessary for me to have that letter, and Rousseau's answer. Pray, assist me in this work. About what time, do you think, were they printed?

'I am, &c.'

"To this letter, Mr. Walpole sent the following answer, which Hume inserted in the *Exposé* he published, with the exception of the first paragraph, and the concluding sentence; an omission which gave much offence to the former gentleman.

'Arlington-Street,

'Dear Sir, July 26, 1766.

'Your set of literary friends are what a set of literary men are apt to be, exceedingly absurd. They hold a consistory to consult how to argue with a madman; and they think it very necessary for your character, to give them the pleasure of seeing Rousseau exposed; not because he has provoked you, but them. If Rousseau prints, you must; but I certainly would not, till he does.

'I cannot be precise as to the time of my writing the King of Prussia's letter; but I do assure you with the utmost truth, that it was several days before you left Paris, and before Rousseau's arrival there, of which I can give you a strong proof, for I not only suppressed the letter while you staid there, out of delicacy to you; but it was the reason why, out of delicacy to myself, I did not go to see him, as you often proposed to me, thinking it wrong to go and make a cordial visit to a man, with a letter in my pocket to laugh at him. You are at full liberty, dear Sir, to make use of what I say in your justification, either to Rousseau, or to any body else. I should be very sorry to have you blamed on my account; I have a hearty contempt of Rousseau, and am perfectly indifferent what the literati of Paris think of the matter. If there is any fault, which I am far from thinking, let it lie on me. No parts can hinder my laughing at their possessor, if he is a mountebank. If he has a bad and most ungrateful heart, as Rousseau has shewn in your case into the bargain, he will have my scorn likewise, as he will of all good and sensible men. You may trust your sentence to such, who are as respectable judges as any that have pored over ten thousand more volumes.

'Yours, &c.

'P. S. I will look out the letter and

and the dates as soon as I go to Strawberry-hill.'

"All hopes of accommodating the unfortunate difference between Hume and Rousseau having vanished, it soon came to the knowledge of the public, who felt an interest in it, proportioned to the celebrity of the personages concerned. Both parties thought it incumbent on them to justify themselves; and, with this view, Rousseau wrote letters to several of their common friends, detailing all the circumstances of his story.

"The extensive correspondence which Rousseau had on the Continent, enabled him to circulate every where his complaint, and he generally affected the greatest anxiety that all letters to him should have an envelope addressed to another, lest they should be kidnapped or opened. He wrote to M. Guy, a bookseller at Paris, who was engaged in printing his Dictionary of Music; and in this, as in all his other letters, he accused Hume of having entered into a league with his enemies to betray and defame him, and challenged him to print the papers which had passed between them. Guy communicated the letter to several persons at Paris, and a translation of it was inserted in the newspapers at London.

"The publicity of this accusation overcame the scruples which Mr. Hume felt in laying the matter before the world, as longer silence might be construed to his disadvantage. In the beginning of the rupture, he had deemed it a duty which he owed to his friends, to draw up and communicate to them a narrative of his connections with Rousseau; but he had hitherto resisted their solicitations to print it. This narrative was now translated into French, and published by his friends at Paris. It was immediately translated into English under Hume's own eye, who took the precaution to deposit all the original letters in the British Museum.

"The literary world, as it may be supposed, took part in this dispute between two characters so celebrated as Hume and Rousseau; and although the conduct of the latter was universally condemned, a few took up the pen in his defence. In November 1766, there was published at Paris a pamphlet under the title of *Observations sur l'Exposé succinct de la Contestation qui s'est élévée entre M. Hume et M. Rousseau;* and in the same year was published at London, and translated into French, *Justification de J. J. Rousseau dans la Contestation qui lui est survenue avec M. Hume.* There also appeared at London *A Letter to the Hon. Horace Walpole concerning the Dispute between Mr. Hume and M. Rousseau.* The Parisian press gave to the public *Reflexions sur qui s'est passé au Sujet de la Rupture de J. J. Rousseau et de M. Hume;* and also a very long tract, entitled *Plaidoyer pour et contre J. J. Rousseau et le Docteur D. Hume, l'Historien Anglois: avec des Anecdotes interessantes relative au sujet: ouvrage moral et critique, pour servir de suite aux œuvres de ces deux grands hommes.* In the first part of this work, the author is exceedingly severe against Hume, but he afterwards softens a little as to him, and attacks Rousseau at great length. It is written in a sprightly style, and is rather interesting. He appears, however, to be totally unacquainted with Hume's character, and confesses and laments his ignorance of our historian's works: the word *Docteur*, prefixed to Hume's name in the title, is a faint evidence of this. He is inclined, on the whole,

whole, to ascribe Rousseau's conduct *à un dereglement de son esprit—et non pas à la perversité de son cœur.*

"Even the fair sex stood forward in defence of their favourite man of feeling; and a lady at Paris signalized herself in a pamphlet, which was rewarded with the thanks of Rousseau: it was entitled *La Vertu vengée par l'Amitié, ou Recueil de Lettres sur J. J. Rousseau, par Madame* ***. Voltaire, on the other side, addressed a letter to Mr. Hume, in which he assailed the unfortunate Genevese with all the acuteness of his satire, and the brilliancy of his wit.

"While occupied in composing an elaborate review of this controversy, and gravely weighing the conduct of both parties, we accidentally met with the following *jeu d'esprit* in the St. James's Chronicle, the newspaper in which the translation of the celebrated letter of the king of Prussia first appeared. Before inserting it, however, we may premise, that it does not seem possible for any unprejudiced person to suppose that Mr. Hume could entertain the slightest malevolence towards his *protégé*, or that the concern he took in his behalf originated from any other motive than the most generous philanthropy. We may bewail the eccentricity of mind which could conjure up suspicions like those entertained by Rousseau, and give consequence to empty trifles; but justice and honour call on us to condemn the man who could convert these into premeditated crimes, and found on them injurious accusations against innocence—nay, more, against the very person who had loaded him with benefits. It must be owned, that symptoms of a crazy intellect were at times perceptible in the conduct of Rousseau: his caprices, his brutal rudeness, his eternal wrangling with all who came in contact with him as friends and benefactors, were forcible indications of a species of mental derangement. We may, therefore, relax a little from the austere laws of criticism, and indulge in a harmless jocularity, now, perhaps, the best medium through which this singular dispute can be contemplated.

"The humourous production alluded to is in the form of an indictment, as follows:

Heads of an Indictment laid by J. J. Rousseau, philosopher, against D. Hume, Esq.

"1. That the said David Hume, to the great scandal of philosophy, and not having the fitness of things before his eyes, did concert a plan with Messrs. Fronchin, Voltaire, and D'Alembert, to ruin the said J. J. Rousseau for ever, by bringing him over to England, and there settling him to his heart's content.

"2. That the said David Hume did, with a malicious and traitorous intent, procure, or cause to be procured, by himself, or somebody else, one pension of the yearly value of 100*l.* or thereabouts, to be paid to the said J. J. Rousseau, on account of his being a philosopher, either privately or publicly, as to him the said J. J. Rousseau should seem meet.

"3. That the said David Hume did, one night after he left Paris, put the said J. J. Rousseau in bodily fear, by talking in his sleep; although the said J. J. Rousseau doth not know, whether the said David Hume was really asleep, or whether he shammed Abraham, or what he meant.

"4. That, at another time, as the said David Hume and the said J. J. Rousseau

Rousseau were sitting opposite each other by the fire-side in London, he, the said David Hume, did look at him, the said J. J. Rousseau, in a manner of which it is difficult to give any idea: that he, the said J. J. Rousseau, to get rid of the embarrassment he was under, endeavoured to look full at him, the said David Hume, in return, to try if he could not stare him out of countenance; but in fixing his eyes against his, the said David Hume's, he felt the most inexpressible terror, and was obliged to turn them away, insomuch that the said J. J. Rousseau doth in his heart think and believe, as much as he believes any thing, that he the said David Hume is a certain composition of a white-witch and a rattle-snake.

"5. That the said David Hume on the same evening, after politely returning the embraces of him, the said J. J. Reusseau, and gently tapping him on the back, did repeat several times, in a good-natured easy tone, the words, *Why, what, my dear sir! Nay, my dear sir! Oh my dear sir!*—From whence the said J. J. Rousseau doth conclude, as he thinks upon solid and sufficient grounds, that he the said David Hume is a traitor; albeit he, the said J. J. Rousseau, doth acknowledge, that the physiognomy of the good David is that of an honest man, all but those terrible eyes of his, which he must have borrowed; but he the said J. J. Rousseau vows to God he cannot conceive from whom or what.

"6. That the said David Hume hath more inquisitiveness about him than becometh a philosopher, and did never let slip an opportunity of being alone with the governante of him the said J. J. Rousseau.

"7. That the said David Hume did most atrociously and flagitiously put him the said J. J. Rousseau, philosopher, into a passion; as knowing that then he would be guilty of a number of absurdities.

"8. That the said David Hume must have published Mr. Walpole's letter in the newspapers, because, at that time, there was neither man, woman, nor child, in the island of Great Britain, but the said David Hume, the said J. J. Rousseau, and the printers of the several newspapers aforesaid.

"9. That somebody in a certain mazagine, and somebody else in a certain newspaper, said something against him the said John James Rousseau, which he, the said J. J. Rousseau, is persuaded, for the reason above-mentioned, could be nobody but the said David Hume.

"10. That the said J. J. Rousseau knows, that he, the said David Hume, did open and peruse the letters of him the said J. J. Rousseau, because he one day saw the said David Hume go out of the room, after his own servant, who had, at that time, a letter of the said J. J. Rousseau's in his hands; which must have been in order to take it from the servant, open it, and read the contents.

"11. That the said David Hume did, at the instigation of the devil, in a most wicked and unnatural manner, send, or cause to be sent, to the lodgings of him, the said J. J. Rousseau, one dish of beef-steaks, thereby meaning to insinuate, that he, the said J. J. Rousseau, was a beggar, and came over to England to ask alms; whereas be it known to all men by these presents, that he, the said John James Rousseau, brought with him the means of subsistence, and did not come with an empty purse; as he doubts not but he

he can live upon his labours, with the assistance of his friends; and in short can do better without the said David Hume than with him.

"12. That beside all these facts put together, the said J. J. Rousseau did not like a certain appearance of things on the whole."

Character of Dr. Blair.

[From Dr. Hill's Account of his Life and Writings.]

"In no situation did Dr. Blair appear to greater advantage than in the circle of his private friends. This circle, however, was not very numerous. Though his benevolence was general and extensive, yet he was cautious in bestowing the marks of his esteem. With the foibles of his friends, if venial, he was not apt to be offended. He could make the person who had the weakness, first laugh at it in others, and then bring it home to himself. By a happy mixture of gentleness and pleasantry, he gave instruction without giving offence; and, while indulging a species of wit, in which there was no sarcasm, he seemed happy in curing trifling defects.

"In his intercourse with his friends, too, he discovered the most amiable condescension. To those whom he esteemed, he committed himself freely, and without reserve; and he took no liberty with them which he was not ready to grant. By no affected restraint did he ever put them in mind of his superiority, of which, during his social hours, he seemed utterly unconscious. Had he thus unbended himself in the presence of strangers, which he never did, they would have been unable to reconcile what they saw with what they heard of him. They would have been like those who beheld Agricola upon his return from Britain, whom Tacitus describes thus: "*Multi quærerent famam pauci in-*" *terpretarentur.*"

"Several of Dr. Blair's acquaintance, particularly females, to whom his company was highly acceptable, felt mortified occasionally, either with his silence, or with his talking upon subjects that were trivial and common. Either circumstance they construed into an involuntary sign of his reckoning those, with whom he happened to be seated, unworthy of his notice. This conclusion, however, was far from being just. He was often most attentive to the conversation of others, when he spoke least himself; and he had a singular talent for recollecting the circumstances from which he judged of the character of each person in a numerous company. When a silent, he was not an inattentive observer. He did not always judge soundly of the people around him; and was more frequently mistaken as to their dispositions than their abilities. He had more pleasure in marking the excellencies than the defects of the characters he was surveying; and his silence was formidable to those only who were strangers to the amiableness of his heart.

"In order to convince the female admirers of Dr. Blair, that he was not supercilious in company, and that he could bear his part in conversation upon any subject whatever, his friends sometimes laid plans that

that were almost always successful. If they introduced any literary topic upon which they seemed deficient in information, the Doctor was always ready to give it. Though he scorned that silly parade with which the learned often try to set themselves off, when his knowledge could be useful, it was never withheld. If any new publication was spoken of, that was better known to him than to the rest of the company, he was ready to satisfy the curiosity of every body around him. Any misapprehension, whether real or pretended, he was ready to obviate. His critical remarks were, upon such occasions, worthy of himself; and his wish to communicate whatever he knew, bore a testimony, of which he was unconscious, that he was formed for social intercourse, and as amiable in private as he was respectable in public life.

"When Dr. Blair was in company with those in whom he had entire confidence, it sometimes appeared how much he valued the approbation of the world, and how much he was flattered with the uncommon share of that approbation which he had obtained. This weakness of his amused rather than offended those who could observe it. He felt, perhaps, that he had earned his fame by means that were entirely fair, and he had no desire to maintain or to increase it by affected modesty. Being free from every thing like guile and jealousy himself, he was, at times, not aware of their consequences in others. The complacency with which he occasionally spoke of himself, was construed by the envious into a ridiculous vanity. It may have been, however, no more than a just sensibility to deserved applause; the fruit of an honest simplicity of manners, existing in a mind that had nothing to conceal. It may have sprung from what the great historian, just quoted, calls a "*fiducia morum potius quam* "*arrogantia.*"

"In mixed companies, Dr. Blair generally took but a small part of the conversation. His natural modesty made him averse from obtruding himself upon the notice of others; and he was more afraid of offending by his loquacity, than of disappointing by his silence. The materials of instructive conversation he possessed in a high degree. But he shewed no desire to add to his consequence, by a studied display of these; and he was satisfied with the reputation which he had acquired in his profession. The unaffected simplicity of his manners attracted notice, when the studied formality, and the artifices of many around him, created disgust. It gave him a command over the hearts of men, which, as he had acquired without courting it, he had no desire to abuse. It does not appear that Dr. Blair considered conversation to be the channel by which much instruction was to be either given or received. The insipid grimace, with which the talkative try to give importance to trifles, he bore with impatience; and he sought, with eagerness, the society of those, who, by the artless gaiety of their anecdotes, when not too frequently introduced, furnished him with amusement. To the occurrences of the day he listened with avidity; and he was often apt to give them a consequence which they did not possess. He considered the company of his friends as the best recreation from his serious studies; and as, while enjoying it, he made no idle display of his own learning, so he witnessed with uneasiness such displays upon the part of others.

"In private companies, and particularly

ticularly in domestic society, he was often most attentive to those whom others were apt to neglect. He had the art of encouraging the diffident, and he knew precisely what degree of notice would be agreeable, and what oppressive to them. He took pleasure in accommodating his conversation to young people of every description. By such unexpected attentions from a man whom they were taught to respect, he soon gained their confidence, and he saw the early features of their characters appearing without disguise. He could thus successfully encourage every sentiment that was amiable, and check whatever was the contrary.

" The subjects of conversation upon which Dr. Blair ordinarily dwelt, appeared to many people so very trifling, as to be almost beneath his notice. Had he not given unequivocal proofs of his being able to attend to higher objects, they would hardly have believed him capable of doing so. Upon every matter of taste, however trivial, he was ready to give his opinion. Such an object as the size, the shape, and the furniture of a room, if in any degree remarkable, never failed to attract his notice. From circumstances unheeded by every body else, he could extract entertainment. No novelty in the dress of others passed unobserved by him, and to his own he was scrupulously attentive. In it he exhibited neatness and simplicity, but nothing inconsistent with the dignity of his profession. Even in advanced life, he remarked the slightest change in fashions; and was often among the first to adopt any that pleased him. Such attention to things common and innocent endeared him to his friends, without diminishing their respect. They were pleased to see the man, whom they were accustomed to revere as their instructor, bordering on an infirmity, which others were apt to indulge to excess.

" Though Dr. Blair was susceptible of flattery, and received it with a satisfaction which he was at no pains to hide, yet he was, in a high degree, modest and unassuming. The impetuous arrogance by which some would force themselves into consequence, he scorned to imitate. He knew perfectly, at the same time, what was due to himself, and would have felt the denial of that attention, which he thought it beneath him to court. His uncommon success in life, and the flattery to which he was daily accustomed, never produced in him the weakness of insolence. He had wisdom enough to see the real grounds of superiority among men. The false claims of the arrogant and the proud he would have scorned to gratify; and while he respected those friends only who respected themselves, he established a dominion in their hearts which nothing could ever shake.

" Though in the highest degree capable of advising others, yet he never did so, but when he knew that it was agreeable to them. An obtruded advice he held as an insult to those to whom it was offered. His opinion, when asked, he gave with diffidence, and he stated carefully the reason upon which that opinion was founded. He was more apt to encourage than to mortify the persons consulting him; and often blamed the timidity which prevented them from judging and acting for themselves.

" After the establishment of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons of the Clergy of Scotland, which took place in 1790, Dr. Blair had been often solicited to preach the annual sermon for that institution,

which is delivered during the meeting of the General Assembly. With these requests he could never be brought to comply, though, at the same time, he gave no reason for refusing them. My honoured friends, the Lord President, the Lord Chief Baron, and Sir James Stirling, then Lord Provost of Edinburgh, understanding that my influence with him was greater than perhaps it was, requested that I would try to prevail upon him to render the Society what they deemed an essential service. His fame as a preacher, they supposed, would procure a crowded audience; and the power of his eloquence, by stimulating the liberality of his hearers, would increase the Society's funds.

"It was not without a considerable degree of hesitation, that Dr. Blair consented to this proposal. When I first mentioned it to him, he told me he was afraid that, in the seventy-ninth year of his age, he would be unable to produce any thing, either creditable to himself, or instructive to his audience. Reflecting, however, on the possibility of doing an essential service to many indigent and deserving young men, his benevolence prevailed over his fears, and he yielded, at length, to the solicitations of his friends.

"From what has been said before of the discourse delivered on this occasion, in which Dr. Blair bade adieu to the labours of the pulpit, it appears that the native vigour of his powers was but little, if at all, impaired. The execution is worthy of the preacher; and the spirit with which it was delivered, aided the impression which the justness of the sentiment, and the elegance of the composition, would have of themselves produced.

"As a proof of its excellence, we may add, that, from the admiration with which this sermon was heard, the funds of the society derived unexampled benefit. The collection made immediately after it, surpassed what had been ever known; and different sets of hearers vied with each other in the extent of their benevolence. One gentleman, in particular, shewed involuntarily, that his taste in composition is as high as in the other elegant arts. When leaving the church, he told one of the Elders, that, not being aware of the effects of Dr. Blair's eloquence, he found he had less money in his pocket than he was disposed to give. Upon going home, he sent a donation extremely honourable to his own feelings, and to the talents of the preacher, by whom they had been so powerfully roused. The effect of this sermon, even upon those who read it, was highly beneficial to the Society. One friend of Dr. Blair's, in the neighbourhood of London, who had before subscribed liberally to its funds, marked his approbation, upon perusing it, by sending 50*l.* in addition.

"In the number of those whose influence prevailed with Dr. Blair to preach his sermon for the sons of the clergy, was Dr. Carlyle, of Inveresk. This gentleman, who is lately dead, was among the last who lived in habits of intimacy with Dr. Blair during the whole of his life, and who retained his strongest attachment and regard to the end of it. To Dr. Carlyle I should have been happy to make my acknowledgments for anecdotes respecting his friend, which no one but himself could have furnished, and for much general assistance in the compilation of this work, which could have been derived from no other source.

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"The same amiableness of temper, which led Dr. Blair to overcome his first difficulties with regard to the discourse lately noticed, appeared in the ordinary intercourse of life. Though meekness was a predominant feature in his character, yet, even in his well regulated mind, emotions of anger occasionally shewed themselves. He was, at the same time, far from being irritable; and, if the feeling was ever strong, it was also transient. A mind endowed with such exquisite sensibilities to whatever was excellent in human nature, must, of necessity, have been also alive to whatever was deformed in it. Perfection in the character of a man exists only in the imagination of those visionary theorists, who, by flattering his vanity, would undermine his happiness. If his capacity of excellence is over-rated, he is lowered in the scale of being. He becomes the misguided tool of the interested, whose artifices operate like the drug that intoxicates before it poisons. By a pretended benevolence, but a real misanthropy, he is exposed to that political, and that personal degradation, from which the experience of modern times has shewn us that it is scarcely possible for a nation or an individual to emerge.

"Though Dr. Blair was susceptible of anger, yet it approached to nothing that was boisterous, or unworthy of himself. If the sun rarely went down, it still more rarely rose upon his wrath. He felt too strongly the force of those doctrines which he inculcated upon others, to be himself the slave of passion. If the object of his displeasure was not too hastily offended with the severity of his reproof, he would have devised apologies for the person exposed to it. Sentiments of malignity, or revenge, could find no place in his heart. If the person who had unfortunately lost, was anxious to regain his favour, he was always sure to succeed; and he might have afterwards relied upon the sincerity of his friendship, with his wonted confidence. What Tacitus says so beautifully of Agricola, was strictly applicable to this amiable man: "*Ceterum ex iracundiâ nihil supe-*
"*rerat: secretum et silentium ejus*
"*non timeres; honestius putabat*
"*offendere quam odisse.*"

"In matters that would have tried the temper of ordinary people, Dr. Blair often exhibited the most dignified calmness and self command. The common occurrences of life seemed to present to him no field for the display of his patience. His friends, accordingly, were sometimes mistaken as to the light in which he would view particular actions respecting himself. To some, which they regarded as trivial, he attached consequence; and in others, which they thought unpardonable, he saw nothing to offend.

"When Dr. Blair published his Lectures in 1783, he was desirous that his friends should revise them. He wished to profit by their remarks, and to correct, in a second edition, whatever they might convince him was faulty in the first. Among others, he requested the author of this memoir to peruse the Lectures, which he had often heard delivered, and to try particularly to discover any thing in the style that was ungrammatical. Though Dr. Blair had every right to command my services, yet, upon this occasion, I was rather unwilling to grant them. Had I read the book for amusement merely, and perceived any thing questionable in the language, I should have been disposed rather to suppress than to mention it; and it did not seem to become

me to judge of the execution of that master, to whom I owed any critical skill I possessed. My learned friend, however, pressed his request in such terms, that it was impossible to deny it.

"Though I undertook the duty assigned me with reluctance, yet I resolved to perform it in the best way I could. The candour of the learned author of the Lectures I had often experienced; and if the task were improperly executed, he knew that it was not courted. I ran over the book so quickly at first, in order to catch the thoughts, which, though not new, yet were always agreeable to me, that the language hardly engaged my attention. Upon the second reading only, I could pass from the idea to the expression, and judge whether the one corresponded with the other; and I was to mention any expression that appeared careless or inaccurate, and any sentence in which an alteration in the structure would render the meaning more obvious.

"When my investigations began, more things appeared deserving of remark than I at first imagined. Though the list of grammatical inaccuracies, however, swelled upon me considerably, yet I found myself bound in duty to communicate it to my honoured friend. The request of Dr. Blair had no appearance of being purely complimentary. Had he supposed that my observations could be of no use to him, he would not have laid his commands on me to furnish them. At all events, I held it equally dishonourable to express approbation where I was not pleased, and to conceal what appeared to me faulty.

"As soon as I had transmitted my remarks to Dr. Blair, he returned me his best thanks for the trouble they must have cost me. He was polite enough to add, that he was happy to find them so copious, as, though he had not then had time to read the whole, he perceived they were such as he wished them to be. I had afterwards the satisfaction to find that my criticism, far from being offensive, was highly acceptable to him. He regretted that some others, upon whose opinion he depended, had not taken the same trouble. He told me that he did not agree with me in every instance, but was candid enough to say that he agreed with me in many more than he could have wished. The number of inaccuracies, which were not to be palliated, he said surprised him. This he ascribed to the hurry in which a number of his Lectures had been written, when he was appointed to his office; and he added, that when a composition was careless in its first draught, it was almost impossible afterwards to make it correct.

"From the anecdote just related, two things may be inferred. The one, that those who supposed Dr. Blair weak enough to think himself superior to error, and to be offended when any error was pointed out, mistook his character. The other is, that when his Lectures were once composed, they engaged little more of his attention. The whole force of his mind was then turned to the composition of those Sermons, which are certainly productions of higher merit, and upon the excellence of which it was his intention that his fame should rest.

"It has been before said, that Dr. Blair was fortunate in entering life with a set of people of the most liberal sentiments. No petty jealousies then existed among men of letters, all of whom, when trying to bring themselves forward, far from depressing, were ready to assist their neigh-

neighbour. The earliest literary friend with whom Dr. Blair was connected, was the celebrated David Hume. He was a few years younger than the historian, but more nearly of an age with him than the rest of those men of genius who at one time adorned this country. However much he disapproved of Mr. Hume's tenets in matters of religion, yet he respected him as a man of science. Even to the enemy of that cause, which he was disposed from principle, and bound from profession, to support, he could shew a candid liberality. He admired his dignified callousness against the impressions of public folly, when he first appeared as an historian, and foresaw a period when political prejudice would yield to the force of truth. He enjoyed the liberality of his manners as a private friend, and that cheerfulness of temper which enlivened every circle in which he was a companion. He felt the value of that unsuspicious gaiety, in which there was nothing frivolous, but which was, in him, connected with every talent which mankind are willing to respect.

"During the time that Mr. Hume attended Lord Hertford upon his embassy to Paris, he was absent from Edinburgh several years. The intimacy was supported by a correspondence, which has unhappily perished. The habits of friendship that subsisted betwixt Dr. Blair and Dr. Robertson, were much less frequently interrupted than those between the former and Mr. Hume. As they were of the same profession, and were members of the same University, the intimacy, which was voluntary on the part of both, was in some degree unavoidable. Whatever diversity existed in the character of these two men of letters, it did not prevent them from being intimate friends. Dr. Blair beheld with admiration, talents in Dr. Robertson which he was conscious of not possessing. He saw, without envy, that address in the management of business which would have done honour to a statesman, and which enabled his friend so long to direct the affairs of the church. He admired that moderation with which he wished to effect his purposes, and which, with him, was almost always a successful instrument. He knew the amiableness of his manners in private life, and respected that disposition to heal the differences of parties, which he himself possessed in an eminent degree.

"These intimate friends, however, were not satisfied with admiring the talents which each possessed, whether in common or otherwise, but availed themselves of that critical skill for which both were distinguished. Neither of them ever presented a work to the public which the other had not revised. Devoid of every thing like jealousy, the reproof that was given without restraint, was received like the admonition of a friend. Their praises and their censures were alike sincere. Each could make allowance for a friend's partiality, and could anticipate, from what passed between themselves, the reception which he was to meet with from the public.

"Dr. Blair's connection with Dr. Adam Smith was early formed, from a similarity in their literary pursuits. The latter, it has been said, set the example of reading Lectures upon Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, and was the first in this country who ever made the attempt. Upon any subject to which the mind of Dr. Smith directed itself, it was capable of throwing light. A timid enquirer, which Dr. Blair naturally was,

was, felt the benefit of such a friend, and gladly availed himself of every advantage which his company and conversation could afford.

" When Dr. Smith became a member of the University of Glasgow, and still more when he travelled with the Duke of Buccleugh, the intimacy between him and Dr. Blair was necessarily suspended. Upon the return of the former to Edinburgh, the subject of his studies had changed. From being purely literary, they had become political, and he was about to deliver to the world his work upon the Wealth of Nations.

" It appears, in Dr. Blair's Lectures, that he had the use of certain manuscripts from Dr. Smith, from which he acknowledges that he had taken a few hints. When he made the confession, his doing so should have saved him from the charge of plagiarism. Dr. Blair did not know that this was urged against him, both by Dr. Smith and his friends; the harmony that subsisted between them accordingly suffered no interruption. As few men were less apt to be suspicious than Dr. Blair, so his love for his friend continued unimpaired till his death. He respected Dr. Smith as a man of delicate taste, of extensive information, and of profound science. Still, however, he was not blind to the eccentricities of his character, and was often amused with the opposite views which he took of the same subject, according to the humour in which he happened to be.

" There is reason to believe that the habits of friendship between Dr. Blair and Dr. Adam Fergusson were not so close as those between him and the men of letters already mentioned. Still, however, they lived upon intimate terms, and entertained for each other a mutual esteem. The manliness and liberality of Dr. Fergusson's character did not escape his friend's notice, and accorded with that unaffected candour and sincerity which were the ornaments of his own. Though Dr. Fergusson had no desire to derogate from what was due to men of eminence, yet every unreasonable pretension he treated with contempt. While Dr. Blair felt the applause of the world with a keenness that exposed him to the imputation of vanity, he was, at the same time, free from every thing like arrogance. He repaid the attention that was due to him, in a way the most acceptable to those from whom it came. While pleased with himself, he had no propensity to be displeased with others, or to make them displeased with themselves. To every thing excellent in his neighbour, he was ready to give his tribute of praise. This part of Dr. Blair's character was particularly acceptable to Dr. Fergusson. He loved the man who, though beloved by every body around him, took no advantage of his superiority, and increased the attachment by being wise enough not to abuse it.

" Few men, perhaps, have commanded the admiration of his friends more generally than Dr. Fergusson. They beheld in him the qualities of a high and independent mind, and the total absence of every thing like selfish intrigue. Though a candidate, like others, for literary fame, he had nothing of that mean jealousy which has so often been the disgrace of learned men. The gaiety of his manners and disposition made him the delight of every private circle. By this he seized their hearts, while, by a display of talents that was not ostentatious, he commanded their respect. No one of his friends formed a more just estimate of his accom-

accomplishments than Dr. Blair. Before the public was duly aware of the merit of Dr. Fergusson's writings, Dr. Blair perceived in them a depth of thought, and a force of eloquence, which have now given them that place in its estimation which they are entitled to hold.

" The friendship that subsisted between Dr. Blair and Mr. John Home seems to have been of an early standing. Being both originally bred to the same profession, their habits would be long similar, and many opportunities would present themselves for their enjoying each other's conversation. The poetical talents of Mr. Home could not escape the notice of one so able to appreciate them as Dr. Blair. In the tragedy of " Douglas," many splendid beauties would arrest his attention; and the high merit discovered in the distribution of the piece, would have been visible even to one who had not the partiality of a friend.

" When to the literary accomplishments of Mr. Home, we add the amiableness of his private character, it needs not surprise us that he and Dr. Blair were such intimate companions. The attachment, accordingly, that began early in their lives, was continued as long as it could exist. During Mr. Home's long residence in Edinburgh, they had constant opportunities of being together, and both were disposed to improve them. Each discovered a complacency while in company with the other, that could not escape the notice of any body; and it is certain that Mr. Home's sentiments of attachment to Dr. Blair continued invariable to the last.

" Those mentioned were the persons with whom Dr. Blair lived in habits of intimacy, and with whom, during the greater part of his life, he maintained social intercourse. There were others who acted towards him both as patrons and friends, and who were happy to employ that influence which was attached to their situation, in rewarding his merit, and promoting his success. In early life, he was tutor in the family of the last Lord Lovat, and spent one summer in the north country, attending his Lordship's eldest son, afterwards Gen. Fraser. In this situation he merited the approbation of all concerned with him. That good sense displayed itself in his youth, which was afterwards so conspicuous during his whole life. Young as his pupil then was, he perceived his good fortune in being under such guidance, and gave early proofs of that discernment of character, in which few outdid him when he advanced to manhood.

" This attachment to Dr. Blair seems to have grown with time; and, had the General's letters to him not been destroyed, like those of his other correspondents, they would probably have presented something interesting, and worthy of his elegant pen. When General Fraser was appointed to the command of the 71st regiment, he testified his respect for his old tutor, by making him chaplain to one of its battalions. This mark of attention was altogether unexpected upon the part of the Doctor. He heard the General mentioning at table, to some person, how he had bestowed his chaplainship; and he immediately asked if it was so. The General answered, that the appointment was made; and added, with great good humour, that, as his Majesty had not been pleased to pre-occupy his services, by making him one of the Royal Chaplains for Scotland, he felt it a duty incumbent upon him to make him one of his.

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"There were few people of eminence, in this country, to whom Dr. Blair was more indebted than to the late Chief Baron Orde. His Lordship, in his official capacity, was a regular hearer of the Doctor's sermons while his court sat, and there was no one better qualified to judge of the preacher's merit. This merit, too, was never more conspicuous than when it was honoured with the approbation of the venerable judge. Dr. Blair's literary reputation was then thoroughly established. He was in the vigour of life; and the unwearied labour which he underwent in his closet, while composing his Sermons, was repaid by the admiration of a discerning audience.

"The Chief Baron soon shewed himself none of the inefficient patrons, who amuse those they mean to allow to court their protection, with promises never to be fulfilled. His Lordship's honourable mind felt the obligation he had brought upon himself; and his respect for the literature of the country prevented him from sporting with the feelings of a man who had then done it honour, and who promised to do it more. In private life, he bestowed upon the learned preacher every mark of his confidence and esteem. He spoke of his Sermons as affording valuable instruction to all, but especially to those who were deaf to every thing not recommended by the charms of eloquence. When it was proposed to establish a Professorship of Rhetoric in the University of Edinburgh for Dr. Blair, the Lord Chief Baron took an active part in giving effect to the plan. His Lordship spoke with confidence, because he had felt the energy of those powers which a teacher of rhetoric should possess. To this creditable testimony his Majesty's ministers paid the attention it deserved; and to it the Doctor reckoned himself, in a high degree, indebted for his success.

"But the connection from which Dr. Blair derived most benefit, and which he had it in his power to cultivate for the longest period, was that with Lord Viscount Melville. As early as the year 1739, he had dedicated his thesis, "*De Fundamentis et Obligatione Legis Naturæ*," to his Lordship's father, then Lord Arniston, and afterwards Lord President of the Court of Session. This event, however, as it took place before Lord Melville's birth, and as the Lord President died when his son was very young, cannot be understood to have been the foundation of that friendship with which Dr. Blair felt himself so highly honoured.

"When Dr. Blair began to read his Lectures, he was fortunate in having hearers that could discover their merit. Among them he could number Henry Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville; and, from the ardour with which his Lordship pursued his studies, his instructor ventured to predict the lustre of that career which he was destined to run. An attachment, founded upon mutual esteem, could not fail to be permanent. During a great part of his long life, Dr. Blair relied upon the friendship of Lord Melville, and never once repented of having done so. His Lordship also found a corresponding steadiness upon the part of the learned man, whom he marked with the most flattering attention, and whose merit he believed he could hardly over-rate.

"The growing reputation of Dr. Blair, which soon extended beyond the limits of the British empire, proved the discernment of that patron to whose munificence he was

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so much indebted. Every favour which he received was *multa dantis cum laude*, and it did honour to the hand that bestowed it. In the year 1780, his Majesty was graciously pleased to grant him a pension of 200*l*. In procuring him this proof of royal favour, Lord Melville would doubtless take an active part. It is said, at the same time, that the marked approbation with which her Majesty honoured his Sermons, gave immediate success to the request. The high elegance of the Sermons was often not so apparent when they were delivered by the author, as when they were read by others. In his manner, there was a stiffness which eclipsed their beauties, and to which strangers could not be reconciled. It is reported that they were read to the Royal Family at St. James's, by the first Earl of Mansfield; and their intrinsic merit never appeared to greater advantage than when they came from the mouth of so dignified a speaker.

"From the situation of the country a few years before Dr. Blair's death, he appeared in a light that endeared him more than ever to the worthy and discerning part of the community. Of his ability as a scholar, and his amiableness as a man, he had long given unequivocal proofs; but his loyalty as a subject, and his faithful attachment to the British constitution, had till then no opportunity of shewing themselves. The opinion of a person of his eminence served, in such times, as a guide to the simple. Many, who could not judge correctly upon political subjects, were ready to be directed by him, whose sentiments upon religious topics they believed to be unerring. He declared from his pulpit, that no man could be a good Christian that was a bad subject. The opinions of those French philosophers, who wished to destroy subordination, and to loosen the restraints of law, he rejected with abhorrence. He regarded those men as the authors of incalculable mischief to every country upon earth, as well as to that which unhappily gave them birth. He beheld them as disturbing the peace of the world, which, with an insidious appearance of benevolence, they pretended to promote."

Literary Life and Connections of the Hon. Henry Home, Lord Kames.

[From Lord Woodhouselee's Memoirs of his Life and Writings.]

"MR. HOME, in every period of his life, was fond of social intercourse; and, with all his ardour of study, and variety of literary and professional occupations, a considerable portion of his time was devoted to the enjoyments of society, in a numerous and respectable circle of acquaintance. In his earlier days, the warmth of his affections, a happy flow of animal spirits, which disposed him to enter keenly into every innocent frolic, and a great power of animated and sprightly conversation, made his acquaintance be eagerly courted by the gay young men of fashion, who acquired some consequence in their own esteem, from being the friends and companions of a man of science and

and a philosopher. Nor can we doubt the beneficial effect of such a pattern on the general circle with which he associated. But, on his side, attachment and real friendship were always the result of a discriminating choice. His familiar companions were men of talents, of wit, and of polished manners, in whose conversation he found a pleasing relaxation from the fatigues of study, or the irksomeness of professional labour; and whose congenial minds fitted them at once to relish and improve the enjoyments of the social hour.

"There was a time when (as we of the present age have heard from our fathers) the fashionable circles in the Scottish metropolis were adorned by a class of men now unknown and utterly extinct; or whom, if their successors in the world of fashion had ever heard of, they seemed at least to have no desire to revive, or ambition to emulate; men who, under the distinguishing title of *beaux*, or *fine gentlemen*, united an extensive knowledge of literature, and a cultivated taste, to the utmost elegance of manners, of dress, and of accomplishments; men whose title to be leaders of the mode was founded on an acknowledged superiority, both in exterior graces and in mental endowments. Such men were Colonel Forrester, author of a valuable little tract, entitled *The Polite Philosopher*, and of whom Dr. Samuel Johnson emphatically said,

'He was himself *The Great Polite* he drew;'

Lord Binning, who wrote some of the most tender and elegant of the Scottish songs; Hamilton of Bangour, whose poetical merits have deservedly assigned him a place among the British Classics; and the Club of Wits who frequented Balfour's Coffee-house (the miniature of Will's or Button's), in the earlier part of the eighteenth century. These were the favourite companions of Mr. Home; and with some of them, as appears from his correspondence yet preserved, he seems to have maintained the strictest friendship, and to have indulged in the most intimate communication of sentiments and opinions. I know not precisely at what period his acquaintance commenced with Colonel Forrester, but I find, amidst the correspondence I have mentioned (and from which I shall occasionally draw some valuable materials for these memoirs), a letter (without a date, but which I conjecture to have been written between 1730 and 1735), from which I shall make an extract, trusting that my reader will not be displeased to see what were the topics which *then* engaged the attention of our Scottish *men of fashion*.

Mr. Forrester to Mr. Home.

'My dear Home, I hope, will no longer doubt of his entire command of Forrester, when, to obey him, I quit the alacrity of the *petit-maitre* for the phlegmatic panegyric of a Dutchman. I shall send you an elaborate poem to prefix to the *Opera Homiana*, and which I shall conclude with a saying from Apollo himself:

Quid fatigas teque nosque? Homio præconium
Maximum est favere linguis nec loqui de Homio;
Quippe ut hic, et ille, et iste cuncta dixerit,
Homium laudare nemo quiverit nisi Homius.

'My dear Home has rightly pitched on the most flagrant piece of prudery that is to be met with in all story; and I am truly surprised that

that we should ever have instanced Lucretia as the model of chastity, whom you have made appear so very a prude, since she gave the reality to preserve the reputation of it. She has been, I suppose, of opinion with some of our moderns, who say reputation is the soul of virtue; and indeed, like the soul, I believe it often lives when the body's dead! If this was her notion, she would be acquitted by the Christian system, which teaches the sacrifice of the body for the preservation of the soul.

'Your other disquisition, I believe, may lead you further back; and I am apprehensive you will find coquetry to have been one of the first things discovered even in the first of women, for I think the surprise Eve shews upon seeing herself reflected in the watery mirror has a strong dash of the coquet:

As I bent down to look, just opposite,
A shape within the wat'ry gleam appear'd,
Bending to look on me; I started back;
It started back;—but pleas'd I soon return'd;
Pleas'd, it returned as soon, with answering looks
Of sympathy and love.———

But as I can say nothing new to you on any subject you have thought of, I shall quit the prude and the coquet, to entertain you with a person who, without the smallest tendency to either of these characters, has ever been successful in what they both aim at, and whilst she is in reality the best of women, is undesignedly the wish of every man. I send you her last letter to me, with one also from the lady who is the channel of our correspondence. I hope they will amuse you, and I am sure they would give you pleasure, did you know the pleasure they gave your humble servant. I shew a greater confidence in trusting you with these letters, than Burlington could in sending you originals of Raphael. But judge yourself, and return them by the first opportunity; for I am not yet certain whether I can come your way. If I can, you may be sure I will; since I should lay in pleasure enough with you to entertain me all the rest of my journey. I blotted out the names in the letters; and may mine be so served in the Book of Life, if I don't wish you happiness, as I do that of

'James Forrester.'

"With the elegant and accomplished William Hamilton of Bangour, whose amiable manners were long remembered with the tenderest recollection by all who knew him, Mr. Home lived in the closest habits of friendship. The writer of these memoirs has heard him dwell with delight on the scenes of their youthful days; and he has to regret, that many an anecdote to which he listened with pleasure, was not committed to a better record than a treacherous memory. Hamilton's mind is pictured in his verses: they are the easy and careless effusions of an elegant fancy and a chastened taste; and the sentiments they convey are the genuine feelings of a tender and susceptible heart, which perpetually owned the dominion of some favourite mistress, but whose passion generally evaporated in song, and made no serious or permanent impression. His poems had an additional charm to his cotemporaries, from being commonly addressed to his familiar friends of either sex, by name. There are few minds insensible to the soothing flattery of a poet's record. I question whether his friend Home was ever more highly gratified by the applause he gained for his talents on the success of

of a legal argument, than by the elegant lines addressed by Hamilton, *To H. H. in the Assembly.*

'While crown'd with radiant charms divine,
Unnumber'd beauties round thee shine,
When Erskine leads her happy man,
And Johnston shakes the flutt'ring fan;
When beauteous Pringle shines confest,
And gently heaves her swelling breast,
Her raptur'd partner still at gaze
Pursuing thro' each winding maze;
Say, Harry, canst thou keep secure
Thy heart, from conquering Beauty's power?' &c.

"Hamilton's letters are, like his verses, the transcript of his feelings. Mr. Home had sent him a few remarks on Horace; of the same tenor, as it would seem, with those observations which, many years afterwards, he gave to the world in his *Elements of Criticism.* In a letter, dated September, 1738, to Mr. Home, then passing the autumn vacation at Kames, Hamilton writes thus:

'I am entirely of your opinion with respect to your observations on Horace: he certainly wanders from his text; but still they are the wanderings of Horace. "Why we are never contented with our lot, but still envy the condition of others," was a noble subject; and it were to be wished he had adorned it, as well as he could, from his own experience, satisfied, as he seems to have been, with his own pursuits, and the fame they had acquired him. Let me put Horace's question to myself: Why don't I acquiesce in the determination of Heaven, to which I have myself so much contributed? Why don't I rest contented with that, small perhaps indeed, but sincere portion of happiness furnished by my poetry, and a few kind friends? Why concern myself to please *Jeanie Stewart,* or vex myself about that happier man to whom the lottery of life may have assigned her? *Quî fit, Macœnas, quî fit?* Whence comes it? Alas, whence indeed?

'Too long by love, a wand'ring fire, misled,
My better days in vain delusion fled;
Day after day, year after year withdrew,
And beauty blest the minutes as they flew.
Those hours consum'd in joy, but lost to fame,
With blushes I review, but dare not blame;
A fault which easy pardon might receive,
Did lovers judge, or could the wise forgive!
But now to wisdom's healing springs I fly,
And drink oblivion of each charmful eye;
To love revolted, quit each pleasing care,
Whate'er was witty, or whate'er was fair.

'Your's, &c.'

"To seek the aid of wisdom for the cure of love, is no doubt a prudent resolution; but here the question may be put (as of Glendower's spirits), will wisdom come when the lover calls for her? His friend Home, who had a deeper knowledge of human nature, saw a better cure for a frivolous and idle passion. The lady mentioned in the letter above quoted had complained to Mr. Home, that she was teased with Hamilton's dangling attentions, which she was convinced had no serious aim, and hinted an earnest wish to get rid of him: 'You are his friend,' said she; 'tell him he exposes both himself and me to the ridicule of our acquaintance.'—'No, Madam,' said Mr. Home, 'you shall accomplish his cure yourself, and by the simplest method: dance with him at to-night's assembly, and shew him every mark of your kindness, as if you believed his passion sincere, and had resolved to favour his suit; take my word for it, you'll hear no more of him.' The lady adopted the counsel, and the success of the experiment was complete.

"It

" It appears from Hamilton's letters, that he communicated his poems to his friends for their critical remarks, and was easily induced to alter or amend them by their advice. He had sent the piece entitled *Contemplation,* one of the most laboured of his productions, to Mr. Home, who suggested some alterations. In a letter from Hamilton, in July 1739, he says, 'I have made the corrections on the moral part of *Contemplation,* and in a post will send it to Will. Crawford, who has the rest, and will transmit it to you. I shall write to him fully on the subject.' It is pleasing to remark, that the Will. Crawford here mentioned was the author of the beautiful pastoral ballad of *Tweedside,* which, with the aid of its charming melody, will probably live as long as the language is understood.

" Hamilton may be reckoned among the earliest of the Scotch poets who wrote English verse with propriety and taste, and with any considerable portion of the poetic spirit. Thomson, Mallet, and he, were cotemporaries. The preceding writers of English verse among the Scotch are scarcely entitled to the name of poets. A very indifferent collection of English verses, under the title of *The Edinburgh Miscellany,* was published in 1720, among which are some of the earliest productions of Thomson and Mallet, and in particular a piece by the former, *Of a Country Life, by a Student in the University,* in which it is curious to mark the hand of the author of *The Seasons,* and to trace in some faint degree, the rudiments of that immortal poem. In this collection are a few small pieces, which, on the authority of Lord Hailes, I am led to believe were written by Mr. Home: they are of no considerable merit; and their author, as Lord Hailes properly remarked, 'had the good sense very soon to perceive that poetry was not his *fort.*'

" Among the early friends of Mr. Home, were some men whose talents, of a superior order and graver cast, fitted them to discharge with honour the most important duties in the state, or have ranked them high in the annals of literature. The late Earl of Findlater, then Lord Deskfoord, whose benevolent mind and truly patriotic spirit were indefatigably exerted in every scheme which had for its end the improvement of his country, was assiduous in courting a correspondence with Mr. Home, on various topics of politics, national economy, and jurisprudence; and many letters from that nobleman are yet preserved, which reflect the highest honour both on the qualities of his head and heart.

" With the late Mr. Oswald of Dunikeir, whose great knowledge of political economy rendered him one of the most useful, as his disinterested patriotism, one of the most respectable of the Scottish members, during the many years he sat in parliament, Mr. Home was connected by the closest bond of friendship. It was Oswald's custom to write to his friend Home on the daily business that occurred in parliament, and to consult with him on any point of difficulty on which his mind was undecided. I shall insert here a few of these letters, which, while they are strongly characteristic of the writer, are interesting, from the nature of the subjects to which they relate, and the persons whom they mention.

From

From Mr. Oswald to Mr. Home.

'London, 14th Dec. 1741.

'Dear Harry,

'According to the promise in my last, I would have sent you the *Second Night of the Complaint*, though I don't think it so good as the first; but I understand Sir Hugh has sent it to Willy Hamilton, and by this time you must have seen it. It is the only tolerable new thing that has appeared this winter, except in politics; in which the *Case of the Hanover Troops*, by Lord M——t, and *Miscellaneous Thoughts*, by Lord Harvey, are both esteemed. If you have them not in Edinburgh, let me know, and I will send you them. Since my last, the most important point of this session has been pretty fully discussed, and is this night entirely determined: I mean that of the 16,000 Hanoverians taken into British pay. The ministry endeavoured to shew, that this measure was a necessary consequence of the advice given last year to the crown, of assisting the queen of Hungary; that it was become a necessary measure, by the sending abroad of 16,000 British troops; and that Hanover troops, under these circumstances, were the most expedient. They were opposed on each of these points.' [Here follows a detailed account of the debate.]—'This question has been agitated in three different debates. On the first day, Murray was introduced to support the court, which he did in a set speech, extremely methodical, with great perspicuity, and very fine colouring. He was replied to by Pitt, who, in the most masterly manner, laying hold of the weakest parts of his speech, with the greatest strength of expression, and in the most manly style I ever witnessed, turned almost all his colours against him. Murray had laid a good deal of stress on exposing the inconsistency of advising one thing the one year, and the next abusing it, merely through a spirit of opposition. Pitt showed how the object was varied, but varied by the ministers; and then turned every argument Murray had employed against himself. The one spoke like a pleader, and could not divest himself of a certain appearance of having been employed by others. The other spoke like a gentleman, like a statesman, who felt what he said, and possessed the strongest desire of conveying that feeling to others, for their own interest, and that of their country. Murray gains your attention by the perspicuity of his arguments, and the elegance of his diction. Pitt commands your attention and respect, by the nobleness, the greatness of his sentiments, the strength and energy of his expressions, and the certainty you are in of his always rising to a greater elevation both of thought and style; for this talent he possesses beyond any speaker I ever heard, of never falling, from the beginning to the end of his speech, either in thought or in expression. And, as this session he has begun to speak like a man of business, as well as an orator, he will, in all probability, or rather at present is allowed to make as great an appearance as ever man did in that house. Murray has not spoken since, on the other two debates, where his rival carried all before him, being very unequally matched with Pelham, Young, and Winnington. I dare say you will scarce be able to read this scrawl, which I have drawn to an immeasurable length, from the difficulty I find in having done, when Pitt is the subject;

ject; for I think him sincerely the most finished character I ever knew.'

From Mr. Oswald to Mr. Home.

'24th Dec. 1741.

'Dear Harry,

'I received your letter and opinion, which gives me very great pleasure. It corresponds with my own notion, and may, I hope, be useful to my friend Sir Hugh; for I shall now be able to assert with confidence, if necessary, what I must otherwise have urged with the utmost diffidence. You will see by the printed votes, that the Westminster election has been declared void; I dare assure you, if you will trust my opinion, with the greatest justice. The high bailiff, who is the returning officer, closed the poll, by shutting up the books, on pretence of a riot, when several voters present were demanding to poll; and afterwards, on pretence of the same riot, a party of soldiers were called in, in whose presence the declaration of the poll was made. The point in debate, you will see, was, whether the poll was legally shut or not. If legally closed, the appearance of the soldiers could not be said to have influenced the election. If not legally closed, it was an act of violence, which the military force was called in to support. It was urged on the court side, that the poll is over when the books are shut by the proper officer, and that this was not done till the crier had made three proclamations; but by their own evidence, it appeared that only five minutes had intervened between each proclamation, so that the interval of ten minutes had frustrated many of their votes who had a right to poll. You will easily see that this argument might have been turned against them. An injustice done under form of law is more impatiently suffered than an act of violence. So says Thucydides. It is in reality more unjust, for it is an insult on a man's understanding, as well as on his right. This maxim might have been confirmed in a particular manner from the English history. What was it that lo t King Charles his head? What, King James his crown and glory? It was not that the one raised money without law, and that the other suspended the penal statutes; but that both those unhappy princes procured judgments in their favour, by the courts of Westminster. These topics came into my head during the debate; but it was late before the counsel had done. The house called for a division; and even the ablest speakers were heard with impatience. So I chose to be silent, rather than from any reluctancy to speak. The vote was carried against the court, by 220 against 216. Never was a case better opened, nor a reply made in a stronger manner, than was done by Murray in this case. The man is a miracle. No argument was missed; none urged but with the greatest precision: no circumstance omitted which could create an impression; none thrown in, but with the greatest propriety that judgment could suggest, or fancy improve. The courtiers are in the utmost consternation; the patriots inflexible. What the holidays will produce is left to fate. Your's,

'JAMES OSWALD.'

From Mr. Oswald to Mr. Home.

—— 'Since my last, we have had nothing before us but questions concerning elections; yet these have produced both debates and divisions, which to us have appeared of some importance. The first question

question was concerning a borough election in Cornwall. The court party quoted precedents: five of these were from Scotland, and not quite well understood by either side, at least by the managers; so I thought I had a lucky enough opportunity of mixing in the debate; and one of the precedents being from Dysart, was a sufficient excuse for my intrusion. I endeavoured to set the precedents in what I thought their proper light, and was heard with attention; no doubt owing to the indulgence which the house always has for young speakers. What I said seemed to hit the point, and was very well received. No precedent was urged afterwards; and the arguments, from the reason of the thing, were certainly the weakest. I have got some small degree of reputation, which I'm afraid it will be extremely difficult for me to maintain; for you will plainly observe by the account I have given you, that it was chiefly owing to circumstances, and a sort of lucky hit —partly perhaps to this, that some value is generally put upon what comes from a quarter whence it is least expected.'

From Mr. Oswald to Mr. Home.

'7th January, 1742.

'Dear Harry,

'Your last letter gives me the strongest testimony of that lively friendship which I shall ever esteem as one of the greatest advantages I ever enjoyed in life. The concern you express for any false step I may fall into, will, I believe, be one of the strongest motives I can possibly have to be upon my guard. Your opinion as to general reflections is certainly just; yet if short, and sparingly used, I observe they meet with very great approbation, even from the youngest speakers; especially if drawn from English history, or if relative to the constitution. These topics are so familiar, and yet so interesting, that they always strike, and are never heard without pleasure. A young man, who shews but a very small knowledge on these subjects, is almost adored. Flowers of rhetoric, especially in style and expression, are a good deal more dangerous; and I could name several, whom their attachment to this sort of speaking has absolutely spoilt; for ornament without matter is of all things I know the most disgusting. And I look upon attempts of this kind as the more foolish, that I am convinced whoever makes it a rule never to speak without a knowledge of his subject, must by degrees acquire as much of rhetoric and ornament as is necessary; and am satisfied, that what leads into the other preposterous method is mere laziness and aversion to business. But whatever may be in this, the surest way of becoming remarkable here is certainly application to business, for whoever understands it must make a figure.'

From Mr. Oswald to Mr. Home.

'4th February, 1742.

—— 'I wrote you last post, that parties were in some measure come to a crisis, and that we were in expectation of a debate upon the supplies, which would probably determine the dispute about power. The affair is now over. Sir Robert, on the night of our division upon the Chippenham election, divested himself of all his employments; and the next day, the king, coming to the House of Peers, signified his pleasure that the two houses should adjourn for a fortnight. The intention of this was to give his majesty time

time to choose his new ministry. You may guess what a scramble there is like to be about places, &c. Perhaps our new ministry may continue honest men even after they get power: but I would not have the safety of my country depend upon a chance; and such a virtuous ministry is, and always must be.'

From Mr. Oswald to Mr. Home.

'6th March, 1742.

——'As to the two different plans of administration, though I am a profest sceptic as to political events, yet, I don't know how, I have become a sort of dogmatist in favour of the broad bottom; it seemed to me to be the only proper plan of settling both the constitution and administration on a solid and formidable foundation; and as to the reverse, I always abhorred it, because I saw it must necessarily have been carried on by a much wider system of corruption than that employed by the last administration. But this you will say, though it might be a good reason enough for not approving it, yet it might not perhaps be quite so good to infer its want of success. Corruption is at all times a powerful engine; but how much more powerful must it prove, when it is to be employed by the ablest; and the scheme for which it is to be employed is, from a strange fatality, to be patronized by the honestest and most disinterested men in the nation? Yet, notwithstanding of these apparent difficulties, I continued firm to my opinion; and the narrow bottom, in my judgment, remained still both a wicked and impracticable plan. You will remember how your friend David Hume and you used to laugh at a most sublime declamation I one night made, after a drunken expedition to Cupar, on the impotency of corruption in certain circumstances; how I maintained, that on certain occasions men felt, or seemed to feel a certain dignity in themselves, which made them disdain to act on sordid motives; and how I imagined it to be extremely possible in such situations, that even the lowest of men might become superior to the highest temptations. What those circumstances, occasions, and situations are, I feel much better than I can express. The cause of this I am not philosopher enough to determine; but the phenomenon is certain; and in some such circumstances or situation the generality of a great assembly were, I think, obviously, lately; and are, in my opinion, in some degree still.'

From Mr. Oswald to Mr. Home.

'Dear Harry,

'Nothing can be more agreeable to me, than either to recommend our friend Hume or his book. In either of these cases, the person who recommends does himself, in my opinion, an honour, as he becomes, in some degree, a sharer of that merit which is in both. But you cannot imagine what a difficult matter it is here at present to fix any man's attention, but for a moment, upon any abstract subject. Such is the general indolence of mind, that one flashy, lively thing, whether in thought or expression, though in the midst of trash, is more greedily swallowed than the most elegant piece of reasoning. However, there are some of the young people about the prince who seem to have a good taste. I go to no court myself; but, as I have an opportunity of seeing some of these gentlemen, I will do what I can to excite their curiosity, and shall afterwards let you know their sentiments. I met yesterday in a book-

seller's shop with three new parts of *Marianne,* which I don't know if you have yet got at Edinburgh. If not, let me know, and I will send you them down. A ninth part came out some time ago, but was spurious. The others, I fancy, are by your friend Marivaux. The pictures I think are entirely in his style, and the reflections both natural and delicate. I will no further anticipate your pleasure in reading them.'

From Mr. Oswald to Mr. Home.

'April, 1742.

——'You write me, that it is said in Scotland I absented myself on the triennial bill. It is true, I did so; for I thought it an extreme doubtful point, so far as from information I could form any judgment. My not having such sufficient information as I could have wished, concurred to confirm me in thinking it most proper not to give any judgment upon it at all. The nation has now had nearly a pretty equal trial of triennial and septennial parliaments. Neither of them can be called more constitutional than the other. Whichsoever, therefore, by experience may be said to answer best the purposes of a representation of the people, ought to be, singly from that consideration, preferred. During triennial parliaments there was not so much corruption, but there was more canvassing in elections, and business was transacted with greater confusion. Controverted elections generally engrossed the first session, and the last was deserted by all who found it necessary to go down to support their interests in the country. The crown had as great influence by places and promises; and that more money was not then employed, ought not perhaps to be ascribed so much to the difference betwixt a triennial and septennial duration, as to this obvious cause, that corruption was not then so general. In a word, it was doubtful, I thought, whether the triennial term would lessen corruption. It was obvious it would increase the expence, and might possibly ruin country gentlemen. A place bill, properly balanced, would have done infinite service. Such a bill would answer all the good purposes proposed by the triennial bill, and be liable to none of its bad consequences. On the other hand, in the abstract, nothing appears more clear, than that a free people ought as often as possible to have the liberty of changing their representatives. But all abstract propositions in politics are to be guarded against, since the good of the state, in its present circumstance, is or ought to be the ultimate object. In short, there was such a variety of circumstances to be taken into that question, which I had not full opportunity of considering, and the question itself was of such importance, that I thought it most consistent with my duty to give no judgment at all; and this I performed in as public a manner as I was capable of, by making a very low bow to the chair, after hearing the debate on both sides.'

"It were to pay an ill compliment to my readers, should I suppose any apology were necessary for the length of the preceding extracts from a correspondence illustrative of a character so truly respectable; and one who, in his public capacity, as a member of the legislature, can never be too strongly recommended as a model of a virtuous and enlightened statesman.

"Mr. Home's acquaintance with his namesake, the celebrated David Hume,

Hume, appears not to have been of a much earlier date than 1737. In the latter part of that year, Mr. Hume went to London to publish his first work, the *Treatise of Human Nature.* In answer to some enquiries relative to the plan of that work, he thus writes to his friend Mr. Home, at Edinburgh:

To Mr. Henry Home, Advocate, Edinburgh.

'London, Dec. 2, 1737.

'Dear Sir,

'I am sorry I am not able to satisfy your curiosity, by giving you some general notion of the plan upon which I proceed. But my opinions are so new, and even some terms I am obliged to make use of, that I could not propose, by any abridgment, to give my system an air of likelihood, or so much as make it intelligible. 'Tis a thing I have in vain attempted already, at a gentleman's request in this place, who thought it would help him to comprehend and judge of my notions, if he saw them all at once before him. I have had a greater desire of communicating to you the plan of the whole, that I believe it will not appear in public before the beginning of next winter; for, besides that it would be difficult to have it printed before the rising of the parliament, I must confess I am not ill pleased with a little delay, that it may appear with as few imperfections as possible. I have been here near three months, always within a week of agreeing with my printers; and you may imagine I did not forget the work itself during that time, where I began to feel some passages weaker for the style and diction than I could have wished. The nearness and greatness of the event roused up my attention, and made me more difficult to please, than when I was alone in perfect tranquillity in France. But here I must tell you one of my foibles. I have a great inclination to go down to Scotland this spring to see my friends, and have your advice concerning my philosophical discoveries, but cannot overcome a certain shamefacedness I have to appear among you at my years, without having yet a settlement, or so much as attempted any. How happens it, that we philosophers cannot as heartily despise the world, as it despises us? I think in my conscience the contempt were as well founded on our side, as on the other.

'Having a frankt letter, I was resolved to make use of it, and accordingly enclose some *Reasonings concerning Miracles,* which I once thought of publishing with the rest, but which I am afraid will give too much offence, even as the world is disposed at present. There is something in the turn of thought, and a good deal in the turn of expression, which will not perhaps appear so proper, for want of knowing the context; but the force of the argument you'll be judge of, as it stands. Tell me your thoughts of it. Is not the style too diffuse? Though, as that was a popular argument, I have spread it out much more than the other parts of the work. I beg of you to shew it to nobody, except to Mr. Hamilton, if he pleases; and let me know at your leisure that you have received it, read it, and burnt it. Your thoughts and mine agree with respect to Dr. Butler, and I would be glad to be introduced to him. I am at present castrating my work; that is, cutting off its nobler parts; that is, endeavouring it shall give as little offence as possible, before which, I could not pretend

to put it into the Doctor's hands. This is a piece of cowardice, for which I blame myself, though I believe none of my friends will blame me. But I was resolved not to be an enthusiast in philosophy, while I was blaming other enthusiasms. If ever I indulge myself in any, 'twill be when I tell that I am, dear Sir, yours,

'DAVID HUME.'

"In compliance with the wish expressed in this letter, Mr. Home gave his friend a letter of introduction to Dr. Butler, whose reputation as a metaphysician was then very high. A correspondence with this eminent man had begun on Mr. Home's part, from an earnest desire to have some doubts removed, that occurred to him when first turning his mind to the consideration of the evidences of natural and revealed religion. Those difficulties, which he justly considered as of the most serious importance, he stated in a letter to Dr. Butler, with whom he had no previous acquaintance, and earnestly entreated that he might be allowed a personal interview, which, notwithstanding the distance that separated them, he was willing at his own cost alone to accomplish. Dr. Butler answered his letter with the utmost politeness, and endeavoured as far as he could, by writing, to satisfy Mr. Home's enquiries, but modestly declined a personal meeting, on the score of his own natural diffidence and reserve, his being unaccustomed to oral controversy, and his fear that the cause of truth might thence suffer from the unskilfulness of its advocate. However to be regretted that these letters have not been preserved (possibly from being lent to some of his philosophical friends), there is reason to believe the correspondence was most satisfactory to Mr. Home, as he retained through life the greatest regard for Dr. Butler, and, though differing from him in some speculative points, entertained the highest respect for his abilities."

CLOSE OF LIFE, DEATH, AND CHARACTER OF LORD KAMES.

[From the Same.]

"LORD KAMES had hitherto enjoyed an uncommon share of good health; and at the very advanced age of eighty-five, was free from any chronical disease, or even from those symptoms of bodily infirmity, which are the usual attendants of the decline of life. His constitution, though never apparently strong, was remarkably sound; and although his manner of living was sociable, and at no time repugnant to moderate indulgences, it had on the whole been temperate. The practice of regular exercise in the open air, and his frequent journeys, had happily counteracted the injury his health must otherwise have sustained from his habits of intense study. His faculties were still remarkably entire; and although a slight failure of memory, and some abatement of that quickness of apprehension for which he was so much distinguished, gave the first intimation of a diminished vigour of mind, he was not only able to continue the discharge of his public duties,

ties, but to relish the society of his friends, and solace himself with his usual literary occupations.

"He continued to enjoy those small and select evening parties, which usually met at his house, during the winter and summer sessions, without invitation; where, from the agreeable intermixture of the guests, literary conversation was happily blended with innocent mirth and pleasantry. At those meetings, it was the envied privilege of a few of his younger friends, to find a place; and the graver conversation of a Smith, a Blair, and a Fergusson, was agreeably tempered and enlivened by the native wit, the splendid abilities, and the engaging manners of a Cullen; or the sprightly fancy, and whimsical eccentricity of a Boswell.

"He attended regularly, even to the last period of his life, the meetings of the Philosophical Society, and took an active share in their proceedings. The plan of the formation of the Royal Society of Edinburgh was at that time in agitation, and he entered warmly into a scheme which promised to promote his favourite objects, the improvement of literature and useful science. But the period was now at hand, which was to close his course of virtue and beneficence.

"In the beginning of the year 1782, when he had now nearly completed his 86th year, he was seized with a disorder of the bowels; a complaint which, from being attended with no pain, gave him for a considerable time very little apprehension. Perceiving, however, after some months, that though perhaps retarded in its progress, the disease had not yielded to medicine or regimen, he began, towards the end of summer, to regard it as likely to terminate fatally, and that even at no distant period. Meanwhile, his family and friends, who saw him in the possession of his usual cheerfulness and vivacity, and still applying with ardour to his accustomed pursuits, took no alarm; and the tender regard which he felt for Mrs. Drummond, prevented him from imparting to her his own apprehensions.

"In the course of this summer, his correspondence was frequent with his much valued friend Dr. Reid, on various topics of philosophy;—a correspondence which, notwithstanding the dissimilarity of character in many respects between these two eminent men, had now subsisted, for a long period of years, with the most perfect cordiality and mutual esteem. On this subject, I am happy to avail myself of a testimony most honourable to both;—a testimony the more valuable, that it is the result, not only of a discriminating judgment, but of an intimate acquaintance and friendship, with both the persons to whom it relates: "With one very distinguished cha-"racter, the late Lord Kames," says Mr. Stewart, "he (Dr. Reid) "lived in the most cordial and affec-"tionate friendship, notwithstand-"ing the avowed opposition of their "sentiments, on some moral ques-"tions, to which he attached the "greatest importance. Both of "them, however, were the friends "of virtue and of mankind; and "both were able to temper the "warmth of free discussion, with "the forbearance and good hu-"mour founded on reciprocal es-"teem. No two men, certainly, "ever exhibited a more striking "contrast in their conversation, or "in their constitutional tempers:— "the one slow and cautious in his "decisions, even on those topics "which he had most diligently "studied; reserved and silent in "promis-

" promiscuous society; and retain-
" ing, after all his literary eminence,
" the same simple and unassuming
" manners which he brought from
" his country residence:—the other,
" lively, rapid, and communicative;
" accustomed by his professional
" pursuits, to wield with address the
" weapons of controversy, and not
" averse to a trial of his powers on
" questions the most foreign to his
" ordinary habits of inquiry. But
" these characteristical differences,
" while to their common friends
" they lent an additional charm to
" the distinguishing merits of each,
" served only to enliven their social
" intercourse, and to cement their
" mutual attachment."

" A family event which took place about this time, gave Lord Kames the most sincere satisfaction. This was the marriage of his only son, Mr. Drummond-Home, to Miss Jardine, daughter of an old and valued friend, the Reverend John Jardine, D. D. one of the ministers of Edinburgh. It was the only circumstance wanting to his domestic felicity, and that of his excellent spouse. It had been long and earnestly wished for by both; and no connexion which their son could form, could be more entirely approved; as they saw in that union the prospect of all the happiness that the talents and virtues of a wife can ensure to her husband.

" During the summer term of 1782, Lord Kames gave the most regular attendance on his official duty in the courts of Session and Justiciary, and at the end of the term, went, as usual, with his family to Blair-Drummond. As his decline was now too visible, Mrs. Drummond became solicitous to prevail with him to excuse himself from attending the autumn circuit; but no intreaty to that purpose was of any avail: " It is very possible," said he to his daughter-in-law, " that this journey may shorten my " life a little space; but what then? " have I not lived long enough?"

" On his return from the circuit, his strength decreased daily, and he was no longer able to take his accustomed walks over his grounds: but the serenity and cheerfulness of his temper remained unabated. He spent a great part of the day in study; and in the evenings took much delight in conversing with his family, and in hearing his daughter-in-law read to him. His bookseller, Mr. Creech, with whom he was in the habit of frequent and familiar correspondence, having informed him that a new edition would soon be wanted of his *Sketches of the History of Man,* he employed himself occasionally in making corrections, not merely of the style, but, in several places, of the thought and argument. On this subject, the following letter to Mrs. Montagu, when we consider the circumstances under which it was written, (within a very weeks of his death), is a wonderful specimen of intellectual power:

' *BlairDrummond,*
Oct. 29, 1782.

' My good, my cordial friend,

' Decay is stamped upon whatever passes in this world. Even sacred friendship has this fatal tendency to dissolution, and to preserve it for any length of time in vigour, requires good offices, or at least a frequent commnnication of sentiments. The latter only is in my power; and as there are few things I value above your friendship, I am resolved that you shall not forget me; a little mental sustenance from time to time will prevent decay.

' In reviewing the *Sketches of the History*

History of Man, to prepare for a new edition, I have discovered a capital omission, which I purpose to supply, at p. 208. vol. iv. As of late years, I find a decay of memory with regard to things recent, I am not quite certain, whether I may not have sent you a copy of my intended addition some little time ago. If I have, it is but throwing this letter into the fire. The addition is as follows:

'Some philosophers there are, not indeed so hardened in scepticism, as to deny the existence of a Deity. They acknowledge a self-existent Being; and seem willing to bestow on that Being, power, wisdom, and every other perfection. But then they maintain, that the world, or matter at least, must also be self-existent. Their argument is, that *ex nihilo nihil fit*; that it is inconsistent to hold, that any thing can be made out of nothing, out of a nonentity. To consider nothing, or a *nonens*, as a material or substance out of which things can be formed, like a statue out of stone, or a sword out of iron, is, I acknowledge, a gross absurdity. But I perceive no absurdity or inconsistence in supposing that matter itself was brought into existence by Almighty Power; and the popular expression, that God made the world out of nothing, has no other meaning, than that He made the materials, as well as the objects themselves. It is true, that in the operations of men, nothing can be produced, but from antecedent materials; and so accustomed are we to such operations, as not readily to conceive how a thing can be brought into existence without antecedent materials, or, as it is commonly expressed, made out of nothing. But will any man in sober sense venture to set bounds to Almighty Power, where he cannot point out a clear inconsistence? It is indeed difficult to conceive a thing so remote from common apprehension; but is there less difficulty in conceiving matter to exist without a cause, and to be entitled to the awful appellation of *Self-existent*, like the Lord of the Universe, to whom a more exalted appellation cannot be given? Now, if it be within the utmost verge of possibility for matter to have been created, I conclude, with the highest probability on my side, that it owes its existence to Almighty Power. Difficulties about the creation of matter, testify our ignorance; but to argue from our ignorance of the mode of being of any thing, that it cannot be, has always been held very weak reasoning. Our faculties are adapted to our present state, and perform their office in perfection: but to complain that they do not reach the origin of things, is no less absurd, than to complain that we cannot ascend to the moon, in order to be acquainted with its inhabitants.

'At the same time, it is a comfortable reflection, that the question, whether matter was created, or no, is a pure, inconsequential speculation, and that either side may be adopted without impiety. To me, it appears more simple, and more natural, to hold it to be a work of creation, than to be self-existent, and consequently independent of the Almighty, either to create, or to annihilate. I cheerfully make the former an article in my creed; but without anathematizing those who adopt the latter. I would, however, have it understood, that I limit my concession to matter in its rude and chaotic state: I cannot possibly go so far as to comprehend the world or universe in its orderly or systematic form. That immense machine, composed of parts without number,

number, so artfully combined as to fulfil an infinite variety of useful ends and purposes, must be the work of an Artist, the production of a Great Being, omniscient as well as omnipotent. To assign blind fatality as the cause, is an insufferable absurdity.

'You have heard, my dear Madam, of the recent event in my family. I never gave my son but one counsel, as to the choice of a wife, which was, to make personal merit his object, without regard to external circumstances. He has followed my advice; and never was a couple united upon more rational motives; for the choice followed upon a long acquaintance, at the commencement of which, neither of them had, or could have, any prospect of being united.

'I ever am, yours, &c.

'HENRY HOME.'

'P. S. If there should be any thing fitted to give offence in the passage quoted above, of which I am not sensible, I beg to be informed of it: and for this reason, request you would shew it to some of the Bishops of your acquaintance, by whose opinion I shall be regulated.'

"Sensible of his rapid decline, his family now became extremely anxious for his removal to Edinburgh; in the faint hope, that some benefit might arise from the excellent medical advice of which he would there have the advantage: and although he had not himself the smallest hope of that kind, he willingly acquiesced in the proposal, from motives of a different nature. Besides gratifying the earnest wishes of Mrs. Drummond, as the winter session was now near at hand, he pleased himself with the thought, that he might be able to continue, to the last hours of his life, in the exercise of his duty.

"For the following interesting particulars, I am indebted to the information of his daughter-in-law, to whom alone they were known; and I am anxious to give them, as nearly as I can, in her own words. A very few days before his departure from Blair-Drummond, in a short walk which he took with her in the garden, he desired her to sit down by him on one of the benches; saying he felt himself much fatigued; and adding, that he was sensible he was now growing weaker every day. On her expressing a hope, that, on going to town, his friend Dr. Cullen, who knew his constitution, might be able to give him some advice that would be of service to him; and that she flattered herself, his disease had been rather less troublesome to him for some time past; "My dear child," said he, looking in her face with an earnest and animated expression, "Don't talk of my disease: I have no disease but old age. I know that Mrs. Drummond and my son are of a different opinion; but why should I distress them sooner than is necessary. I know well, that no physician on earth can do me the smallest service: for I feel that I am dying; and I thank God that my mind is prepared for that event. I leave this world in peace and goodwill to all mankind.—You know the dread I have had of outliving my faculties; of that I trust there is now no great probability, as my body decays so fast.—My life has been a long one; and prosperous, on the whole, beyond my deserts: but I would fain indulge the hope, that it has not been useless to my fellow-creatures. My last wish regarded my son and you, my dear child; and I have lived to see it accomplished: I am now ready to obey my Maker's summons."—He

then

then poured forth a short but solemn and impressive prayer. On leaving the garden, he said, "This is my last farewell to this place: I think I shall never see it more. I go to town chiefly to satisfy Mrs. Drummond,—otherwise I could willingly have remained here. But go where I will, I am in the hands of Almighty God."

"He left Blair-Drummond in the beginning of November; and the Court of Session meeting soon after, for the winter, he went thither on the first day of the term, and took his seat with the rest of the Judges. He continued for some little time to attend the meetings of the court, and to take his share in its usual business, but soon became sensible that his strength was not equal to the effort. On the last day of his attendance, he took a separate and affectionate farewell of each of his brethren. He survived that period only about eight days. He died on the 27th of December 1782, in the 87th year of his age. A letter which he wrote within a few days of his death to Lord Gardenstone, as a member of the Board of Trustees for Arts and Manufactures; and a personal application which he made within the same period, to his friend Mr. Arbuthnot, the Secretary of the same Board, in behalf of a very deserving man, who had fallen into indigence, bear testimony, that his mind was occupied, even in its last moments, with matters of public concern, and of private beneficence.

"Lord Kames was in his person extremely tall, and of a thin and slender make. In his latter years, he had a considerable stoop in his gait; but when in the vigour of life, and particularly when in his dress of a barrister, his appearance is said to have been uncommonly becoming. His countenance, though not handsome, was animated and intelligent, and was strongly marked by that benignity of disposition which was a prominent feature of his mind. In ordinary discourse, his accent and pronunciation were like those of the better educated of his countrymen of the last age. The tone was not displeasing from its vulgarity; and though the idiom, and frequently the phrases, were peculiar to the Scottish dialect, his language was universally intelligible.

"As in the course of the preceding pages, I have not willingly omitted any circumstance that I thought truly descriptive of this eminent man, either in an intellectual or moral point of view, where it could with propriety be introduced; and have taken notice of the more distinguished peculiarities of his manners, temper, and habits of life, it is unnecessary to add to the length of these memoirs, by any formal delineation of his character. A few circumstances, however, yet remain to be mentioned, which have either been too slightly touched, or which could not so easily find a place in the chain of the narrative.

"A strong feature of Lord Kames's disposition, was an artless simplicity and ingenuity, which led him at all times to express without reserve both his feelings and his opinions. This propensity gave frequently an appearance of bluntness of manner, which was apt to impress a stranger unfavourably, as erring against those lesser proprieties of behaviour, so necessary in the commerce of the world. But this impression was momentary; the same frankness of nature displayed at once both the defect and its cause: it laid open the integrity of his character, and that perfect candour which, judging always most favourably of others, was unconscious of harbouring a thought

thought which required concealment or disguise.

"He had likewise a certain humorous playfulness, which, to those who knew him intimately, detracted nothing from the feeling of respect due to his eminent talents and virtues. To such, it was the *discinctus ludus, et animi remissio* of a Scipio or a Lælius, the pleasing relaxation of a great mind from the intense severity of its usual employments. To those to whom he was less known, and to strangers, it might indeed convey the idea of a lightness, derogating from that dignity which one so naturally associates with an eminent character. But this first impression, as in the former instance, was of no continuance. It was dispelled at once by that vigour of intellect which his conversation never failed to display; and the same peculiarity which at first was blamed, became now both amusing and ingratiating, as it made every one feel perfectly at ease in his company.

"The playfulness of manner to which I have alluded, may have arisen in a great part from the delight which he always took in the company and conversation of young persons of either sex. A few of these, who were more particularly his favourites, mingled in all his domestic parties. His spouse, whose habits and affections were in every thing assimilated to his own, enjoyed equally the society of her younger female friend; and generally had some amiable and accomplished young person of her own sex who lived with her and made a part of the family; especially in the country; where the evenings were enlivened by cheerful conversation, the perusal of some amusing works of fancy, or music, in which Lord Kames took particular pleasure. In the gaiety of spirits attending ingenuous youth, and in the openness of character which accompanies that happy period of life, it must be a hard and rugged nature that does not feel a temporary sympathy; and a frequent repetition of any indulgence or affection will impress a permanent tone of mind.

"He had a high esteem and respect for the female sex; regarding Woman in her true, and most dignified light, as the kindest partner of man's social affections, the solace of his cares and anxieties, the cordial friend in whom he never finds a rival. It was most natural, that the excellent qualities of his own partner should contribute much to this favourable opinion; which doubtless was still increased by the intimate acquaintance and sincere friendships it was his lot to form, with some of the worthiest and most accomplished women of the last and present age.

"His manner in conversation was extremely animated; and he was ready to engage with interest in almost every topic that occurred, whether of ordinary life, literature, or science. Yet, though thus naturally communicative, he was not loquacious; nor was he ever apt, like some men of science, to harangue or lecture to his audience. Conversation was with him a free interchange of sentiments; and he was equally pleased to draw forth and listen to those of others, as to express his own. Though fond of an argument, he never betrayed the smallest heat of temper; but delivered his opinions with so much good humour and vivacity, as always to amuse and please, even where he failed to convince his antagonist.

"There was indeed one subject of conversation, and that too one of the most frequent in mixed companies, in which he was never disposed willingly

lingly to engage. For the discussion of those topics of a political nature, which make so great a part of the ordinary discourse in such companies, he had a strong dislike. Allowing its due importance to that valuable privilege of British subjects, to exercise a free judgment on the conduct of their rulers, and openly to declare that judgment, when it is the result of a candid and enlightened inquiry; he regarded it as the height of folly and self-conceit in those persons of ordinary capacity and limited information, who have no other knowledge of public affairs than is supplied by the newspapers, or the talk of the coffee-house, to vent their crude opinions on matters of state, or to decide on the conduct of ministers, and the counsels and measures of government. He saw likewise, that the canvassing of topics of that sort in mixed society, has generally the effect of kindling the passions, and rousing those animosities which embitter social intercourse, and keep up the spirit of faction. He therefore at no time introduced such subjects of discourse; and when the conversation chanced to take that turn, which rarely happened among those who knew his dislike to them, he either took no part in it, or endeavoured to divert it by some timely pleasantry, or guide it with address into a different channel. There is perhaps another reason, why that sort of discourse was peculiarly distasteful to him. He was naturally of a sanguine disposition, and had nothing in his temperament of that gloomy forecast, and dispiriting anticipation of public evil, from any temporary misfortune or misconduct, which furnishes the usual topic of such conversation. It was his happy turn of mind, to look to the bright side of every future prospect; and with the favourable opinion he possessed of human nature, and yet more, the trust he reposed in an overruling Providence, he was not disposed to see, in any change of circumstances, however unpromising, a just cause for that despondency, which in itself is one of the worst of evils.

"He had a strong sense of that perfect rectitude of mind which is expected in the character of a Judge; and thought it a derogation to suppose it possible, that any person deemed worthy to hold that office, should allow his interest or his passions in any case to sway or to pervert his judgment. So powerful indeed was this feeling, that he seemed to regard it in some measure as a personal injury, when the integrity of a chief magistrate was on any occasion brought into question, or his character made the subject of censure. Thus, he felt strongly the indignity offered to the judicial character, by the publication of certain letters addressed to a chief justice of England, in which that great judge, whose probity and uprightness of mind were as conspicuous as his high abilities, was held forth to the public as prostituting his talents, and perverting justice, to serve the purposes of private malevolence and personal prejudice. So likewise he felt with regard to the *Letters of Junius*, which, allowing for the display of talents, and for every ornament they possess of style and composition, he deemed a flagrant transgression of decorum, and a disgusting picture of the rancour of party-spirit. It was indeed difficult for him at any time, to separate the idea of personal satire from a malignity of nature, under whatever form it appeared.

"It was in such instances as I have mentioned, that he frequently expressed a doubt of the beneficial effects

effects of a liberty of the press, although so unlimited as what is generally understood to prevail in this country. The free publication of certain speculative opinions in politics and theology, is allowed to be attended with dangerous consequences; yet the press furnishes, at the same time, the means of exposing and refuting those opinions; and truth and good sense will ultimately prevail over folly and error. But the calumnies of which an individual is the object, admit frequently of no remedy: fortune and fame may be lost beyond recovery; or the unhappy victim perish at once, the martyr of "a wounded spirit."

"In reflecting on the whole tenor of this long and active life, and particularly on the wonderful industry displayed in the composition of those numerous works which Lord Kames has left to posterity, while a great portion of his time was necessarily engrossed by his public duties, we cannot avoid the belief, that he felt in a very strong degree the love of reputation, and that this was indeed a ruling principle of his nature. But what is the love of reputation, but the desire to acquire the esteem of others; which cannot be purchased, unless by the possession of those qualities, and the performance of those actions that deserve esteem? He acknowledged, therefore, with pride, his sensibility to that generous passion; and attending to its universal influence on all but the most degraded of the species, he justly accounted it an useful and beautiful part of the moral structure of man; and one of the many instances in which the selfish and social principles of his nature, are happily conciliated and united.

"Of the principal doctrines of Lord Kames's philosophy, I have occasionally taken notice, in the short accounts I have endeavoured to give of those works of his, in which they are contained. A summary of them may be found in the *Recapitulation* at the end of his *Essays on the Principles of Morality and Natural Religion*, and in the excellent *Prayer* which concludes that work.

"On a comprehensive view of his speculative opinions, they will be found to bear, in many points, a strong affinity to the more rational doctrines of the Stoical School, both as they relate to the system of the universe, the moral conduct of man, and the pursuit of the highest happiness of his nature. Believing the universe to be the work of an allwise and supremely beneficent Being, whose providence continues to superintend and regulate every part of that complicated machine, he regarded the whole system to be so contrived, as both by its physical and moral laws, to produce the greatest possible sum of general good. Man he considered as an instrument in the hand of God, to accomplish that great purpose; fitted by the active principles of his nature to contribute powerfully to that end; and having his moral frame so admirably constituted, as to find his own chief happiness, while he most effectually promotes the welfare and happiness of his fellow-creatures.

"In the free consent of man to fulfil this end of his being, by accommodating his mind to the divine will, and thus endeavouring to discharge his part in society, with cheerful zeal, with perfect integrity, with manly resolution, and with an entire resignation to the decrees of Providence, lies the sum and essence of his duty.

"But in one respect he differed essentially from the Stoical maxims, at least from the more severe and rigid philosophy of Epictetus, that, regarding

regarding every passion of the human frame as a necessary and useful part of our constitution, it was, as he conceived, the duty of the philosopher and moralist, not to subdue and extinguish, but to moderate and temper those affections and emotions, which, under just regulation, are the springs of individual felicity, and of the welfare of society.

"It was his firm persuasion, that as the happiness of man, and the right discharge of his duties are, by the order of nature, inseparable, it is most essential that he should form a proper estimate of the extent of those duties: and here, too, his opinions deviated considerably from the doctrines of the Stoical school. As the Stoics carried their notions of the duty of active benevolence so far as to embrace in its wide circle the whole of the human race; as being all equally the creatures and the care of Providence, whose instruments we are, for the general good; it was Lord Kames's idea, that an affection so unbounded is unsuitable to the limited capacity and imperfect nature of man. As man is not capable, from the small extent of his powers, to promote the general happiness of the human race, so his natural affections do not prompt him to endeavour the accomplishment of an unattainable object. These affections, instead of being increased, are weakened by division; and universal benevolence, by extending to a boundless multiplicity of objects, would so divide and parcel out the attention and affection of the individual, as to leave him utterly at a loss where the active exercise of his duty should begin. The wiser economy of nature leave no such disproportion between man's abilities and his affections. The superior love which he bears to his relations and friends, clearly indicates them as the first objects of the social duties; a share of his affection remains for the worthiest of his neighbuurs and acquaintance; but the attraction is diminished, as its sphere extends, till it becomes at length insensible. But here, according to Lord Kames's notion, there occurs a beautiful contrivance of Nature to supply the want of benevolence to distant objects. The abstract ideas of country, religion, government, nay human nature or mankind itself, have a power of exciting our benevolence, when nearer and stronger claims exist not to supplant it. "The particular objects under each of these classes, considered singly and apart, may have little or no force to produce affection; but when comprehended under one general view, they become an object that dilates and warms the heart." It is in this sense only, according to his notion, that man is endowed with a principle of universal benevolence.

"But within that smaller sphere of the affections, which is circumscribed by the ties of kindred, friends, acquaintance, and fellow-citizens, how ample, how rich a field for that active virtue in which consists the supreme happiness of man; how noble a triumph in regulating his own desires, correcting his errors, and subduing those evil passions, which are the worst enemies of his peace: How glorious a reward in the animating thought, that in this transitory state, he has been a minister of good to his fellow-creatures, and that even a distant posterity may acknowledge him its benefactor!

"On these worthy principles was formed the life of that eminent man, of whom I have endeavoured to present a picture in these Memoirs. And however faint and imperfect that

that delineation may be; as I am conscious of having, to the utmost of my power, endeavoured to give it the characters of truth and fidelity, I am not without the pleasing hope, that with these fair intentions, the utility of the purpose may plead in excuse for the errors and defects of its execution.—A biographical account of a man of letters is necessarily, in a great measure, the history of his writings: But as a natural curiosity thence arises for every thing that personally regards an eminent character, a separate department is opened to the biographer, in the details of his public and private life; his manners, his habits, and his occupations. Nor are these without their use; for they realize and embody the image in the mind, and give form and features to that picture, which would otherwise be too vague and abstract to be distinctly figured by the imagination. If to both of these sources of rational interest, another should yet be added, and the labours and the life of an individual should be found to extend their influence in a most sensible degree to his age and country, the subject they present becomes altogether one of the most useful and engaging that are to be found in the varied fields of literature. But in proportion to the magnitude, is the difficulty of treating such a subject; and how justly may he who has rashly adventured on this srduous task, dread the sterm reproof,

> "Tecum habita, et nôris quám sit tibi curta suppellex!"

Final Victory and Death of Lord Nelson.

(From Dr. Beatty's Authentic Narrative.)

"LORD NELSON sailed from St. Helen's in the Victory, with the Euryalus frigate, on the morning of the 15th of September 1805, to take the command of the British fleet cruising before Cadiz. On the 18th he appeared off Plymouth; where he was joined by his Majesty's ships Thunderer and Ajax, with which he proceeded for his destined station. On the 20th he communicated by private signal with the squadron under the command of Rear-admiral Stirling, which passed within a few miles of the Victory; and the same day at noon, spoke his majesty's ship Le Decade, having on board rear-admiral Sir Richard Bickerton, who was on his return to England for the recovery of his health.

"Some bad weather and adverse winds were experienced by the Victory in crossing the Bay of Biscay, and on the 27th Cape St. Vincent was seen. Lord Nelson had dispatched the Euryalus ahead on the preceding day, to acquaint admiral Collingwood with his approach; and to direct, that no salute should take place, nor any public compliments be paid to his flag, on his assuming the command, as he wished the enemy to be kept ignorant of a reinforcement being received by the British fleet. In the evening of the 28th, the Victory joined the fleet, now consisting of twenty-seven ships of the line, including the Victory, Ajax, and Thunderer; the city of Cadiz was seen distant about fifteen miles, with the combined fleets at anchor;

anchor; and admiral Louis, with five or six ships under his command, close in shore, watching the motions of the enemy.

"On the 29th, prompt and decisive measures were adopted to prevent the enemy from receiving any supplies of provisions by sea, which his lordship was informed they were very much distressed for: cruisers were stationed off the Capes St. Vincent, St. Mary's, and Trafalgar; and the frigates Euryalus and Hydra were ordered to keep off the entrance of Cadiz. His lordship now retired with the fleet to the vicinity of Cape St. Mary's, about fifty or sixty miles westward of Cadiz; keeping up a constant communication with the frigates in shore, by means of three or four ships of the line placed at convenient intervals for distinguishing the signals of each other. This distance from the enemy's port was preserved by his lordship, to prevent them from being speedily acquainted with the force of the fleet under his command; and that he might avoid the necessity of bearing up in bad weather, and running with the fleet through the straits of Gibraltar when the westerly gales prevailed: as the inconvenience of being forced into the Mediterranean, had been felt by the former commanders-in-chief; and would now have afforded a favourable opportunity to the enemy of effecting their escape from Cadiz, or at all events have rendered their obtaining supplies less difficult.

"On the 1st of October admiral Louis joined the fleet, with a part of his squadron (the Canopus, Spencer, and Tigre), from before Cadiz; and departed the next day with those ships, the Queen and the Zealous, for Gibraltar, to procure a supply of provisions, stores, and water, which they were much in want of. On the 4th he rejoined with his squadron; having received intelligence from the Euryalus by telegraph, that the French ships in Cadiz were embarking their troops, and preparing to sail. Lord Nelson, however, conceived this to be merely intended as a stratagem to draw him nearer to Cadiz, for the purpose of obtaining a knowledge of his force; and therefore directed admiral Louis to proceed in the execution of the orders before delivered to him.

"Between the 7th and the 13th his lordship was reinforced by the Royal Sovereign, Bellisle, Defiance, Agamemnon, and Africa, from England, and the Leviathan from Gibraltar. The Agamemnon, sir Edward Berry, joined on the 13th: with intelligence that she had been chased on the coast of Portugal a few days before by an enemy's squadron, consisting of six sail of the line.

"On the 13th in the evening, sir Robert Calder, in his majesty's ship the Prince of Wales, parted company with the fleet, on his return to England. His departure lord Nelson had some days before evinced an anxious wish to procrastinate, and was heard that very day to declare his firm belief that the combined fleets would be at sea in the course of ten days or a fortnight.

"On the 18th the Donegal, captain Malcolm, left the fleet for Gibraltar. On the 19th his majesty's ships the Colossus, Mars, Defence, and Agamemnon, formed the cordon of communication with the frigates in shore: the fleet was lying to. About half past nine in the morning, the Mars, being one of the ships nearest the fleet, repeated the signal from the ships further in shore, that "the enemy were coming out of port." Lord Nelson immediately ordered the general signal

to be made, with two guns, for a chace in the south-east quarter. The wind was now very light, and the breezes partial, mostly from the south-south-west. The fleet made all possible sail: and about two o'clock the Colossus and Mars repeated signals from the ships in shore, communicating the welcome intelligence of "the enemy being at sea." This cheered the minds of all on board, with the prospect of realizing those hopes of meeting the enemy which had been so long and so sanguinely entertained. It was well known to his lordship, that all the enemy's ships had the iron hoops on their masts painted black; whereas the British ships, with the exception of the Bellisle and Polyphemus, had theirs painted yellow: and as he considered that this would serve for a very good mark of distinction in the heat of battle, he made known this circumstance to the fleet, and ordered the Bellisle and Polyphemus to paint their hoops yellow; but the evening being far advanced when the signal was made to them for this purpose, his lordship, fearing that it might not be distinctly understood, sent the Entreprenante cutter to them to communicate the order.

"During the night the fleet continued steering to the south-east under all sail, in expectation of seeing the enemy; and at day-break on the 20th found itself in the entrance of the straits of Gibraltar, but nothing of the enemy to be discovered. The fleet now wore, and made sail to the north-west; and at seven in the morning, the Phœbe was seen making signals for "the enemy bearing north." At eight o'clock the Victory hove to; and admiral Collingwood, with the captains of the Mars, Colossus, and Defence, came on board, to receive instructions from his lordship: at eleven minutes past nine they returned to their respective ships, and the fleet made sail again to the northward.

"In the afternoon the wind increased, and blew fresh from the south-west; which excited much apprehension on board the Victory, lest the enemy might be forced to return to port. The look-out ships, however, made several signals for seeing them, and to report their force and bearings. His lordship was at this time on the poop; and turning round, and observing a group of midshipmen assembled together, he said to them with a smile, "This day or to-morrow will be a fortunate one for you, young men," alluding to their being promoted in the event of a victory.

"A little before sun-set the Euryalus communicated intelligence by telegraph, that "the enemy appeared determined to go to the westward." His lordship upon this, ordered it to be signified to captain Blackwood (of that ship) by signal, that "he depended on the Euryalus for keeping sight of the enemy during the night." The night signals were so clearly and distinctly arranged by his lordship, and so well understood by the respective captains, that the enemy's motions continued to be made known to him with the greatest facility throughout the night: a certain number of guns, with false fires and blue lights, announced their altering their course, wearing, and making or shortening sail; and signals communicating such changes were repeated by the look-out ships, from the Euryalus to the Victory.

"The enemy wore twice during the night: which evolution was considered by his lordship as shewing an intention, on their part, of keeping the port of Cadiz open; and made him apprehend that on seeing

seeing the British fleet, they would effect their retreat thither before he could bring them to a general action. He was therefore very careful not to approach their fleet near enough to be seen by them before morning.

"The British fleet wore, about two o'clock in the morning; and stood on the larboard tack with their heads to the northward, carrying their topsails and foresails, and anxiously expecting the dawn of day. When that period arrived, the combined fleets were distinctly seen from the Victory's deck, formed in a close line of battle ahead on the starboard tack, standing to the south, and about twelve miles to leeward. They consisted of thirty-three ships of the line; four of which were three-deckers, and one of seventy guns: the strength of the British fleet was twenty-seven ships of the line; seven of which were three-deckers, and three of sixty-four guns. Lord Nelson had, on the 10th, issued written instructions to the admirals and captains of the fleet individually, pointing out his intended mode of attack in the event of meeting the enemy; and now, previously to appearing himself on deck, he directed captain Hardy to make the necessary signals for the order and disposition of the fleet accordingly.

"His lordship came upon deck soon after day-light: he was dressed as usual in his admiral's frock-coat, bearing on the left breast four stars of different orders, which he always wore with his common apparel. He displayed excellent spirits, and expressed his pleasure at the prospect of giving a fatal blow to the naval power of France and Spain; and spoke with confidence of obtaining a signal victory, notwithstanding the inferiority of the British fleet, declaring to captain Hardy that "he would not be contented with capturing less than twenty sail of the line." He afterwards pleasantly observed that "the 21st of October was the happiest day in the year among his family," but did not assign the reason of this. His lordship had previously entertained a strong presentiment that this would prove the auspicious day; and had several times said to captain Hardy and Dr. Scott (chaplain of the ship, and foreign secretary to the commander in chief, whose intimate friendship he enjoyed,) "the 21st of October will be our day."

"The wind was now from the west; but the breezes were very light, with a long heavy swell running. The signal being made for bearing down upon the enemy in two lines, the British fleet set all possible sail. The lee line, consisting of thirteen ships, was led by admiral Collingwood in the Royal Sovereign; and the weather line, composed of fourteen ships, by the commander-in-chief in the Victory. His lordship had ascended the poop, to have a better view of both lines of the British fleet; and while there, gave particular directions for taking down from his cabin the different fixtures, and for being very careful in removing the portrait of lady Hamilton: "Take care of my guardian angel," said he, addressing himself to the persons to be employed in this business. Immediately after this he quitted the poop, and retired to his cabin for a few minutes: where he committed to paper the following short but devout and fervent ejaculation, which must be universally admired as truly characteristic of the christian hero, and the codicil to his will, which follows it:

"May the great God whom I "worship, grant to my country,

" and for the benefit of Europe in " general, a great and glorious victory ; and may no misconduct in " any one tarnish it, and may humanity after victory be the predominant feature in the British fleet! " For myself individually, I commit " my life to Him that made me ; " and may His blessing alight on " my endeavours for serving my " country faithfully ! To Him I re- " sign myself, and the just cause " which is entrusted to me to de- " fend. Amen, Amen, Amen."

" *October* 21*st*, 1805. *Then in sight of the Combined Fleets of France and Spain, distant about ten miles.*

" Whereas the eminent services of " Emma Hamilton, widow of the " right hon. sir William Hamilton, " have been of the very greatest ser- " vice to my king and country, to " my knowledge, without ever re- " ceiving any reward from either " our king or country :

" First, that she obtained the " king of Spain's letter, in 1796, to " his brother the king of Naples, " acquainting him of his intention " to declare war against England ; " from which letter the ministry " sent out orders to the then sir " John Jervis, to strike a stroke if " opportunity offered, against either " the arsenals of Spain or her fleets : " that neither of these was done, is " not the fault of lady Hamilton ; " the opportunity might have been " offered :

" Secondly : the British fleet un- " der my command could never " have returned the second time to " Egypt, had not lady Hamilton's " influence with the queen of Na- " ples caused letters to be wrote to " the governor of Syracuse, that he " was to encourage the fleets being " supplied with every thing, should " they put into any port in Sicily. " We put into Syracuse, and re- " ceived every supply; went to " Egypt, and destroyed the French " fleet :

" Could I have rewarded these " services, I would not now call " upon my country ; but as that has " not been in my power, I leave " Emma lady Hamilton therefore a " legacy to my king and country, that " they will give her an ample pro- " vision to maintain her rank in " life.

" I also leave to the beneficence " of my country my adopted daugh- " ter, Horatio Nelson Thompson ; " and I desire she will use in future " the name of Nelson only.

" These are the only favours I ask " of my king and country, at this " moment when I am going to fight " their battle. May God bless my " king and country, and all those I " hold dear ! My relations it is need- " less to mention : they will of " course be amply provided for.

" Nelson and Bronte.

" Witness, Henry Blackwood,
T. M. Hardy."

The prayer and codicil were both written with his lordship's own hand, within three hours before the commencement of the engagement.

As the Victory drew near to the enemy, his lordship, accompanied by captain Hardy, and the captains of the four frigates (Euryalus, Naiad, Sirius, and Phœbe) who had been called on board by signal to receive instructions, visited the different decks of the ship. He addressed the crew at their several quarters, admonishing them against firing a single shot without being sure of their object; and expressed himself to the officers highly satisfied with the arrangements made at their respective stations.

It was now plainly perceived by all on board the Victory, that from the very compact line which the enemy had formed, they were determined to make one great effort to recover in some measure their long lost naval reputation. They wore in succession about twenty minutes past seven o'clock; and stood on the larboard tack, with their heads toward Cadiz. They kept a good deal of sail set; steering about two points from the wind, with top-sails shivering. Their van was particularly closed, having the Santissima Trinidada and the Bucentaur the ninth and tenth ships, the latter the flag-ship of admiral Villeneuve: but as the admirals of the combined fleets declined shewing their flags till the heat of the battle was over, the former of these ships was only distinguished from the rest by her having four decks; and lord Nelson ordered the Victory to be steered for her bow.

"Several officers of the ship now communicated to each other their sentiments of anxiety for his lordship's personal safety, to which every other consideration seemed to give way. Indeed all were confident of gaining a glorious victory, but the apprehensions for his lordship were great and general; and the surgeon made known to Doctor Scott his fears that his lordship would be made the object of the enemy's marksmen, and his desire that he might be entreated by somebody to cover the stars on his coat with a handkerchief. Doctor Scott and Mr. Scott (public secretary) both observed, however, that such a request would have no effect, as they knew his lordship's sentiments on the subject so well, that they were sure he would be highly displeased with whoever should take the liberty of recommending any change in his dress on this account: and when the surgeon declared to Mr. Scott that he would avail himself of the opportunity of making his sick-report for the day, to submit his sentiments to the admiral, Mr. Scott replied, "take care, doctor, what you are about; I would not be the man to mention such a matter to him." The surgeon notwithstanding persisted in his design, and remained on deck to find a proper opportunity for addressing his lordship; but this never occurred, as his lordship continued occupied with the captains of the frigates (to whom he was explaining his intentions respecting the services they were to perform during the battle) till a short time before the enemy opened their fire on the Royal Sovereign, when lord Nelson ordered all persons not stationed on the quarter-deck or poop to repair to their proper quarters; and the surgeon, much concerned at this disappointment, retired from the deck with several other officers.

"The boats on the quarters of the ship being found in the way of the guns, were now lowered down, and towed astern. Captain Blackwood, of the Euryalus, remained on board the Victory till a few minutes before the enemy began to fire upon her. He represented to his lordship, that his flag-ship would be singled out and much pressed by the enemy; and suggested the propriety therefore of permitting one or two ships of his line to go ahead of the Victory, and lead her into action, which might be the means of drawing in some measure the enemy's attention from her. To this lord Nelson assented, and at half past nine o'clock he ordered the Temeraire and Leviathan by signal (the former of which ships, being close to the Victory, was hailed by his lordship) to go ahead for that pur-

pose; but from the light breeze that prevailed they were unable, notwithstanding their utmost efforts, to attain their intended stations. Captain Blackwood foresaw that this would be the case; and as the Victory still continued to carry all her sail, he wished captain Hardy to acquaint his lordship, that unless her sail was in some degree shortened, the two ships just mentioned could not succeed in getting ahead previously to the enemy's line being forced; this however, captain Hardy declined doing, as he conceived his lordship's ardour to get into battle would on no account suffer such a measure.

"About half an hour before the enemy opened their fire, the memorable telegraphic signal was made, that "England expects every man will do his duty," which was spread and received throughout the fleet with enthusiasm. It is impossible adequately to describe by any language the lively emotions excited in the crew of the Victory when this propitious communication was made known to them: confidence and resolution were strongly pourtrayed in the countenance of all; and the sentiment generally expressed to each other was, that they would prove to their country that day, how well British seamen could "do their duty" when led to battle by their revered admiral. The signal was afterwards made to "prepare to anchor after the close of the day;" and union-jacks were hoisted at the fore-top-mast and top-gallant stays of each ship, to serve as a distinction from the enemy's, in conformity with orders previously issued by the commander-in-chief. By his lordship's directions also, the different divisions of the fleet hoisted the St. George's or white ensign, being the colours of the commander-in-chief: this was done to prevent confusion from occurring during the battle, through a variety of national flags.

"The Royal Sovereign now made the signal by telegraph, that "the enemy's commander-in-chief was in a frigate." This mistake arose from one of their frigates making many signals. Lord Nelson ordered his line to be steered about two points more to the northward than that of the second in command, for the purpose of cutting off the retreat of the enemy's van to the port of Cadiz; which was the reason of the three leading ships of admiral Collingwood's line being engaged with the enemy previously to those of the commander-in-chief's line.

"The enemy began to fire on the Royal Sovereign at thirty minutes past eleven o'clock: in ten minutes after which she got under the stern of the St. Anna, and commenced a fire on her. Lieutenant Pasco, signal officer of the Victory, was heard to say, while looking through his glass,, "there is a top-gallant-yard gone." His lordship eagerly asked, "whose top-gallant-yard is that gone? Is it the Royal Sovereign's?" and on being answered by Lieutenant Pasco in the negative, and that it was the enemy's, he smiled, and said: "Collingwood is doing well."

"At fifty minutes past eleven the enemy opened their fire on the commander-in-chief. They shewed great coolness in the commencement of the battle; for as the Victory approached their line, their ships lying immediately ahead of her and across her bows, fired only one gun at a time, to ascertain whether she was yet within their range. This was frequently repeated by eight or nine of their ships, till at length a shot passed through the Victory's main-

main-top-gallant sail; the hole in which being discovered by the enemy, they immediately opened their broadsides, supporting an awful and tremendous fire. In a very short time afterwards, Mr. Scott, public secretary to the commander-in-chief, was killed by a cannon-shot while in conversation with captain Hardy. Lord Nelson being then near them, captain Adair of the marines, with the assistance of a seaman, endeavoured to remove the body from his lordship's sight; but he had already observed the fall of his secretary; and now said with anxiety, "is that poor Scott that is gone?" and on being answered in the affirmative by captain Adair, he replied, "poor fellow!"

"Lord Nelson and captain Hardy walked the quarter-deck in conversation for some time after this, while the enemy kept up an incessant raking fire. A double-headed shot struck one of the parties of marines drawn up on the poop, and killed eight of them; when his lordship, perceiving this, ordered captain Adair to disperse his men round the ship, that they might not suffer so much from being together. In a few minutes afterwards a shot struck the fore-brace-bits on the quarter-deck, and passed between lord Nelson and captain Hardy; a splinter from the bits bruising captain Hardy's foot, and tearing the buckle from his shoe. They both instantly stopped; and were observed by the officers on deck to survey each other with inquiring looks, each supposing the other to be wounded. His lordship then smiled, and said, "this is too warm work, Hardy, to last long;" and declared that "through all the battles he had been in, he had never witnessed more cool courage than was displayed by the Victory's crew on this occasion."

The Victory by this time, having approached close to the enemy's van, had suffered very severely without firing a single gun: she had lost about twenty men killed, and had about thirty wounded. Her mizen-topmast, and all her studding-sails and their booms, on both sides were shot away; the enemy's fire being chiefly directed at her rigging, with a view to disable her before she could close with them. At four minutes past twelve o'clock she opened her fire, from both sides of her decks, upon the enemy; when captain Hardy represented to his lordship, that it appeared impracticable to pass the enemy's line without going on board some of their ships." Lord Nelson answered, "I cannot help it, it does not signify which we run on board of; go on board which you please: take your choice."

"At twenty-minutes past twelve the tiller-ropes being shot away, Mr. Atkinson, the master, was ordered below to get the helm put to port; which being done, the Victory was soon run on board the Redoutable of seventy-four guns. On coming along-side and nearly on board of her, that ship fired her broadside into the Victory, and immediately let down her lower-deck ports; which, as has been since learnt, was done to prevent her from being boarded through them by the Victory's crew. She never fired a great gun after this single broadside. A few minutes after this, the Temeraire fell likewise on board of the Redoutable, on the side opposite to the Victory; having also an enemy's ship, said to be La Fougueux, on board of her on the other side: so that the extraordinary and unprecedented circumstance occurred here, of *four* ships

of the line being *on board of each other* in the heat of battle; forming as compact a tier as if they had been moored together, their heads lying all the same way. The Temeraire, as was just before mentioned, was between the Redoutable and La Fougueux. The Redoutable commenced a heavy fire of musquetry from the tops, which was continued for a considerable time with destructive effect to the Victory's crew: her great guns however being silent, it was supposed at different times that she had surrendered; and in consequence of this opinion, the Victory twice ceased firing upon her, by orders transmitted from the quarter-deck.

"At this period, scarcely a person in the Victory escaped unhurt who was exposed to the enemy's musketry; but there were frequent huzzas and cheers heard from between the decks, in token of the surrender of different of the enemy's ships. An incessant fire was kept up from both sides of the Victory; her larboard guns played upon the Santissima Trinidada and the Bucentaur; and the starboard guns of the middle and lower decks were depressed, and fired with a diminished charge of powder, and three shot each, into the Redoutable. This mode of firing was adopted by lieutenants Williams, King, Yule, and Brown, to obviate the danger of the Temeraire's suffering from the Victory's shot passing through the Redoutable; which must have been the case if the usual quantity of powder, and the common elevation had been given to the guns. A circumstance occurred in this situation, which shewed in a most striking manner the cool intrepidity of the officers and men stationed on the lower deck of the Victory. When the guns on this deck were run out, their muzzles came into contact with the Redoutable's side; and consequently at every discharge there was reason to fear that the enemy would take fire, and both the Victory and the Temeraire be involved in her flames. Here then was seen the astonishing spectacle of the fireman of each gun standing ready with a bucket full of water, which, as soon as his gun was discharged, he dashed into the enemy through the holes made in her side by the shot.

"It was from this ship (the Redoutable) that lord Nelson received his mortal wound. About fifteen minutes past one o'clock, which was in the heat of the engagement, he was walking the middle of the quarter-deck with captain Hardy, and in the act of turning near the hatchway with his face towards the stern of the Victory, when the fatal ball was fired from the enemy's mizen-top; which, from the situation of the two ships (lying on board of each other), was brought just abaft, and rather below, the Victory's main-yard, and of course not more than fifteen yards distant from that part of the deck where his lordship stood. The ball struck the epaulette on his left shoulder, and penetrated his chest. He fell with his face on the deck. Captain Hardy, who was on his right (the side furthest from the enemy) and advanced some steps before his lordship, on turning round, saw the serjeant-major (Secker) of marines with two seamen raising him from the deck; where he had fallen on the same spot on which, a little before, his secretary had breathed his last, with whose blood his lordship's clothes were much soiled. Captain Hardy expressed a hope that he was not severely wounded; to which the gallant chief replied: "they have done for me

at

at last, Hardy."—" I hope not," answered captain Hardy. " Yes," replied his lordship; " my backbone is shot through."

Captain Hardy ordered the seamen to carry the admiral to the cockpit; and now two incidents occurred strikingly characteristic of this great man, and strongly marked that energy and reflection which in his heroic mind rose superior even to the immediate consideration of his present awful condition. While the men were carrying him down the ladder from the middle deck, his lordship observed that the tiller-ropes were not yet replaced; and desired one of the midshipmen stationed there to go upon the quarter-deck and remind captain Hardy of that circumstance, and request that new ones should be immediately rove. Having delivered this order, he took his handkerchief from his pocket and covered his face with it, that he might be conveyed to the cockpit at this crisis unnoticed by the crew.

" Several wounded officers, and about forty men, were likewise carried to the surgeon for assistance just at this time: and some others had breathed their last during their conveyance below. Among the latter were lieutenant William Andrew Ram, and Mr. Whipple, captain's clerk. The surgeon had just examined these two officers, and found that they were dead, when his attention was arrested by several of the wounded calling to him, " Mr. Beatty, lord Nelson is here: Mr. Beatty, the admiral is wounded." The surgeon now, on looking round, saw the handkerchief fall from his lordship's face; when the stars on his coat, which also had been covered by it, appeared. Mr. Burke the purser, and the surgeon, ran immediately to the assistance of his lordship, and took him from the arms of the seamen who had carried him below. In conveying him to one of the midshipmen's births, they stumbled, but recovered themselves without falling. Lord Nelson then inquired who were supporting him: and when the surgeon informed him, his lordship replied, " ah, Mr. Beatty! you can do nothing for me. I have but a short time to live: my back is shot through." The surgeon said, " he hoped the wound was not so dangerous as his lordship imagined, and that he might still survive long to enjoy his glorious victory." The reverend Dr. Scott, who had been absent in another part of the cockpit, administering lemonade to the wounded, now came instantly to his lordship; and in the anguish of grief wrung his hands, and said: " Alas, Beatty, how prophetic you were!" alluding to the apprehensions expressed by the surgeon for his lordship's safety previous to the battle.

" His lordship was laid upon a bed, stripped of his clothes, and covered with a sheet. While this was effecting, he said to Dr. Scott, " Doctor, I told you so. Doctor, I am gone;" and after a short pause, he added in a low voice, " I have to leave lady Hamilton, and my adopted daughter Horatio, as a legacy to my country." The surgeon then examined the wound, assuring his lordship that he would not put him to much pain in endeavouring to discover the course of the ball; which he soon found had penetrated deep into the chest, and had probably lodged in the spine. This being explained to his lordship, he replied, " he was confident his back was shot through." The back was then examined externally, but without any injury being perceived; on which his lordship was requested by the surgeon

surgeon to make him acquainted with all his sensations. He replied, that "he felt a gush of blood every minute within his breast: that he had no feeling in the lower part of his body: and that his breathing was difficult, and attended with very severe pain about that part of the spine where he was confident that the ball had struck; for," said he, "I felt it break my back." These symptoms, but more particularly the gush of blood which his lordship complained of, together with the state of his pulse, indicated to the surgeon the hopeless situation of the case; but till after the victory was ascertained and announced to his lordship, the true nature of his wound was concealed by the surgeon from all on board except only captain Hardy, Doctor Scott, Mr. Burke, and Messrs. Smith and Westemburg, the assistant surgeons.

"The Victory's crew cheered whenever they observed an enemy's ship surrender. On one of these occasions, lord Nelson anxiously inquired what was the cause of it; when lieutenant Pasco, who lay wounded at some distance from his lordship, raised himself up, and told him that another ship had struck, which appeared to give him much satisfaction. He now felt an ardent thirst; and frequently called for drink, and to be fanned with paper, making use of these words: "fan, fan," and "drink, drink." This he continued to repeat, when he wished for drink or the refreshment of cool air, till a very few minutes before he expired. Lemonade, and wine and water, were given to him occasionally. He evinced great solicitude for the event of the battle, and fears for the safety of his friend captain Hardy. Doctor Scott and Mr. Burke used every argument they could suggest to relieve his anxiety. Mr. Burke told him "the enemy were decisively defeated, and that he hoped his lordship would still live to be himself the bearer of the joyful tidings to his country." He replied, "it is nonsense, Mr. Burke, to suppose I can live: my sufferings are great, but they will all be soon over." Doctor Scott entreated his lordship "not to despair of living," and said "he trusted that Divine Providence would restore him once more to his dear country and friends."---"Ah, doctor!" replied his lordship, "it is all over; it is all over."

"Many messages were sent to captain Hardy by the surgeon, requesting his attendance on his lordship: who became impatient to see him, and often exclaimed: "will no one bring Hardy to me? He must be killed: he is surely destroyed." The captain's aid-de-camp, Mr. Bulkley, now came below, and stated that "circumstances respecting the fleet required captain Hardy's presence on deck, but that he would avail himself of the first favourable moment to visit his lordship." On hearing him deliver this message to the surgeon, his lordship inquired who had brought it. Mr. Burke answered, "it is Mr. Bulkley, my lord."---"It is his voice," replied his lordship: he then said to the young gentleman, "remember me to your father."

"An hour and ten minutes however elapsed, from the time of his lordship's being wounded, before captain Hardy's first subsequent interview with him; the particulars of which are nearly as follow. They shook hands affectionately, and lord Nelson said: "well, Hardy, how goes the battle? How goes the day with us?"---"Very well, my lord," replied captain Hardy: "we have got twelve or fourteen of the enemy's ships

ships in our possession; but five of their van have tacked, and shew an intention of bearing down upon the Victory. I have therefore called two or three of our fresh ships round us, and have no doubt of giving them a drubbing."---"I hope," said his lordship, "none of our ships have struck, Hardy,"---"No, my lord," replied captain Hardy; "there is no fear of that." Lord Nelson then said: "I am a dead man, Hardy. I am going fast: it will be all over with me soon. Come nearer to me. Pray let my dear lady Hamilton have my hair, and all other things belonging to me." Mr. Burke was about to withdraw at the commencement of this conversation; but his lordship, perceiving his intention, desired he would remain. Captain Hardy observed, that "he hoped Mr. Beatty could yet hold out some prospect of life."---"Oh! no," answered his lordship; "it is impossible. My back is shot through. Beatty will tell you so." Captain Hardy then returned on deck, and at parting shook hands again with his revered friend and commander.

"His lordship now requested the surgeon, who had been previously absent a short time attending Mr. Rivers, to return to the wounded, and give his assistance to such of them as he could be useful to; "for," said he, "you can do nothing for me." The surgeon assured him that the assistant surgeons were doing every thing that could be effected for those unfortunate men; but on his lordship's several times repeating his injunctions to that purpose, he left him surrounded by Doctor Scott, Mr. Burke, and two of his lordship's domestics. After the surgeon had been absent a few minutes attending lieutenants Peake and Reeves of the marines, who were wounded, he was called by Doctor Scott to his lordship, who said: "Ah, Mr. Beatty! I have sent for you to say, what I forgot to tell you before, that all power of motion and feeling below my breast are gone; and you," continued he, "very well know I can live but a short time." The emphatic manner in which he pronounced these last words, left no doubt in the surgeon's mind, that he adverted to the case of a man who had some months before received a mortal injury of the spine on board the Victory, and had laboured under similar privations of sense and muscular motion. The case had made a great impression on lord Nelson: he was anxious to know the cause of such symptoms, which was accordingly explained to him; and he now appeared to apply the situation and fate of this man to himself. The surgeon answered, "my lord, you told me so before:" but he now examined the extremities, to ascertain the fact; when his lordship said, "Ah, Beatty! I am too certain of it; Scott and Burke have tried it already. *You know* I am gone." The surgeon replied: "my lord, unhappily for our country, nothing can be done for you;" and having made this declaration he was so much affected, that he turned round and withdrew a few steps to conceal his emotions. His lordship said, "I know it. I feel something rising in my breast," putting his hand on his left side, which tells me I am gone." Drink was recommended liberally, and Doctor Scott and Mr. Burke fanned him with paper. He often exclaimed, "God be praised, I have done my duty."

Escape of Mrs. Spencer Smith from the hands of the French Police.

(From the Marquis de Salvo's Travels.)

"ON my first arrival at Venice from Vienna, I had the pleasure of forming an acquaintance with the countess Attems. This lady, who was daughter to baron Herbert (the emperor's minister at the Ottoman Porte), lived at Venice with her husband. To a cultivated mind, and a love of the arts, she united an amiableness of character of which I soon experienced the advantage; as she did me the honour of admitting me to her company. I had heard much of the acquired and personal accomplishments of Mrs. Spencer Smith, sister to the countess; but during the whole time that I had lived in that city (five months), I had not had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with her.

"Mrs. Smith being obliged to abandon the severer climates of England and Germany, had come to Venice, where she had at this period resided above a twelvemonth. The very strict regimen which she followed for the recovery of her health, prevented her from frequenting the society of the Venetians; and when the French entered, being anxious to avail herself still further of the pure air of Italy (which was judged the most effectual remedy towards her re-establishment), she requested to be informed by general Lauriston, whether she could flatter herself with being granted permission to stay at Venice in security, and without having to fear subjection to the measures of a hostile power. The general, in reply, not only assured her of her personal safety, and promised that she should have nothing to apprehend in the way of arrest, or orders to depart, but supplied her with a passport to enable her to quit Venice whenever she pleased. Such promises and assurances could not leave any doubt in the mind of Mrs. Smith, nor cause her to hesitate a moment in resolving to protract her stay, together with that of her two infant children, Sidney and Edward.

"It was at the theatre of San Samuel, that I had the honour of being presented to Mrs. Smith, by her sister; and two months elapsed before I saw her again. The inclemency of winter now fled at the approach of spring; mild and serene days succeeded those of frost and snow; and Mrs. Smith, no longer fearful of the pernicious influence of the atmosphere on her weak constitution, began to visit her sister. That young lady's versatility of talent shone conspicuously in every pursuit; she happily added to a correct knowledge of several languages, a most lively imagination; and to her natural disposition, which was extremely pleasant, she joined a vast degree of refined wit. Her sister's parties of course grew still more agreeable and interesting by such an acquisition.

"In the mean time, my situation was far from being satisfactory: the time passed away, but I continued to remain uncertain of my destiny. The dull monotony into which Venice had fallen, oppressed my spirits to a degree that made me weary of an existence which appeared to pro-

mise no future source of felicity: though I spent many of my hours in the company of baron Villetti (a friend of the countess Attems) and Mrs. Smith; availing myself of the society of these ladies, and occasionally exercising myself with them in the fine arts, particularly music, for the purpose of obtaining a respite from melancholy and anxiety.

"I felt, however, the want of some stimulus to rouse me from the torpor that gained upon me; and waited impatiently for such a favourable turn of fate, in order to recover my wonted spirit of activity. But it was not long before I experienced this impulse, in the project of relieving from the cruel fangs of the enemy an innocent victim, and two children, doomed to pass their days in captivity, or perhaps to see their mother fall a sacrifice even in her indisposed state. My resolution was soon fixed: it could not have been otherwise, when such objects appeared before a man of feeling. It pointed out to me at once both the path for flying from the enemy, and for arriving at the territory of a friendly sovereign. My heart glowed at the thought of being able to render an essential service to an individual belonging to the British nation.

"Though Mrs. Smith had received the French general's word of honour for her security, and a promise that no molestation whatever should be offered to her during her stay at Venice; though she was provided with a passport to be used whenever she might choose to depart, and was now residing at Venice under the confidence which she had placed in the French general's promise; she received, on the 10th of April, an order to appear before the police.

"On her attending according to the summons, she was declared to be under arrest as a French prisoner; and received an order to depart within a week for the city of Bassano, the place fixed upon by the government for her to remain at. She demanded to know the reason for which she was thus treated; and was answered: "Your country, and your name." Now her native country was *not England*; and as to her *name*, the assurances which she had received, and the passport granted to her, under the same name, ought to have served as ample securities against any such conduct. Arguments of this kind however could have no weight with subordinate officers, who only executed the commands of their superiors.

"Still I flattered myself that these considerations, if represented to Monsieur Lagarde (who presided over the police), might prevent him from putting his orders into effect; but neither these, nor the friendly interference of many persons of the first influence, were sufficient to produce the smallest favourable alteration.

"Mrs. Smith herself applied personally to Monsieur Lagarde; and expressed her astonishment at being declared a prisoner of war as an Englishwoman, though her birth-place was Constantinople, and that of her parents was Vienna: besides that no pretext of this sort could reasonably deprive her of liberty in opposition to general Lauriston's word of honour, and his passport, upon the security of which she had formed the resolution to remain at Venice after the entrance of the French troops into that city. She added that, placing the firmest confidence in these promises, she never could have been induced to suspect the possibility of such a breach of faith,

faith, which was even an act of violence. She little imagined that the permission to remain unmolested, could be altered into a subsequent arrest that declared her a prisoner; thus changing a liberal and friendly favour into a means for the better surprising her with an armed force, and exposing her to hostile treatment. All these arguments were advanced in vain to this man, who had received positive directions for his conduct in this respect. He answered, that her arrest was amply justified by the name alone of *Smith*, of which she could not divest herself; and her being the sister-in-law of sir Sidney, and wife of Mr. Spencer Smith, placed her in a situation that precluded any mitigation of the order of imprisonment. Surely such a pretext requires no remark to prove its palpable insignificance: nor could any thing be more ridiculous than thus to wage war against a *name*, on the ground of its connection with a brave admiral and a zealous diplomatist; or harder than this lady's captivity, afflicted as she then was with a severe illness!

"In the mean time Lagarde, unwilling to acquaint her with the fate which was determined upon for her, pretended to permit her to choose any city to reside in except Venice; alleging, that the chief motive for sending her away from a maritime place arose from a desire in the government, that no suspicion might take place of her holding a correspondence with the English. Thus those intrepid warriors who brave the thunder of heaven itself; who sneer at the coalesced efforts of united nations however powerful; are afraid of allowing an Englishwoman to reside at a sea-port town, as she might give intelligence to their brave enemy, the only one capable of effectually opposing them! Those *generous* sons of war, who at the battle of Ulm set the very general free after having surrendered himself a prisoner of war, in token of their ineffable contempt for their foes, use the utmost rigour, and adopt the most illiberal measures, towards this individual, as well as others belonging to a nation whose recent trophies bear the names of the Nile, Acre, Trafalgar, and Maida.

"Mrs. Smith confided in the minister's offer to mitigate her fate so far as to permit her to continue to enjoy the benefit of that climate at no great distance from Venice, which would facilitate the pleasure of seeing her sister frequently. In compliance with her request, she was allowed ten days before her departure, for the purpose of arranging her concerns, and fixing on the place of her future residence. She went with me to visit the neighbouring towns; and having fixed on Padua for her abode, she let the police know this, that her passport might be made for that place: but the next day, instead of receiving it, she met a soldier in her apartments, who came to announce that by order of the government he was placed there to guard her person wherever she went; and that he was answerable for her during her stay at Venice. This naturally excited her suspicions as to what might ensue; and she in consequence again solicited the police for the passport, six days having expired of the ten. Far from refusing it, they promised to let her have it immediately; and this, in a measure, eased her mind.

"The arrest of her person roused the curiosity of the Venetians; and on its being mentioned in several French circles, the real destiny of Mrs. Smith was discovered by the undisguised

undisguised hints of some of the French officers. I was one evening at the gaming-saloons of the Phenix theatre, the great resort of people of fashion, when a female friend of mine, a Venetian ex-noble, asked me whether I had heard of the unhappy fate reserved for Mrs. Smith. I answered, that I knew she was to reside at Padua in future, agreeably to the will of the French government; but my friend mysteriously replied, that Lagarde had received instructions to send her to Valenciennes. I shuddered at the intelligence, and considered for some hours whether I ought to inform Mrs. Smith of it or not; however, imagining that though it might cause a disagreeable surprise, it would prepare her against the immediate consternation that such an event would produce if abruptly intimated, I resolved on letting her know what I had heard. Countess Attems also discovered something similar; but the police continuing to promise the passport to Padua for the next day with certainty, we were led to believe the report to be unfounded. The next day passed however without bringing any passport; and in the evening, while we were at the house of Madame Attems, extremely uneasy on account of this delay, and anxious to know what would happen, (as on such occasions people exert their sagacity in conjecture and consultation,) we brought forward all our stock of information and hypothesis, and discussed the measures to be adopted in every event. But about ten o'clock that night, the arrival of a serjeant, accompanied by three *gend'armes*, dissipated our suspense: he arrested the person of Mrs. Spencer Smith, in the name of the *Emperor of the French;* and conducted her with him, followed by the other soldiers, to her lodgings. She there received orders not to quit her chamber; for the inforcement of which the *gend'armes* were posted outside the door.

"The most infamous assassin or traitor could not have been more rigidly watched, or surrounded by stricter guards, than was this unhappy lady. If she had conspired against the French government, it would have been impossible to persecute her with more acrimony; considering her distressed situation, borne down as she was by an illness that menaced her life. The confidence which she had placed in the enemy's promise of security was her only fault; no stain of culpability appeared even to the French, except her connection with a name synonimous of patriotic attachment. This proceeding could not fail to rouse the feelings of every person, however disinterested, and inspire horror at seeing such treatment offered to a young and delicate female. When we reflect on the commiseration arising at the sight of even the guilty when brought to punishment, what must our sentiments be, on beholding the innocent and helpless victim dragged to the altar of revenge! We should surely endeavour to snatch it from its persecutors.

"I now for the first time found myself agitated by a tumult of the most vehement feelings, affecting my soul far beyond the usual sentiments of sorrow or compassion. My imagination at times was inflamed in a degree that gave me the keenest anguish; and I shrunk with horror at the condition of a lady, who far from her husband, her mother, and her other friends, was left destitute of even a hope of relief. A desire of rendering myself serviceable to her, filled my bosom.

"The precise reason of all this rigour,

rigour, however, was still unknown; and as two days yet remained before her departure from Venice was to take place, Mrs. Smith requested leave to speak with the minister, that she might receive further information respecting her fate. Lagarde granted this, for no other purpose than to shew her *prince* Eugene's order, in the name of *the Emperor;* which specified, that within forty-eight hours she must depart from Venice, to be sent a prisoner of war to the fortress of Valenciennes, under the escort of *gend'armes.* Every argument or entreaty in her behalf was entirely useless: the will of those who imposed such orders was not to be appealed from. Sentiments of pity too were out of the question; and the natural difficulty arising from her impaired state of health, seemed only to stimulate Monsieur Lagarde towards accelerating the execution of his commission.

"It was ten o'clock in the morning, when Mrs. Smith, having thus learnt the real state of things, returned to her apartments: where her sister and brother-in-law, with two friends more, besides myself, waited; and who were the only persons that appeared to condole with her in her present afflicting situation. The countess gave way to her grief, and shed tears in abundance, at finding they must soon part: she was unable to support the idea of Mrs. Smith's being consigned to a French prison, or perhaps even to worse evils; and offered to participate in all the sufferings of her captivity. Embracing her, she said: "I will go with you to Valenciennes, to alleviate the sorrows of confinement, and remain always with you, to partake of all your misfortunes." Her other friends endeavoured to console her, by representing milder prospects of futurity: they advised her to demand justice and compassion from the *prince* at Milan, and to write to her mother for the purpose of obtaining a release. But all this could give her little comfort: she alone felt even now all the pain of her situation; she anticipated all the danger incident to her fate, and laboured under an awful presentiment of future events. Yet superior to all this, and endued with fortitude sufficient to repel the terror of impending evils, she roused the courage of her weeping friends; nor once appeared shaken, till her lovely infants came running to her arms, to ask their mamma why she was so dull. While impressing kisses on them, she accused herself as the cause of their subjection to imprisonment, by her blind reliance on the promises of the enemy. She wished, by any sacrifice, to preserve them from such a situation: but how was this to be done; and who was able to help her by saving them? In evident anguish, she looked round on each of us for relief, and in mournful silence her eyes explained her supplication to us all: her maternal affection begged for succour, and her mind for advice. At this distressing moment, I felt myself quite oppressed by a variety of sensations: unable to endure such a scene any longer, I left the room, and ran to shut myself in my own, where I could reflect on the best means to be adopted for affording her my assistance; with more coolness, and without being distracted by the sight of their tears and affliction.

"As a loyal subject of the monarch by whose government and laws I was preserved, and my property secured, I was bound to quit a place under the controul of the enemies

enemies of my country; nor was I then insensible how much it was indebted to the protection and alliance of England. I knew well that the security of our walls, and the prosperity of our provinces, arose from the formidable interposition of Britons in our behalf: and that my country was defended by the aid alone of that mighty nation, from the hurricane that overthrew and shook so many thrones. I considered what would have been the dangers of Sicily, if the invincible British flag had not cooled the ardour of those who had menaced that island. Ought I not therefore, on all occasions that should offer, to afford proof of my gratitude, as an individual, towards every subject belonging to that friendly and protecting nation: and more especially in the case of one like Mrs. S. Smith, harassed, sickly, and forlorn; and whose situation called aloud for the friendly intervention of every man of feeling and resolution? I conjectured that she would perhaps have to endure the most trying hardships, from the circumstance of her connection with Sir Sidney Smith: but this was a still stronger stimulus; for that British admiral had guarded my sovereigns to their throne, had exerted his transcendant courage and genius in the defence of my king and country, and in my estimation deserved every token of my grateful acknowledgment. Such reflections alone would have been sufficient to incite me to the attempt: but they were vastly strengthened by the deplorable situation of this lady, in being under the necessity of either abandoning her two infant boys; or carrying them with her as prisoners, and deprived of all hope of relief or justice.

"Having reflected on these considerations, I firmly resolved on endeavouring to rescue her. In this I could perceive no insurmountable difficulty, nor bring myself to calculate the dangers: my determination precluded all susceptibility of fear; and I believed that fortitude and perseverance (if necessary) would ensure success. I thought the best method to adopt was a secret flight.

"I ran to Mrs. Smith about six in the evening, to communicate my projects to her, availing myself of the moments when we could not be overheard, for this purpose. "Madam," said I, "sensible as I am of the unhappy situation and the distress that await you, and conscious of my duty to assist in whatever I am able any individual belonging to the British nation, I offer you all the help that is in my power. Flight alone can save you: I will prepare and undertake it; you shall second me, and follow my steps." On hearing these words, she looked at me with astonishment. Forgetful of her actual situation, she reproved me even for thinking of thus exposing my life and liberty. She said, that any such attempt would be attended with certain death; and she then represented the despair of my affectionate parents at the loss of their son. "What remorse must I feel," continued she, "if you were to fall a sacrifice to the enemy, who *must* discover any such plan! What reproach, if you are surprised at the time without effecting any thing! Would you not be the object of their most cruel revenge; and could I then forbear to accuse myself bitterly for encouraging such a desperate undertaking? Should I not have reason to consider myself a probable cause of your ultimate end, if I were to permit measures, however generous, that are certain-

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ly neither prudent nor wise? And what hope can there be, while I am thus continually watched? How can you expect success, when the government not only places guards over me in my room, but will order me to be followed by an armed force wherever you go? It will render the police and military force of every place through which I shall have to pass, responsible for my person. How can you therefore be so blind, when such impediments and dangers obviously present themselves? Any attempt would at best turn out but fruitless, and very likely fatal to you in its consequences." All these arguments however could not induce me to relinquish my plan; and the interest which she took in my personal security, served only to strengthen the duty that I conceived myself under of saving her if possible by any means.

"I answered her, that enterprises in general increase in merit, proportionably with the dangers attending their execution: that all similar actions are uncertain as to their positive result; but when attended with success, their former uncertainty only serves to proclaim the degree of courage or sagacity evinced by the projector of them. I expostulated with her on the necessity which I felt of discontinuing habits of life that were insupportable any longer, and that every man ought to seek for opportunities of distinguishing himself honourably: that in my own opinion and feelings, I wanted an object worthy of exciting me to be useful, and rousing me to the performance of any deed that could reflect honour on my name. I convinced her that it was my positive duty to assist her; and of the propriety of my quitting a country belonging to the foes of my sovereign, as well as of the sanction of my relatives to any attempt that rendered me worthy of my family.

"As to the difficulty of escaping from the guards that so watchfully surrounded her, and the dangers of pursuit and surprise, to which she alluded, I answered that I did not fear them; and that I thought it impossible they could discover me. "This," said I, "may appear rash and inconsiderate, but on the present occasion no other words can be used. Fear must never intervene to obstruct, when prudence is insufficient to deter. No man ought ever to suppose himself either weaker or less capable than another. If by the mind alone we are able to transcend the usual sphere of human capacity, or to sink to a level with the brute, why are we to apprehend being accused of vanity by the prejudiced and obscure being who casts his virulent aspersions against every human action, whether virtuously or viciously directed? Regardless of the shafts of malignity, let us adhere to a favourable opinion of our own capacity, and not think ourselves less sagacious or daring than the enemy with whom we have to contend. By a base dereliction of our resources, and confession of our weakness, we afford him every advantage: on the contrary, let us imagine ourselves equal to victory, and success must ensue."

"I assured her that death is at a greater distance from the man who does not fear it, than most people imagine; and finally, that my desire could no longer suffer to be rejected or even opposed. This language, pronounced with a force of emphasis arising from the sentiments by which I was animated, reduced her to the necessity of resisting me no longer: I availed myself of the moment,

ment, for obtaining her word of honour to second me; and insisted on her keeping the secret to herself.

"These preliminaries being agreed upon, I commenced my plan by saving the children; for as they had not been placed under the immediate vigilance of the government, I supposed they might be easily carried off from Venice. I made no secret of this to the countess or her friends; and the same night it was settled that the following day, under pretence of going to hear mass with their preceptor at the next church, they were to come to a certain spot where I was to wait with a gondola, to convey them to Mestre, the nearest city on the terra-firma. From this place they were to be sent post, without delay, to Gratz; where the countess Strazzoldo, another sister of Mrs. Smith resided. At seven o'clock in the morning, the children were with me. Ignorant of their destiny, they asked me more than once why their mother did not come with them; and why the soldiers were about the house; when they were to see mamma again, and why they left her behind now. At every step their words drew tears from my eyes; reflecting how uncertain the period was when they were again to meet her—perhaps never. At eleven o'clock, Elmaurer (the preceptor) had not returned from preparing the things for the journey, and the boat for Mestre. During this interval I conceived the idea of offering a most agreeable sight to a mother who must have thought her children gone several hours before, but this must take place unknown to the guards. For this purpose I wrote her a note in the form of a bill of exchange, and told the servant to inform the centinels that it was sent to her by the banker on money affairs: it was to desire her to come to a certain window, under which I should pass with the boys in a gondola. The servant succeeded in giving her the paper; and I at some distance saw her at the window. I advanced with the gondola, and ordered the gondolier to stop at a certain place; and then pointed to the boys, whom I desired not to speak a word. This excited all the violence of a mother's feeling, at beholding her darling children going from her. I perceived that she wept bitterly, and seemed much agitated; and a sort of convulsive transport under which she appeared to labour, made me apprehend other consequences that might serve to betray us. I therefore directed the boatman to go on, thus breaking off this affecting scene; and we proceeded to Mestre, from which place the children set off in a post chaise to Gratz with their preceptor.

"Only twenty-four hours now remained of the time which Mrs. Smith had been allowed to stay at Venice. The state of that city, and its positions, rendered her escape totally impossible: it being situated in a body of water five miles broad at the nearest part; and after reaching the land, a space of above a hundred miles was to be travelled before we could get out of the French dominions, so that we should have been much exposed to detention. To get away by sea to Trieste was equally difficult, as we were subject to the punctual visit of the guards posted at every outlet; and it would have been necessary to secure a large boat, the master and sailors of which must in some degree know the secret. In short, such were the obstacles, that it would have been folly to attempt any thing at the time; and we therefore resolved on avail-

ing ourselves of the first opportunity during the journey, before we should reach the Alps.

"It was necessary that I should accompany Mrs. Smith on the road. Nothing could be more reasonable than her demand that a friend might be permitted to travel with her; it being very improper that a lady should undertake so long a journey in the company only of *gen-d'armes*, without having any person to converse with. Mrs. Smith illustrated such an inconvenience in a very able letter to M. Lagarde; intreating that he would be pleased to allow me to be her companion in the journey, at least as far as Milan. During my residence at Venice I had formed an extensive acquaintance; and I have reason to flatter myself that I had several friends: on this occasion they were not backward in giving the most satisfactory information in my behalf to Monsieur Lagarde, who made some inquiries on the subject.

"He agreed to Mrs. Smith's demand without delay; and gave me at the same time a passport for Milan, to take also a servant; but I did not wish any person with me, which might in some measure obstruct my plans, I sent my servant to Bologna immediately; with orders to wait for me there (with some of my effects) for about a week. I next wrote to my parents, informing them, that as the French troops were in the kingdom of Naples, it was difficult to send letters to Sicily, and of course they might be some time without hearing from me again.

"At eight o'clock in the evening we left Venice, which had been so agreeable to me before, but was now grown quite odious. The calm surface of the water, and the serene sky, seemed favourable omens for us. I could not refrain from often turning my eyes on the stupendous edifices of that rich and magnificent city, from whence I was departing perhaps never to return. I called to mind the happiness which I had enjoyed during my stay there; and from my dubious anticipations of futurity, my imagination fluctuated to the recollection of the charming amusements of Venice, embellished by the peculiar hilarity and civility of the inhabitants. This is, in my opinion, by far the most gay and splendid city of Italy. Its prospect, as it retired from my sight, left on my mind an impression of attachment which can never be obliterated.

"Countess Attems, her husband, the prince Parr, and baron Viletti, accompanied Mrs. Smith in their gondolas as far as Fusina, the first landing-place, five miles from Venice; but the approach of night obliged them to return. The amiable countess could not resolve on finally leaving her sister, or abandoning her a victim to the sufferings that now gathered round her. They embraced each other: a thousand kisses, and promises of eternal affection were interchanged: they vowed to live under the same roof, in whatever place Mrs. Smith should be taken to. Tears were a welcome resource, sighs were necessary: the instant that should again unite them was their only consolation, and that of parting was the most poignant of their torments. I embraced my friend Viletti; but the soldiers losing patience at this lengthened scene of distress, ordered our gondoliers to put off; and we proceeded on our way to Padua, in the deepest affliction.

"We sailed up the Brenta till midnight; but when we had reached Dolo, an impetuous north-west gale,

gale, accompanied by heavy showers, stopped the course of our gondola. The locks which from time to time occur in this river being shut, we were obliged to wait in our frail bark, exposed to the violence of the storm, till day-light appeared. As we could not proceed by water to Padua, we engaged a *vettura* (or carriage), into which we had to admit two soldiers, under whose care Mrs. Smith was left: two more followed us on horseback.

"She had received no directions to present herself to the colonel of the *chasseurs*, and therefore on our arrival at Padua, drove to the Paris hotel, where she remained with her maid to take some rest after the fatigue of her journey, while I went to the colonel to inform him that I was with Mrs. Smith. Count Ghizzalo, the commandant of the *gen-d'armerie*, offended that this prisoner had not come to him herself immediately, with that tribute of submission which he arrogantly expected, ordered me to tell Mrs. Smith to wait on him before she engaged any apartment at the inn; but altering his mind, he condescended to let her remain where she was. He asked me for what purpose I was with the prisoner; and when he understood that my intention was to continue the journey in her company as far as Milan, he said that I should not be allowed to follow her farther than Padua; as no person was permitted to be with prisoners under the vigilance of government. "Return to Mrs. Smith," said he, "and in an hour I shall do myself the pleasure of calling on her."

"I went instantly to acquaint her with this obstacle, which threatened to prevent the accomplishment of our plan: and advised her to write to Monsieur Lagarde, begging that he would be pleased to authorise the commandant to let me continue with her. Count Ghizzalo came to Mrs. Smith afterwards: he soon expressed his dissatisfaction at her neglecting to appear before him; and then informed her, that he could not permit her to go forward in company with a man whom he knew nothing of, and who might in some measure embarrass the custody of her person; and that he would not suffer it, as the strictest care was ordered to be taken of her. Mrs. Smith answered: "This person, whom you know nothing of, must go with me to Milan, according to the orders of the government itself, which will be fully confirmed, if you write to the minister of the police at Venice." Ghizzalo, contrary to his wish, was obliged to consult the government, and wait for an answer, which detained us two days at Padua.

"I endeavoured to render Mrs. Smith's situation here as easy as circumstances, and the peculiar dulness of the city, would admit. I introduced to her M. Bellotto, who politely used every attention suitable to a man of his excellent education, and count Zigno: and count Ghizzalo even permitted her to go to the theatre, followed however by a guard; so that this short stay was rather agreeable than otherwise.

"At last the permission of the police at Venice arrived; and we proceeded on the 27th of April, accompanied by three *gen-d'armes* who were to continue all the journey with us. The colonel himself accompanied us as far as Vicenza, and returned to Padua the next day.

"One *gen-d'armie* sat with us in the carriage, and the two others followed on horseback. The fellow in the carriage wished to occupy my attention with the history of his crimes, which he recited as noble

trophies of his revenge. He appeared certain of persuading me that revenge was suited to the character of a man of feeling: that to plunge his steel into the body of whoever refused to agree to his desires, was an act worthy of every lofty mind: that his fellow-creature gasping his last from wounds inflicted by him, was the most pleasing spectacle to him; as it afforded him a proof of his own strength, and of the other's weakness: that the sight of blood and carnage was so habitual to him, that he could not remain long without enjoying it. A legacy, he continued, which his brother had disputed with him, had kindled in his bosom the desire of murdering that brother; and he expressed with the greatest energy, how useful it would be to humanity, if he were only permitted to put to death all priests and monks. But while this wretch, who thirsted for human blood, continued his blustering thus, I sat deeply engaged in reflecting on the means of baffling his vigilance; and all this stupid bravado directed to me, of course I smiled at in silent contempt. As we entered Verona in the evening, he pointed to a spot where he said he once murdered his comrade; but regardless of all this, I determined that in this very city I would attempt Mrs. Smith's escape.

"I considered this to be the fittest place, as I flattered myself with the assistance of some friends whom I expected to meet here according to appointment, but I was unfortunately deceived, for they had set out the same morning for Milan. I had still the hope of receiving the aid of one of my most intimate Venetian friends, who was at this time to come to his country house (which was only two posts from Verona), on purpose to help me. I had imparted the secret to him, and desired him to meet me at a certain place in Verona that night. We had agreed that Mrs. Smith, on first escaping, was to take shelter at his seat, and to remain concealed there for a short time, whence, in the disguise of a country dress, she could have easily reached the imperial dominions by secret paths, as they are at no great distance from Verona. To settle our measures still better, I wrote him a few lines, and sent it by express, desiring to receive an answer as quickly as possible. I told him to repair to Verona; where, in the most solitary place, he would find me exactly at midnight, as he was already informed.

"I went punctually to the spot; and there did I stand, amidst the ruins of the ancient amphitheatre, during a heavy shower of rain, even previous to the appointed hour. At length twelve o'clock struck; yet the awful silence still continued: nor could I hear the step of any one approaching. After waiting some time in vain, I ran to the post-house to inquire for the young man by whom I expected the answer; but on passing by the Piazza dell Erbe, a man came up to me, and stopped me, without speaking a word. I instantly presented a loaded pistol at him, which caused him to take to his heels; but not a syllable was uttered on either side. I could not imagine what this meant. The man had not yet returned with an answer, and I thought of returning to the amphitheatre, in hopes that he might be waiting there; but it was to no purpose. Two o'clock in the morning had struck, when, tired of looking for him, I returned to the inn; desirous to ease Mrs. Smith's mind from the agitation and suspense in which she naturally was, by acquainting her with my ill success: but her room was surrounded by the gen-

gen-d'armes, and I was denied admission to her at such an hour.

"The same day, before I went to see her, I tried again to learn something of the messenger whom I so anxiously expected. He at last arrived with the letter from my friend; in which, after the usual silly compliments, he expressed the impossibility of his coming to Verona, on account of business that kept him at home. This weak man, resembling, both in character and principles, the generality of the inhabitants of that country, was terrified at the thought of incurring the smallest risk of personal danger, or exposing his interest, for the purpose of lending aid to the unhappy, and participating in the glorious claims of friendship.

"With what facility do men use the most generous expressions of friendship, and make professions of attachment; but how seldom do they fulfil them! He who declares himself a friend at the festive board, in assemblies of pleasure, or at the gaming table, rarely considers himself bound to act as such, and hardly ever do his actions agree with his words. The answer of this Venetian nobleman, whom I thought my friend, convinced me that no further help could be expected than my own; and even, instead of the former, I had reason to expect treachery. Whoever finds himself incapable of conducting an enterprize alone, is unworthy of success. Every man's best friend in the end is *himself;* and his best help his own sagacity and fortitude, when excited by a high sense of honour and rectitude.

"I did not wish however that Mrs. Smith should remain ignorant of the truth, and therefore I went to shew her the letter. She expressed her fear that no means could be devised for escaping; but when I communicated to her the stratagem which was to be effected that evening, she recovered her hopes again.

"I had marked a cave that was near the Adige, as the place in which we were to hide ourselves, after absconding during the night; and had prepared a small postchaise for our departure in the morning early; but the *gen-d'armes* told us they wished to proceed on the journey, as no more than two days repose was granted.

"That day Mrs. Smith was ill with a slight fever, and I went in search of a physician to testify the lady's state of health, and thus prevent her from being forced to continue travelling for the day. Doctor Dalbene, after visiting Mrs. Smith, attested on paper the nature of her complaint, which procured us the delay of another day. The conversation of this man was of great use to us, as it prevented us from attempting any thing at Verona, since we should have been inevitably stopped at the gates. I never disclosed any part of the secret to doctor Dalbene in the course of my inquiries: yet he informed us, that this being a *place d'armes*, or fortified city, the gates were closed every night till sun-rise; and he also informed us of the extreme caution that was used with regard to the passports of every person leaving the city. When I had first planned our flight by the assistance of my friend, I had overlooked this essential point: and now, perceiving the impossibility of success, I renounced every idea of attempting any further step at Verona; so we departed for Brescia on the first of May.

"On the road, I observed the various aspects of the country between Verona and Brescia: and when we drew near Peschiera, I stepped out of the carriage, on pretence of draw-

ing a sketch of the view of the lake di Garde; but in reality for the purpose of obtaining information respecting the different interior roads thereabout, as I conjectured that from thence to the confines of the Tyrol the distance was inconsiderable. I made several inquiries on this subject, and discovered the different roads: I found that Peschiera was so situated as to oblige us to pass Brescia on our way to Riva, the nearest village to the Tyrolese confines. I continued my way on foot; inquiring which was the nearest place to Brescia, and the most convenient for passing the lake; and was in general answered Salò, it being the least distance from Brescia, and nearest to the Tyrol. Thus instructed, I returned to the carriage; and shewed Mrs. Smith, in the presence of the soldier, my drawing of the fortress of Peschiera, and of the adjoining hill by which it was shaded.

"Count Attems had promised to overtake us at Milan, and go with Mrs. Smith to Valenciennes. This gentleman however came up with us a little before we reached Brescia, having obtained leave from colonel Ghizzalo to follow Mrs. Smith. We were cautious in keeping our secret from count Attems; as we reflected on the danger of his person, the tranquillity of his family, and the probable confiscation of his property by the government: but at the same time we intended to prevent his situation from being such as might raise suspicions of his concern in the plot.

"The same day (the first of May) we entered Brescia; where I had irrevocably determined to execute Mrs. Smith's deliverance (it being the nearest place to a neutral territory), and to fly from the dominions of the new *king of Italy*. For this purpose, before engaging the inn at which she was to rest the two days allowed, I ran to examine the windows of the different inns, and see of what height they were from the ground; but they all resembled each other so much in construction and elevation, that we remained at the one at which we had stopped with the *gen-d'armes*. A room was appointed for Mrs. Smith, fifty feet from the ground; the *gen-d'armes* took the room adjoining to her's, leaving the corresponding door half open, according to their custom; count Attems had the room beyond the soldiery, so that all secret communication between him and his sister-in-law was precluded; and I contented myself with a mean apartment in another part of the house.

"The lateness of the hour at which we arrived, and the presence of the count, who had brought many letters for Mrs. Smith, prevented me from concerting with her the measures to be adopted. I wished to visit Salò, and examine its position and police; and also to obtain information of the rules observed at the gates of Brescia in passing. For this purpose, and while the police of Brescia yet remained ignorant of my arrival with Mrs. Smith, I went early the next morning to get my passport signed for the Tyrol. I wished to have it done for Vienna; but this was impossible, as it had been made out for Milan at Venice. From the police I hastened to observe the outlets of the city, and discover the easiest way of getting away; but, to my sorrow, I could see no other passage than through the gates, which were all strongly guarded. I next set about providing a light carriage, in order to be always furnished with a vehicle; and also obtaining horses, so that we might be able to avoid waiting at the post-

houses, where we might possibly be in danger of being surprised. I was not able to find either the horses or carriage so soon as I wanted them; however, as I never allowed any accident to depress me, or destroy my determinations, I considered them as only useful, but by no means indispensable. I employed the short remaining part of the morning (before the *gen-d'armes* were likely to look after me), in obtaining a bill of health at the office, which would be necessary on entering another country. I next went in search of a man's dress for the disguise of Mrs. Smith. All this I accomplished before ten o'clock in the forenoon; when I went to see her, and found her alone. I shewed her the passport signed for Trent, and the bill of health; and told her that I had in my possession the clothes with which she was to disguise herself as a man. On my producing these to her, she was at once forcibly struck with the dangers that were to be encountered; and the idea of attempting a task so extremely arduous, threw her for the first time into an apparent alarm, leaving her no resource but the mere desire of obtaining liberty.

"Being fixed in my resolution, however, I could perceive nothing but the glory that shone before me, and guided my steps: and I accordingly availed myself of the hour while the soldiers were at the street door, to settle with her all that was to be prepared and attempted. I told her that I should go during the night to reconnoitre the environs of Brescia and the town of Salò; that I would examine whatever obstacles might occur likely to occasion a surprise on our outset; and that I would acquaint her, and at least prevent every suspicion: that I would investigate the impediments likely to happen in the Tyrol, and endeavour to counteract them: in short, that I would collect all the information possible respecting the places through which we were to pass, ensure our passage through the gates of Brescia, fix on each station, and contrive infallible measures for eluding the vigilance of every ferocious Argus, however attentive. I reminded her of the importance of concealing the secret from the Count. Her mind, notwithstanding, still laboured under the notion that I stood exposed on the brink of a precipice. At every proposal to relieve her, she seemed to forget her own situation: and tried to dissuade me from the attempt of a scheme pregnant with great danger to my life and liberty, and grief to my parents; telling me, that the least punishment which I should meet would be imprisonment for the most precious years of my youth. She finished by exhorting me to continue my journey to Milan. In reply, I used but few arguments to convince her, that all she could say was insufficient to change my resolution: but I sincerely admired her delicacy, and her sentiments concerning the possible consequences.

"She thought she perceived the will of Providence in my determination to save her: and regarded me as the friend who was to break her chains; and to guide her to a husband, to her children and relatives. She therefore confided herself to my care: she agreed to follow me in all my steps; and overcome, as far as she was able, every impediment. I could not however depart from her, and go away alone, without acquainting the *gen-d'armes*, to whose vigilance I was in some de-

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gree entrusted, with instructions, stating that I was to accompany her to Milan.

"Nothing was more easy than to obtain from the soldiers permission to leave her, as a stranger's presence incommoded them; besides the incessant watch they kept over him, the orders of the government relative to the lady being extremely rigid in every respect. On quitting Mrs. Smith, I told the guards that my affairs prevented me from continuing any longer in the company of this woman: that the slow manner in which she travelled, staying so long at every place, greatly retarded my journey: that I had to go to Paris with all possible dispatch: and besides (flattering them by apparent confidence), I assured them that it was disagreeable to me to continue any longer with a prisoner; nor did I like to expose my conduct to the stigma of being the friend of a woman whose arrest was demanded by the *emperor of the French*. I added, that for this last reason in particular, I did not wish to go to Milan with her, and desired that very evening to depart from Brescia; adding, that as I did not like to tell the lady that such was my intention, I begged as a favour that they would have the goodness to inform her of it themselves. The fierce-looking sentinels murmured their opinions to one another, and turning to me in a friendly tone, advised me to leave her, promising that they would acquaint her punctually. Count Attems afterwards, on hearing that I had left them without saying a word to her, was astonished, as much friendship had always existed between us.

"I hired a horse and small chaise for a couple of days, agreeing to leave them at Salò, to a *Vetturino* of which place, named Silvestro, the chaise belonged. After this I concealed myself in the most solitary part of the city, to avoid suspicion. Count Ghizzalo (brother to the colonel of that name), to whom Mrs. Smith was directed at Brescia, endeavoured very politely to render her short stay there agreeable, and offered to accompany her himself, with the *gen-d'armes*, to the theatre. I was to set out that night, but wished first to have a few more explanations with Mrs. Smith. I wanted to instruct her how she was to be sure of my secret return to Brescia, and to act so precisely as might preclude every possibility of surprise.

"The better to conceal every appearance of our project, I went to the theatre with her; in the view likewise of finding, after our return, a favourite moment for speaking to her alone. I reflected that this would be our last interview if my efforts should fail: it was at such a crisis that she had to rely on her own courage and presence of mind, while irresolution or delay might prove fatal; fear was to be avoided, and every weakness to be set aside. At twelve o'clock at night, after our return from the theatre, we endeavoured to send every one away, and fortunately were left alone. "This is the last time," said I, "that we are to speak together. I now depart, nor am I to see you again but out of these walls, where you are closely guarded. I can no longer visit the room where you are a prisoner, and I am no longer to continue a witness of your ill-fated journey. Should my motions be traced by the subtle traitor; or, on my return, should I be surprised at the gates, or when I am near the inn;—then if my evil destiny becomes known to you, be sure to deny that you were in any manner concerned in my schemes. Say that you had never discovered

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in me the least inclination to relieve you: complain of my conduct which occasioned the suspicion of the government; and represent in the harshest terms, to the officers who may suppose you concerned, the imprudence of my character: appear amazed at what I dared to attempt, curse the day that I came with you from Venice, and shew the greatest willingness to pursue your journey. Thus these enemies will not vent their rage upon you: it will fall on my head, who am better able to bear it. They will be satisfied by punishing him who will repeat in the hour of torment, his constant desire, his duty as a man, to save you. But if I succeed in eluding their attention:—if, happy in the lonely silence of night, to morrow I regain these walls: and in darkness accost this house unnoticed by any person, while you in this chamber anticipate my steps in your mind:—then, at eleven o'clock, free from the intrusion of others, do you let down a string from the window to the ground, to which I will tie a paper that shall convey all that I may have discovered and prepared, and what I shall have resolved upon. I shall mention the precise time for the attempt, the plan to be followed, and the measures conducive for ensuring a happy issue. I shall not conceal from you the impediments that may strike me as likely to obstruct us: do not fear that I shall betray you and myself, if it is impossible to escape. In short, you shall read what you have to perform: you will then consider how much you have to undertake, and how you are to accompany me. If you should deem your chambermaid an object of hindrance to you, or consider her capable of betraying us at such a juncture, let her drink be cautiously mixed with some narcotic, that may lay her to sleep. Take leave of your brother only in thought, and beware of speaking a word that may lead him to apprehend what you are about to do: let no involuntary impulse of nature expose you, but reflect on what is to be done. Avoid all confusion and agitation as much as possible: let the idea of sacred liberty shield you from anxiety: let the fond hope of seeing your children and relatives once more, animate you in the trial: be certain of a happy result, and reject every pernicious doubt."

"Her mind was strengthened: her courage supported her amply, and all her accents tended to convince me of the fortitude of her character. I glowed with rapture at seeing her equal to the imminence of the risk: her sentiments stimulated me not to make the least further delay, and I immediately took my leave of her.

"At four o'clock in the morning I passed the gates of Brescia, and directed my steps to Salò. I viewed the surrounding hills and the chain of mountains along the road: open cavities and recesses proper for sheltering the forlorn fugitive, drew my attention; these I strictly inspected; determining, in case circumstances should turn out unfortunate, and the soldiers should be in pursuit of us, we would hide ourselves there till the danger in some degree subsided. The prospect of the country was delightful, and the silence and solitude, so congenial to my situation, that reigned throughout the scene, seemed to prognosticate that the path which I then trod was the least replete with danger.

"On my arrival at Salò, no officer appeared at the gate to demand my passport; nor did I perceive any

crowd of idle gazers gathering about my chaise to look at *the stranger*, as is the custom in the small towns and villages of Italy. This made me hope that I should be able to pass through this place with ease; as such curiosity, besides being troublesome, might to people in our situation (who have every thing to apprehend) turn out fatal. I visited the village; and perceiving no sign of a military force, I resolved with pleasure to come this way. I applied to the police, to have my passport signed for Trent; saying that I wished to get it done before, as I intended to come the following morning very early. I then hastened to the borders of the lake di Garda; where I engaged a covered boat with twelve oars, to be ready the next morning at six o'clock for passing the lake with all expedition. I feared, and justly, that on landing on the other side of the lake, we might not be able to find either horses or carriage, and thus be obliged to go as far as Roveredo on foot; and as in such a case we should be exposed to the greatest danger of being overtaken, I resolved on hiring a carriage and horses at Salò to carry us to Trent. I settled for another boat (to convey the carriage, &c. across the lake to Riva, the landing-place), which was to follow the course of ours.

"At eleven o'clock in the forenoon, nothing remained further to prepare at Salò, but as I could not well return to Brescia before the evening, so I was obliged to wait at Salò till eight o'clock, at the house of Silvestro, to whom the chaise belonged. I sat reflecting on the perilous situation of Mrs. Smith's escape from the room. In this first, this difficult step towards her freedom, I considered the extreme danger of her leaping from a window at such a great height; and to get away by any door of the inn was totally impossible. I therefore studied how I could make a ladder of rope and pieces of wood: and though I never had any taste for mechanics, I bought the necessary materials, and succeeded in making one as long as I thought would be required. When this important implement was finished, I wrote the letter, in which I informed her minutely of what I had prepared, and what I had discovered: assuring her, that we had no prominent obstacle to fear in our flight. I told her of the ladder, which she was to tie to the iron of the window; and that by two o'clock in the morning I would be under the window waiting for her: that she must avail herself of the time when the guards were all fast sleep, for descending; but to wait first for a signal from me, which would assure her that no body was in sight: for if persons passed at the time, it might frustrate all our operations, and perhaps betray us. I concluded by exhorting her not to hesitate an instant in exposing her life thus, to recover her freedom: rather than submit herself a victim to a cruel captivity.

"I left Salò when the sun had sunk below the horizon, and in repassing the hills, the hope of seeing them again the next morning, and the fear of never returning that way, agitated me extremely. One moment I was overjoyed with the idea that perhaps within a few hours, I should there sing my first hymn to newly recovered liberty, in company with the unhappy fugitive; and at another I was filled with the apprehension of being surprised there by the *gen-d'armes*: my imagination sometimes anticipated the most favourable

vourable night for the accomplishment of our design; and soon after figured some person observing our motions, then our discovery, my seizure, bloodshed, Mrs. Smith's dread; in short, the most cruel terrors. These images were heightened by the darkness that enveloped every object.

"As I drew near the walls of Brescia, I could not help considering them as about to be those of my prison. I entered the very instant of shutting the gates. I left the horse and chaise at an inn situated in a solitary square on the left, telling the ostler that I would return by three o'clock in the morning.

"It was near eleven o'clock, when drest as a Brescian postilion, and with the rope-ladder and letter under my cloak, I advanced through the most lonely streets, towards the inn called the Two Towers, where Mrs. Smith was. A high wind which thickened the atmosphere with clouds of dust, had caused the inhabitants to retire into coffee-houses and the theatre, leaving the city quite deserted even at that hour. Being apprehensive that the *gend'armes*, or others on the watch, might observe me from the inn, I stopped before I approached to the window: I listened for some time to the noise of the soldiers; and after convincing myself that they were occupied in drinking, I drew near, and felt for the string with my hand. Having found it, I tied the ladder and letter to it; and on my pulling gently, she drew up the parcel. I then retired, overjoyed at seeing the first danger so well got over.

"I had to wait three hours before I was to return under the window; and in the mean time, being in want of some nourishment, I entered a mean tavern in a remote corner of the town, mixing with people of the lowest description. Here I satisfied my hunger, and rested myself. I then went to a coffee-house near the *Ghetto*, (or residence of the Jews), where I waited till one o'clock. After this, in order to ascertain whether all was quiet, and the people retired to their homes, I went toward the theatre. On my way, I perceived several coffee-houses full of officers and citizens: and passed by other places of resort full of the dissolute rabble (or *canaglia*) with which this city particularly abounds; for as it is near the confines of the Tyrol and the mountains of Switzerland, the Brescians easily find an asylum in those situations for their frequent crimes of murder and robbery. I could not therefore be too cautious among such people, from whom I had every evil to apprehend. Though I found myself quite alone in the public places, and the awful silence was uninterrupted by the step or voice of any human being, I often stopped to listen whether any body was advancing towards or following me, and to observe whether any one was watching me, so therefore proceeded to the inn with an easy and careful pace.

"Two o'clock now struck; and the hour in which our destiny was to be fixed, called me to action. My mind suffered that insurmountable agitation which frequently accompanies any hazardous enterprize wherein our life and liberty are eminently exposed. I hurried on, almost heedlessly, till I was opposite the window; impatient to carry the prisoner from those walls where I imagined she stood trembling at my delay, and eager for my friendly assistance. I stood under the window confused and absent in mind, but

but ready to speak to her, to assure her of my presence, to call her. I suddenly discovered, notwithstanding the darkness of the night, that the windows of her room were still shut. On this I stood motionless, but continued to fix my eyes on them, when I was struck with terror at perceiving the window of the room occupied by the *gen-d'armes* wide open. I heard the voice of one of them, and was afraid they watched us. I shuddered at the idea that all was divulged; that they knew of the ladder which I had tied to the string, and were only waiting for the critical moment, to exert their fury upon us. I suspected that they might have seen the clothes for their captive's disguise. I feared that the chambermaid might have betrayed us; or that some person had followed me the day before, as a spy on my actions: in short, I firmly believed that they stood ready to assuage their thirst of blood on me for daring to deceive them.

"This cruel state of doubt, suspense, and terror, gave way however to my anxiety for Mrs. Smith's situation. I could never once suppose her capable of having relinquished the attempt, for I was convinced of her fortitude; nor think her so thoughtless as to have allowed any thing to transpire or appear, capable of exciting the suspicion of the guards. I could not guess therefore what prevented her from shewing herself at the window at the appointed time.

"I summoned up my spirits, though the windows of the soldiers' room continued open; and though conscious of the effects of their revenge if I was once discovered, I stood collected in the face of danger, and grasped my pistols. Vain resource! What defence could these arms make while such implements of death as French bayonets threatened me? Culpable in the eyes of government, opposition would only have accelerated my fall. I was the projector of a flight which, if successful, would not only have involved the guards to whom the custody of the prisoner was entrusted, but also the government itself for neglecting the adequate means of securing her: I could therefore expect no trial by law, as the remissness of the guards would appear; and must evidently have been sacrificed that instant to preclude an exposure of circumstances.

"As I retired a few paces from the spot after waiting so long, I perceived a man approaching the fountain that was close at hand: he stood near a door, which I saw him enter slowly; but at that instant my eyes caught the opening window of Mrs. Smith's chamber, at which a figure presented itself: I could have no doubt of its being her; and after looking round to see if all was safe, I drew near: but she being ignorant of the disguise which I wore, asked in a low voice if it was I. I replied, "I am that friend, and wait for you." I now resumed my hopes that every thing was unknown to the guards, and that no fatal occurrence would ensue during the critical moment. She continued however in the room; and I stood unable to breathe, for fear of some hidden witness of the scene, ready, perhaps to sound the alarm, and call the patrole of the city. I earnestly wished to remind her of the pressing danger incident to every moment's delay; but I heard a noise proceed from the window, which was occasioned by her tying the end of the ladder to the iron: my terror increased at this

his unwelcome sound; I thought it, above all others, the most likely to rouse the soldiers, and occasion the worst of disasters. Scarcely did the ladder appear to be fastened, when I saw Mrs. Smith take hold of the window and cling to the wall, pressing with uncertain foot the first step. I perceived she was reluctant in trusting herself upon it: the unhappy lady stood tottering upon the step; and seemed to tremble so much, that I was under the necessity of attending particularly to her, fearing that she might fall. But I was agreeably deceived, when I beheld her grasping the knots of the ladder, and boldly determined to descend. What an interesting spectacle! a forlorn woman, anxious to escape from captivity, committing herself from a height to ropes which, even while they tore her delicate fingers, she kissed in extasy, because they were instrumental to her release: and at the same moment armed sentinels in the adjoining apartment, who were ready to dart upon her if their sleep were interrupted by the least noise. Had they now come to their own window, she would have been discovered on the ladder, myself below waiting to lead her off, and the maid above accessary to the bold attempt of her mistress. What a field for their vengeance! What victims for their fury! Happily, however, the silence of the night and its intense gloom, remained undisturbed: she reached the ground without receiving any essential injury; and the maid, to whom the secret had been imparted, threw a bundle from the window, containing whatever could be saved.

"We instantly began our flight; running along unknown streets, without meeting any person. Our trepidation—the haste with which we went, and our mean dress, would have been strong unfavourable indications if we had been observed. From solitary street to street we precipitated our steps till we reached the summit of the fortress of Brescia. Here the violence of my companion's desire to save herself was such, that she actually offered to attempt scaling the walls; but on my acquainting her, that the chaise was ready for us at the tavern near the gates, she followed me with less agitation.

"The ostler, seeing me return in company with a youth (whom, by the bye, it was not difficult to mistake for a woman), gazed at us with surprise; and appeared to suspect something uncommon and mysterious. We had still to wait another hour before we could set off, as the gates were never opened before four o'clock. This protraction of our anxiety was almost enough to extinguish every ray of hope: we continually expected the arrival of the *gen-d'armes*: and could hardly help imagining that the stable had been discovered to be the place where we had taken refuge; and that the alarm of our escape must by this time have spread to every part of the city, and our retreat be consequently cut off. The ostler, perceiving our perturbation and impatience, went to see whether the passage was free; he soon returned with the happy intelligence that the guards had come to the gates, and we might depart. Still, however, for our further alarm, we found them shut; but on our entreaties, the guard opened them; and we passed through on the 3d day of May, at four o'clock in the morning.

"The beauteous sky seemed to welcome our escape with its smiles: the mighty orb of light shot forth its beams

beams from below the horizon with uncommon splendour—and appeared to transfuse universal joy. With what happiness did I view the places which a few hours before had filled me with terror! Our pleasure was extreme in passing the hills free from the galling imcumbrance of *gen-d'armes*. What were our transports in scouring the path by ourselves, unobserved by the eyes of treachery, and breathing the balmy air of liberty! To have overcome the principal dangers,—and to have broken from the walls which the grim satellites of government stood guarding,—to have succeeded thus far,—caused our apprehensions to subside. We looked back on the odious city, while we continued to hurry on toward the land of freedom.

"We reached Salò at half an hour after six, the same morning; yet here, though all was ready, we had to wait at the house of the worthy Silvestro till the boatman should call us to pass the lake. Every moment of this delay was almost insupportable: but it was out of our power to advance with more celerity; and we were obliged to submit, though we were but too sensible that time was flying fast. At eight o'clock we unfurled our sails, agreeably certain that none of the idlers who stood gazing at us knew any thing of our escape. With what satisfaction did we abandon that place, to us the last under French domination! Silvestro and his family, from the beach, wished us a happy journey; and we returned the salute by signs expressing our hearty desires never to return.

"The wind was against us, and the gondoliers found much difficulty in proceeding. The prospect of the surrounding country drew our attention; and the singular positions of several of the villages, as Tremogine and Melesina, were very interesting. The variegated appearance of the numberless orchards and cottages along the shore of Carignano, charmed us as much as our situation could permit. During our passage I told Mrs. Smith all that I had seen and performed since I had left her; and she informed me of the means which she had used to gain her chamber-maid—and of her astonishment at finding the ladder prepared. I asked why she staid there till three o'clock before she descended: to which she replied that one of the *gen-d'armes* was awake; and that she was writing a letter to the colonel of the *gen-d'armerie*, begging pardon for her conduct, and exculpating the guards as well as count Attems from any share in what she had done; and another to the count, explaining her reasons for not having imparted the secret to him.

"We calculated that the guards would have discovered our escape by eight o'clock, the hour at which we had left Salò. We were anxious, of course, to reach Riva, and proceed thence instantly; as any delay would have been still very dangerous, considering (as we did) the wide-extended influence of the French. At length we arrived at the Tyrolese frontier, after a passage of eight hours. I ran to present my bill of health, which was signed without hesitation for Trent: but the boat that carried our chaise and horses had not yet come over; so we were obliged to wait at the only tavern there, which stood near the lake. I could not suppress my imprecations at this delay, while every moment was so precious.

"At five o'clock we perceived no less than three boats coming toward us. It was natural for us to sup-

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pose that the *gen-d'armes* were on board some of them in pursuit of us, and that the police might have discovered the road which we had taken; but where could we now hide ourselves, or whither direct our flight? At Riva there were neither carriages, horses, nor post; and we should have certainly been traced within an hour, for the inhabitants would have pointed out the way to our pursuers. I wished to conceal my suspicions from Mrs. Smith, yet I reflected that it was best to prepare her for the evils that might ensue. Her courage never forsook her a single instant: she proposed we should hide ourselves in the cavity of a mountain at hand, and not continue our journey on foot; but the boat with our chaise and horses reached the shore some time before the others. Without losing a moment, we set off for Trent with all the speed that spur and lash could produce; nor could we learn who were in the other boats: the people, however, who seemed to feel for our agitation, assured us that they did not come from Salò."

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF NATIONS.

Account of Seringapatam, and of its Capture by the British Troops.

[From Dr. Buchanan's Journey through Mysore, Canara, and Malabar.]

"MAY 18th, I was employed at Seringapatam in delivering my credentials.

"19th May.—I had an interview with Purnea, the Dewan of the Mysore Raja, and, during that prince's minority, the chief administrator of his government. By means of Colonel Close, I have received assurances of every assistance in forwarding the objects of my mission; and a brahman has been appointed to accompany me, with orders to call upon every person that I shall desire for information.

"Purnea is a brahman of the Mudual sect, and descended from a family of the Coimbetore country. His native language is, of course, Tamul; but he speaks the Karnataca, Mussulman, Marattah, and I believe the Persian. He is said, by good judges, to be a person extremely well versed in the affairs of the country, and is much more active than brahmans in general are. By the inhabitants he is now called Sri Mantra, the same title that is given to the Peshwa at Poonah. It is said to signify a person who has been fortunate from the time of his having been in the womb. Next to Meer Saduc, he seems to have enjoyed a greater power, under the late Sultan, than any other person; but his authority was greatly inferior to that of the above-mentioned favourite; and he is said to have been in no small danger from the bigotry of his master. The sultan is reported to have once proposed to Purnea to become a convert to the faith of Mahomet: as all proposals from a sultan are tantamount to orders that must be obeyed, the brahman replied, 'I am your slave,' and immediately retired. Those who knew the man, and especially the sultan's mother, a very respectable lady, represented to that prince, how dangerous such a proceeding was, and that, if persisted in, it would throw every thing into confusion; for the apparent acquiescence of Purnea was merely words of course, and his influence among the people was considerable. Tippoo very properly allowed the affair to rest, and nothing more was said on the subject.

"From the 20th of May to the 5th of June, I was employed in visiting every thing remarkable in Seringapatam

Seringapatam and its neighbourhood, and in taking an account of the state of agriculture, arts, and commerce at that place.

"Seringapatam, as is well known, is situated at the upper end of an island surrounded by the Cavery, which is here a large and rapid river, with a very extensive channel, filled with rocks, and fragments of granite. At this season it is in many places fordable with facility; but during the rains it rises very high, to the great inconvenience of the inhabitants. On the south branch of the river a bridge has been erected, which serves also as an aqueduct, to convey from the upper part of the river a large canal of water into the town and island. The rudeness of this bridge will show the small progress that the arts have made in Mysore. Square pillars of granite are cut from the rock, of a sufficient height to rise above the water at the highest floods. These are placed upright in rows, as long as the intended width of the bridge, and distant about ten feet from each other. They are secured at the bottom by being let into the solid rock, and their tops being cut to a level, a long stone is laid upon each row. Above these longitudinal stones others are placed contiguous to each other, and stretching from row to row, in the direction of the length of the bridge. The whole breadth of this may be twenty feet. One half is occupied by the aqueduct, which is secured at the bottom and on both sides by brick and plaster. The road is laid with gravel, and secured by a parapet wall on one side, and by the aqueduct on the other. But, however rude such a bridge may be, it is of most essential convenience to the town, and to the inhabitants of the southern bank of the river, though the construction is attended with great expense. The inconveniences felt from the want of a bridge on the northern branch are so great, that both Purnea and the Resident are very anxious to have one erected; but on an estimate being formed, it is found, that even without an aqueduct, a rude bridge of this kind would cost 16,000 canter'raia pagodas, or 5372l. 9s. 4d. It is very fairly proposed, that the Company should defray one half of this, as lords of the island; while the Raja should defray the other half, on account of the advantages to be derived by his subjects on the north side of the river.

"Seringapatam is commonly called Patana, or Patan, that is to say, the city; but the name used in our map is a corruption from Sri Ranga Patana, the city of Sri Ranga, from its containing a temple dedicated to Vishnu under that name. The temple is of great celebrity, and of much higher antiquity than the city, which did not rise to be of importance until the time of the princes of the Mysore dynasty.

"The island is about three miles in length, and one in breadth, and has a most dreary, ugly appearance; for naked rock, and dirty mud walls, are its predominant feature. The fort or city of Sri Ranga occupies its upper end, and is an immense unfinished, unsightly, and injudicious mass of building. Tippoo seems to have had too high an opinion of his own skill to have consulted the French who were about him, and adhered to the old Indian style of fortification, labouring to make the place strong by heaping walls and cavaliers one above the other. He was also very diligent in cutting ditches through the granite; but, as he had always on hand more projects than his finances were adequate

to defray, he never finished any work. He retained the long straight walls and square bastions of the Hindus; and his glacis was in many parts so high and steep, as to shelter an assailant from the fire of the ramparts. In the island also, in order to water a garden, he had dug a deep canal parallel to the works of the fort, and not above eight hundred yards distant from them. He was so unskilled, as to look upon this as an additional security to the place; but had it been deemed necessary to besiege the town regularly from the island, the assailant would have found it of the utmost use. Had Tippoo's troops been capable of defending the place properly, this mode of attack would have been necessary; but the confidence which our officers justly reposed in the superiority of their men, and the extreme difficulty of bringing up the immense stores necessary to batter down many heavy works, made them prefer an attack across the river, where the works were not so strong, and where they ventured on storming a breach, that nothing, but a very great difference between the intrepidity of the assailants and defendants, could have enabled them to carry. The depth of the river was of little importance; but the assailants, in passing over its rocky channel, were exposed to a heavy fire of artillery, and suffered considerable loss.

"On ascending the breach, our men found an inner rampart lined with troops, separated from them by a wide and deep ditch, and defended at its angle by a high cavalier. By this they were for a little while discouraged, as, from the information of spies, they had expected to have been able to mount the cavalier from the breach, and to form a lodgment there, till means could be taken to gain the inner works, and expel the garrison, which consisted of about eight thousand men, nearly the same number with that employed on the storming party.

"After, however, the first surprise occasioned by this disappointment, the troops soon recovered their spirits, and pushed on, along the outer rampart, towards both the right and left of the breach. Those who went to the left found great opposition. At every twenty or thirty yards distance, the rampart was crossed by traverses, and these were defended by the Sultan in person. The loss of men here was considerable; but the English troops gradually advanced, and the Sultan retired slowly, defending his ground with obstinacy.

"The enfilading fire from the Bombay army, on the north side of the river, had been so strong, that the defendants had been entirely driven from the ramparts on the right of the breach, and had been prevented from raising any traverses. Our people who went in that direction did not meet with the smallest opposition; and the flank companies of the 12th regiment, having found a passage across the inner ditch, passed through the town to attack the rear of the enemy, who were still opposing the Europeans on the left. The Sultan had now been driven back to the eastward of the palace, and is said to have had his horse shot under him. He might certainly have gone out at a gate leading to the north branch of the river, and nothing could have prevented him from crossing that, and joining his cavalry, which, under the command of his son Futty Hyder, and of Purnea, were hovering round the Bombay army. Fortunately he decided upon going into the inner fort, by a narrow sally-

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port; and, as he was attempting to do so, he was met by the crowd flying from the flank companies of the 12th regiment, while the troops, coming up behind, cut off all means of retreat. Both parties seem to have fired into the gateway; and some of the Europeans must have passed through with the bayonet, as a wound, evidently inflicted by that weapon, was discovered in the arm of the Sultan. His object in going into this gateway is disputed. The Hindus universally think, that, finding the place taken, he was going to the palace to put all his family to death, and then to seek for his own destruction in the midst of his enemies. But, although such is considered by the Hindus as the proper conduct for a prince in his situation, we have no reason to think that a Mussulman would conduct himself in this manner; nor was Tippoo ever accused of want of affection for his family. I think it more probable, that he was ignorant of the British troops having got into the inner fort, and was retiring thither in hopes of being still able to repel the attack.

"No individual claimed the honour of having slain the Sultan, nor did any of either party know that he had fallen in the gateway. The assailants were, indeed, at that time too much enraged to think of any thing but the destruction of their enemy. Each division pushed on towards the eastern end of the town, and, as they advanced, the carnage increased. The garrison threw themselves from the works, attempting to escape into the island, and from thence to their cavalry. The greater part, however, were either killed by the fall, or broke their limbs in a most shocking manner. Meer Saduc, the favourite of the Sultan, fell in attempting to get through the gates. He is supposed to have been killed by the hands of Tippoo's soldiery, and his corpse lay for some time exposed to the insults of the populace, none of whom passed without spitting on it, or loading it with a slipper; for to him they attributed most of their sufferings in the tyrannical reign of the Sultan.

"The two divisions of the storming army now met at an open place surrounding a very fine mosque, into which the remains of the garrison withdrew, and with their destruction the fighting nearly ceased. The number of burials amounted to somewhat above seven thousand; several of these were towns-people of both sexes, and all ages; but this was accidental, for our soldiers killed none intentionally but fighting men. Those who are disposed to declaim on the horrors of a town taken by assault, may always find room to dwell on the women, infants, and aged persons killed, and on the little protection given by places, however sacred; for such terrible things must always happen, when an enraged soldiery with fire-arms are pursuing an enemy through a populous place.

"When our two parties had met, and no longer saw before their eyes the enemy, by whom they, or their countrymen, had been often most barbarously used, they soon cooled, and were disposed by their officers in the manner most proper to secure their new conquest. Many, however, left their ranks; and the followers of the camp, under pretext of taking refreshment to their masters, poured into the town, and an entire night was employed in plunder. In this, I believe, very little murder was committed, although there can be no doubt that many persons were beaten, and threatened with death, in order to make them discover their property. The wo-

men on this occasion went out into the streets, and stood there all night in large groups; I suppose, with a view of preventing any insult by their exposed situation, few men being capable of committing brutality in public. This precaution was probably little necessary. The soldiers had mostly been in the trenches two days; they had been engaged in a hard day's work; and their hopes and their rage having then ceased, they were left in a state of languor, by which they were more inclined to seek repose, or cordial refreshments, than to indulge in sensual gratification.

"Next day the wounded and bruised of the enemy were collected from the works and neighbourhood, to which some of them had crept; and the mosque, which had been the great scene of bloodshed, became now a place of refuge, in which these poor creatures had every attention paid to them by the British surgeons.

"The town of Seringapatam is very poor. The streets are narrower, and more confused, than in any place that I have seen since leaving Bengal. The generality of the houses are very mean, although many of the chiefs are well lodged after their fashion; but for European inhabitants, their houses are hot and inconvenient. Within the fort, Tippoo allowed no person to possess property in houses. He disposed of the dwellings as he thought fit, and on the slightest caprice changed the tenants. A great many of the chiefs fell at Sidhiswara, and at the storming of Seringapatam; and those who survived, and the families of those who fell (all of whom have been pensioned by the Company), have mostly retired to the dominions of the Nabob of Arcot, which they consider as more secure and pleasant than Mysore, many of the families having originally come from the lower Carnatic, and settled here on the establishment of a Mussulman government. Numbers of the houses which had been thus deserted, are now occupied by the officers of the garrison.

"The old palace of the Mysore rajas at Seringapatam is in a ruinous condition. At the time of the siege, the family was reduced to the lowest ebb. The old raja Crishna, who was first confined by Hyder, died without issue, but left his wife in charge of a relation, whom he had adopted as his son. This young man soon died, not without suspicion of unfair means. His infant son, the present raja, was under the charge of the old lady, and of Nundi raja, his mother's father, a respectable old relative, who now superintends his education. Shortly before the siege, the whole family had been stripped, by the merciless Meer Saduc, of even the poorest ornaments; and the child, from bad treatment, was so sickly, that his death was expected to happen very soon. This was a thing probably wished for by the sultan, the family having fallen into such contempt that the shadow of a raja would no longer have been necessary. The family of the raja, having been closely shut up in the old palace, knew very little, during the siege, of what was going forward; and in the confusion of the assault, having been left by their guards, they took refuge in the temple of Sri Ranga, either with a view of being protected by the god, or of being defended by the surrounding walls from the attack of plunderers. On the restoration of the prince to the throne of his ancestors, a place for his residence was very much wanted, the necessity of keeping the

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island of Seringapatam for a military station having rendered the palaces there very unfit for the purpose. Tippoo, with his usual policy of destroying every monument of the former government, had razed Mysore, and removed the stones of the palace and temples to a neighbouring height, where he was building a fort, which, from its being situated on a place commanding an extensive view, was called Nazarbar. This fortress could have been of no possible use in defending the country, and was probably planned merely with the view of obscuring the fame of Mysore, the former capital. At a great expence, and to the great distress of the peasants working at it, the sultan had made considerable progress in the works of this place, when he began to consider that it afforded no water. He then dug an immense pit, cutting down through the solid black rock to a great depth and width, but without success; and when the siege of his capital was formed, the whole work was lying in a mass of confusion, with a few wretched huts in it for the accommodation of the workmen. Into the best of these, in July last, the young raja was conducted, and placed on the throne. At the same time the rebuilding of the old palace of Mysore was commenced. It is now so far advanced, as to be a comfortable dwelling; and I found the young prince seated in it, on a handsome throne, which had been presented to him by the Company. He has very much recovered his health; and, though he is only between six and seven years of age, speaks and behaves with great propriety and decorum. From Indian etiquette, he endeavours in public to preserve a dignified gravity of countenance; but the attentions of Colonel Close, the resident, to whom he is greatly indebted for that officer's distinguished efforts in his delivery, make him sometimes relax, and then his face is very lively and interesting.

"The sovereign raja of Mysore is called the curtur, in order to distinguish him from the head of another branch of the family, called also raja, but distinguished by the title of dalawai, or putarsu. The two families generally intermarried, and the power of the curtur was frequently as much controlled by the dalawai, as it was afterwards by Hyder. The dalawai family still exists, having been spared by the magnanimity of Hyder, although they had attempted to procure his destruction; and they had sunk too low in the estimation of the people, to be the objects of Tippoo's jealousy. By the Mussulmans, they were in derision called the pettahutty rajas; but the head of this branch, a handsome young man, being now pensioned by the raja, and treated by the resident with respect, the subjects pretend to be ignorant of the appellation pettahutty, and he is spoken of by his proper titles, although he has no authority. Numerous other branches of the Mysore family, in the male line, are scattered over the country, and are called Arsu Mocalu, or Raj'bundy. They are little respected; and few of them are possessed of wealth sufficient to support the appearance of rank.

"The palace of the sultan at Seringapatam is a very large building, surrounded by a massy and lofty wall of stone and mud, and outwardly is of a very mean appearance. There were in it, however, some handsome apartments, which have been converted into barracks; but the troops are very ill lodged, from the want of ventilation common in all

all native buildings. The private apartments of Tippoo formed a square, in one side of which were the rooms that he himself used. The other three sides of the square were occupied by warehouses, in which he had deposited a vast variety of goods; for he acted not only as a prince, but also as a merchant.

"These goods were occasionally distributed among the amildars, or governors of provinces, with orders to sell them, on the sultan's account, at a price far above their real value; which was done by forcing a share of them upon every man in proportion to his supposed wealth. This was one of the grand sources of oppression, peculation, and defalcation of revenue. The friends, or wealthy corruptors of the amildars, were excused from taking a large share of the goods, while the remainder was forced upon poor wretches, whose whole means, when torn from them, were inadequate to the estimated value of the goods; and the outstanding balances on this account were always large.

"The three sides of the square formerly used as warehouses, are now occupied by the five younger sons of Tippoo, who have not yet been removed to Vellore. They are well-looking boys, and are permitted to ride, and exercise themselves in the square, when they are desirous so to do: they are also allowed to view the parade, and to hear the bands of music belonging to the troops in garrison.

"The apartment most commonly used by Tippoo was a large lofty hall, open in front after the Mussulman fashion, and on the other three sides, entirely shut up from ventilation. In this he was wont to sit, and write much; for he was a wonderful projector, and was constantly forming new systems for the management of his dominions, which, however, he wanted perseverance to carry into execution. That he conceived himself to be acting for the good of his subjects, I have no doubt; and he certainly believed himself endowed with great qualities for the management of civil affairs, as he was at the pains of writing a book on the subject, for the instruction of all succeeding princes; his talents in this line, however, were certainly very deficient. He paid no attention to the religious prejudices of the greater part of his subjects, but every where wantonly destroyed their temples, and gloried in having forced many thousands of them to adopt the Mussulman faith. He never continued long on the same plan, so that his government was a constant succession of new arrangements. Although his aversion to Europeans did not prevent him from imitating many of their arts, yet this does not appear to have proceeded from his being sensible of their value, or from a desire to improve his country; it seems merely to have been done with a view of shewing his subjects, that, if he chose, he was capable of doing whatever Europeans could perform; for although he made broad-cloth, paper formed on wires like the European kind, watches, and cutlery, yet the processes for making the whole were kept secret. A French artist had prepared an engine, driven by water, for boring cannon; but so little sensible was the sultan of its value, that he ordered the water-wheel to be removed, and employed bullocks to work the machinery. One of his favourite maxims of policy was, to overthrow every thing that had been done in the raja's government; and in carrying this into practice, he frequently

frequently destroyed works of great public utility, such as reservoirs, and canals for watering the ground. Although an active prince, he in a great measure secluded himself from his subjects (one of the greatest evils that can happen in an absolute monarchy); and his chief confidant, Meer Saduc, was a monster of avarice and cruelty. The people universally accuse Tippoo of bigotry, and vain-glory; but they attribute most of their miseries to the influence of his minister. The brahmans, who managed the whole of the revenue department, were so avaricious, so corrupt, and had shown such ingratitude to Hyder, that Tippoo would have entirely displaced them, if he could have done without their services; but that was impossible, for no other persons in the country had any knowledge of business. Instead of checking them by a constant inspection into their conduct, by exemplary punishment when detected in peculation, and by allowing them handsome salaries to raise them above temptation, he appointed Mussulman asophs, or lord lieutenants, to superintend large divisions of the country; and this greatly increased the evil, for these men, entirely sunk in indolence, voluptuousness, and ignorance, confident of favour from the bigotry of their sovereign, and destitute of principle, universally took bribes to supply their wants, and the delinquencies of the brahmans were doubled, to make good the new demands of the asophs, over and above their former profits. Owing to this system, although the sultan had laid on many new taxes, the actual receipts of the treasury never equalled those in the time of his father. The amildars, under various pretexts of unavoidable emergency, reported prodigious outstanding balances; while they received, as bribes from the cultivators, a part of the deductions so made. Although the taxes actually paid by the people to government were thus much lighter than they had been in the administration of Hyder, the industrious cultivator was by no means in so good a condition as formerly. The most frivolous pretexts were received, as sufficient cause for commencing a criminal prosecution against any person supposed to be rich; and nothing but a bribe could prevent an accused individual from ruin. Tippoo certainly had considerable talents for war; but his fondness for it, and his engaging with an enemy so much his superior in the art, brought on his destruction; while his early habits, of contending with the Marattah plunderers, had given him a ferocity and barbarity, that must prevent every considerate person from pitying his overthrow. The policy in which he succeeded best, was in attaching to him the lower Mussulmans. He possessed in the highest degree all the cant, bigotry, and zeal, so well fitted for the purpose, and which some few men of abilities have succeeded in assuming; but with him, I believe, they were natural. None of his Mussulmans have entered into our service, although many of them are in great want: and they all retain a high respect for his memory, considering him as a martyr, who died in defence of their religion.

"Though Tippoo had thus secured the affections of many of his subjects, and though he was perhaps conscious of good intentions, and fondly imagined that his government was fit to be a pattern to all others, yet whoever sees his private apartments, will be sensible that the mind of

of the despotic monarch was torn with apprehension. Such is, perhaps, the universal state of men of this description; and, although a knowledge of the circumstance may not be sufficient to prevent the ambitious from grasping at this power, nor to induce the person who has once possessed it to return to the calm of private life, yet it may be some consolation to the persons exposed to its baneful influence, to know, that their ruler enjoys less security and tranquillity of mind than themselves.

"From the principal front of the palace, which served as a revenue office, and as a place from whence the sultan occasionally showed himself to the populace, the chief entry into the private square was through a strong narrow passage, wherein were chained four tigers, which, although somewhat tame, would in case of any disturbance become unruly. Within these was the hall in which Tippoo wrote, and into which very few persons, except Meer Saduc, were ever admitted. Immediately behind this was the bed-chamber, which communicated with the hall by a door and two windows, and was shut up on every other side. The door was strongly secured on the inside, and a close iron grating defended the windows. The sultan, lest any person should fire upon him while in bed, slept in a hammock, which was suspended from the roof by chains, in such a situation as to be invisible through the windows. In the hammock were found a sword and a pair of loaded pistols.

"The only other passage from the private square was into the zenana, or womens' apartments. This has remained perfectly inviolate under the usual guard of eunuchs, and contains about six hundred women, belonging to the sultan, and to his late father. A great number of these are slaves, or attendants on the ladies; but they are kept in equally strict confinement with their mistresses. The ladies of the sultan are about eighty in number: many of them are from Hindustan Proper, and many are the daughters of brahmans and Hindu princes, taken by force from their parents. They have been all shut up in the zenana when very young, and have been carefully brought up to a zealous belief in the religion of Mahomet. I have sufficient reason to think that none of them are desirous of leaving their confinement, being wholly ignorant of any other manner of living, and having no acquaintance whatever beyond the walls of their prison.

"Without the walls of Seringapatam are two gardens and palaces, which formerly belonged to the sultan, but are now occupied by the commandant of the forces, and by the resident at the court of Mysore. The gardens have been laid out at a considerable expence, and canals from the river afford them a copious supply of water. The palace at the Laul Baug, which occupies the lower end of the island, though built of mud, possesses a considerable degree of elegance, and is the handsomest native building that I have ever seen. Near to it stands the mausoleum of Hyder, where his son also reposes in state. The tombs of both are covered with rich cloths at the Company's expence; and the establishment of moulahs to offer up prayers, and of musicians to perform the nobat, is kept up as formerly. The buildings are handsome of the kind, are ornamented with mishapen columns of a fine black hornblende, which takes a most splendid polish,

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The other palace and garden, called the Durria adaulut Baug, was Tippoo's favourite retreat from business. Its walls are covered with paintings, which represent the manner in which the two Mussulman princes, Hyder and Tippoo, appeared in public processions; the defeat of Colonel Baillie; and the costume of various casts or professions that are common in Mysore."

Account of the different Hindu Casts, and their Customs.

[From the same.]

"I ASSEMBLED at different times the chief persons of some of the most conspicuous casts at Bangalore, and procured from them the following account of their customs.

"The Banijigas, or Banijigaru, are in this country a very numerous class, and are of three kinds, the Pancham, the Jaina, and the Telinga Banijigaru.

"The Pancham Banijigaru are by the Mussulmans called Lingait, as being the chief persons of the sect, who wear round their necks a silver box, containing an image of Siva in shape of the Linga, under which form only he is ever worshipped. From this circumstance they are also called Sivabhactaru, and Lingabuntaru; but in this country there are many other lower casts, who wear the same badge of religion. The Pancham Banijigaru are also the heads of the right hand side. They admit of no distinction of cast among themselves, except that arising from a dedication to the service of God; but they do not admit of any proselytes from other Hindu races, nor do they intermarry with any of the lower casts that wear the Linga. The Brahmans alledge that they are Sudras; but this, in general, they earnestly deny. The manner in which the Brahmans reason with them is tis: You are, say they, neither Brahman, Kshatri, nor Vaisya; if, therefore, you are not Sudras, you must belong to one of the low, or impure casts. Many of the Lingait, rather than endure such a terrible degradation, are induced to acknowledge themselves of the Sudra cast. It must however be observed, that Vanija, from which their name is probably derived, is said to be a Sanscrit word, signifying any person of the Vaisya cast who follows trade.

"The Pancham Banijigaru are divided into a number of tribes, which seem to derive their names from certain places where they were formerly settled. Two persons of different tribes never intermarry, but all persons of the cast can eat together; and the whole are under the jurisdiction of the head-man (Pedda Chitty), of whatever tribe he may be. This office is, as usual, hereditary; and the person who enjoys it is exempted by government from house rent, and from one half of the customs on his goods. He finds merchants coming from a distance in lodging and warehouses, settles disputes among his clan, and punishes

punishes them for misdemeanors. In general he is supported by the officers of government, who punish such of his followers as do not give him the customary obedience. His judicial authority, however, is not arbitrary. All his proceedings are open; and he cannot act contrary to the advice of his council, which consists of all the old and respectable men of the cast.

"Besides this division into tribes, which arises from the names of places, there seem to be other distinctions among the Linga Banijigas; some are called Aray, that is, Marattahs, and some Teliga, that is, Telingas; and neither of these ever intermarry with each other, or with those who are of the Karnata nation. Some persons alledge, that Pancham, the title commonly given to the whole, is only the name of a division, and that there are also Linga Banijigas called Budugula, Lalgunderu, and Turcanaru.

"The Pancham Banijigaru are chiefly traders. They may however follow any profession, except such as belong to the most disgraced casts; and this exception seems rather to arise from a wish to keep themselves respectable, than from any positive law. Like all other worshippers of Siva, they bury the dead, and never offer sacrifices. They do not purchase their wives, of whom they may marry as many as they please. The women are not confined, but cannot marry a second husband; and after the signs of puberty appear, a girl is no longer marriageable. Adultery is very rare, that is to say, among the women; for among the people of this country the term is never applied to the infidelity of married men. The Pancham Banijigas never eat animal food, nor take any intoxicating substance; they cannot eat, except when the sun shines; of course, in cloudy days they are under the necessity of fasting.

"Like most other Hindu casts, the Pancham Banijigas consist of a portion that follow worldly affairs, and another that dedicate themselves entirely to what they call the service of the gods; that is to say, idleness, meditation, prayer, abstinence, and the mortification of the passions. Among this cast, these consecrated persons are called Jangamas, Einaru, or Wodearu. Any Pancham Banijiga, who is qualified by his education and manners, may become a Jangama; but the descendants of a Jangama never betake themselves to honest industry. They always subsist upon charity; and most of them wander about with a great number of small bells tied to their legs and arms, in order to give the inhabitants of the villages notice of their presence, so that they come out to invite the holy men to their houses, or to bestow charity. Many others live about the Matas, or colleges of the Gurus of the cast, and act as their servants.

"The Gurus or Swamalus of the Pancham Banijigaru are Sannyasis, that is, men who have forsaken all; and they possess an absolute authority in all religious matters, among which is included the chastity of the women. Of these Gurus, or Sannyasis, there are four, that are called thrones, and whose Matams are called Baly-hully: Hujiny, near Nagara; Sri-shela, near Nundyal; and Canelly, near Bangaluru. These thrones seem to be independent of each other; and their occupants for the time being are supposed to be actual incarnations of Siva. When a Guru leaves this world, and is re-united to Siva in heaven,

heaven, he is in general succeeded by a person of his own nomination. The Guru generally educates four or five children of his own family, with a view of choosing the fittest of them for his successor. These pupils are taken into the Matams at five or six years of age, and, until they attain their thirteenth year, are called Mari, after which they are not by name distinguished from the common Jangamas; but if they choose to marry, they must relinquish all hopes of becoming a Guru. The pupil is made a Guru (sage), or an incarnation of God, by receiving from his master a particular Upadesa; and in case of a Guru's dying without having disclosed this awful secret, the other Gurus assemble, appoint the most promising pupil to succeed, and at the same time deliver to him the Upadesa of his rank. The Guru, when he pleases, may marry; but he is thereby degraded from being a portion of the divinity, and from his power; and no one has yet been found so desirous of marriage, as to relinquish these pre-eminencies.

"There are many inferior Matams which are occupied by Sannyasis, called Mahantina. These originally received an Upadesa from some of the four chief Gurus, and were sent to distant parts to manage the concerns of their superiors; but, though they all acknowledge the superiority of the four Gurus, yet they educate pupils in the same manner, and from among these appoint their successor, by teaching him their Upadesa. These pupils, till they arrive at the age of puberty, are called Putta Devaru. The Mahantina having sent deputies to different places, even these have now assumed a separate jurisdiction, and educate their own successors.

"The Mahantina attend at marriages and funerals, and punish all persons of the cast, for every kind of offence against religion, by ordering every good man to avoid communication with the delinquent. This excommunication is not removed, till, by the intercession of friends, and the most humiliating requests of the offender, he obtains pardon by paying a fine under the name of charity. On this occasion, the Mahantina bestow some consecrated water and victuals, which wipe away the offence. The Gurus occasionally visit the different Mahantina throughout the country; but it is the Guru only of the Matam from whence the Mahantina originally came, that possesses any jurisdiction over the inferior.

"The Pancham Banijigaru worship only Siva, his wife, and his sons; but they alledge, that Brahma and Vishnu are the same with Siva. They suppose that their sect has existed from the beginning of the world, but that at the time of Bejala Raja, who reigned about 720 years ago at Kalyana Pattana, the kings and most of the people were Jainas. At this time Baswana, the supposed son of a Brahman, became prime minister of the Raja, and restored the worship of Siva. Many of the Jainas were converted, and their descendants now form the Jaina Banijigaru, who, although they have the same religion with the Pancham, are never admitted to the priesthood, nor to intermarry with the original sect. Bejala Raja having been put to death by Jagadiva and Bomanna, two servants of Baswana, that minister reigned in his stead, and then promulgated the law which this sect now follow; and this, with an account of all the actions of Baswana, are contained in a book called Baswana Purana, which was written by a Brahman called Bhima-

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kavi, at the desire of Baswana. The sect are in possession of another book of great authority, It consists of six Sastrams written by a Jangama named Nijaguna, who, in the conversation which he had with an image of Siva, at a temple on a hill near Ellanduru, received the necessary instruction. After he had finished the book, this Jangama did not die; but the image opening, received him into its substance. It continues ever since to be held in great estimation. These books are open to the vulgar; but it is said, that the Jangamas have some books which are kept secret.

"The Teliga Banijigaru derive their name from having originally come from the Telinga country, which, in the dialect of Karnata, is called Teliga. They all retain the Telinga language, and alledge that all Banijigas are descended from a person called Prithivi Mala-chitty. By his first wife, who was of the Vishnu sect, he had the ancestors of their cast; and by his second wife, who worshipped Iswara, or Siva, he had the ancestors of the Lingabantaru. They are evidently an inferior people, and more ignorant than the other Banijigas, owing probably to their being under the Brahmans, who exclude their followers from a share of their learning. In the Teliga language they are called Balija; whence, probably, is derived the name Buljewar, which is bestowed by the Mussulmans on all Balijigas.

"The true Telinga Banijigas are merchants and traders of all kinds, farmers, and farmers' servants, and porters for the transportation of goods or baggage; but never artists, nor mechanics. They are divided into a number of tribes, all of which can eat together; but one tribe never marries with another. The chiefs of the Lingabantas have a civil jurisdiction over the Teliga Banijigaru; but in order to settle matters relating to their own cast, they choose the man whom they judge to be most capable; and in the absence of their Gurus, this man calls an assembly of the elders, and settles the affair.

"Their Gurus are all hereditary chiefs of the Sri Vaishnavam Brahmans, and never punish any delinquent without the advice of a council of elders. In their visits, these Gurus live in the temples, and assemble the people in order to collect their contributions, and to bestow Upadesa and Chacrantikam on such as choose to receive them. The Panchanga act as their Purohita, attending at births, marriages, and funerals, and on each occasion receives charity.

"Among the Teliga Banijigaru the custom of Daseri prevails. A Daseri is a man dedicated to the service of the Tripathi Vishnu; that is to say, who subsists by begging in the name of that idol. When a sick man is in great danger, he frequently vows, if he recovers, to take Daseri, or to make one of his sons assume that profession; and ever afterwards the eldest son of the family must follow that business, but the younger sons follow some industrious employment. The Daseri may marry, and may be a rich man, as the younger branches of his family live in his house, and cultivate the ground, or carry on trade; but he himself wanders about, and collects grain, and small money, from those who are charitable. They get by rote a prayer in Telinga poetry, which they constantly bawl out in the streets, and endeavour further to attract notice by blowing on a conch. It seems to be only the Sudras of the Vishnu sect that follow this idle life, and

few

few of them are able either to read or write.

"The Telinga Banijigaru are acknowledged to be true Sudras, and they allow this to be the case. A few of them learn to read and write accompts, but they never attempt any other kind of learning. They eat sheep, goats, hogs, fowls, and fish, and may use bang; but they ought not to drink spirituous liquors. They bury the dead; and the women formerly used to bury themselves alive with their deceased husbands, but this custom has fallen into disuse. They pray to Vishnu, and all the gods of his family, and also to Dharma Raja, an inferior god of a beneficent nature; but with the Brahmans he is not an object of worship. In case of danger, they offer bloody sacrifices to several destructive spirits; such as Marima, Putalima, Mutialima, and Gungoma, which is a lump of mud made into a sort of temporary image. The Brahmans of this country abhor this kind of worship, and call all these gods of the vulgar evil spirits, Saktis, or ministers of Siva. They never offer sacrifices at the temple of these deities, and much less ever act as their Pujaris. Influenced, however, by superstition, although they condemn the practice, they in sickness occasionally send a small offering of fruit or money to these deities; but, being ashamed to do it publicly, the present is generally conveyed by some child, who may be supposed to have made the offering by mistake. The small temples of these deities are very numerous, and the Pujaris are in general of the impure casts. I am inclined indeed to believe, that they are the original gods of the country, and that these impure casts are the remains of the rude tribes that occupied the country before the origin of the Brahmans, or other sects, that introduced forms of worship more complicated, and more favourable to the priesthood.

"Many of the people who burn lime are a kind of low Teliga Banijigaru, as they can eat in the houses of that class; but their native language is the Karnataka, or Canarese; and the two tribes do not intermarry. They are divided into several families, and no man marries out of his own; but they can all eat together. They have hereditary chiefs, who settle disputes relating to cast; but in civil affairs they are subject to the chiefs of the Pancham Banijigaru. They do not wear the Linga, yet they consider as their Guru the Nidamavudy Swamalu, who is a Mahantina Einaru, and lives in the Bala-pura district. They never eat with the sect of Siva, and use animal food, and bang, but are not allowed to drink spirituous liquors. They bury the dead. They are allowed a plurality of wives, who are not confined, and are so industrious that they are looked upon as a support to their husbands. They are never divorced, except for adultery; and, if their infidelity has not been with a man of a very low cast, the parties are frequently reconciled by the Swamalu, who makes them eat together some consecrated victuals, which, with some holy water, puts an end to all differences. None of them can either read or write. They never become Daseri. The god of their cast is Vencaty Ramana, or the Tripathi Vishnu; but they pray also to Dharma Raja, and offer sacrifices to Marima, and other destructive spirits.

"Another inferior kind of Teliga Banijigas are the Goni makers. They

They will willingly eat in the houses of that cast; but these will not return the compliment. They will also eat the meat prepared by a Pancham Banijiga. They have their own hereditary chiefs, who are as ignorant as their followers, none of them being able either to read or write. Some of them are farmers, and some are small traders, which does not effect any difference in cast. They do not wear the Linga, and their Guru is one of the hereditary chiefs of the Sri Vaishnavam Brahmans, whose family title is Tata Acharya. The present Guru, named Rama Acharlu, lives here. Those who are natives of this country bury their dead, and the Goni makers of the lower Carnatic burn theirs; but this does not prevent the two from intermarrying. They are allowed a plurality of wives. Without danger of losing cast, they can eat hogs, fowls, mutton, and fish, and can drink spirituous liquors.

"The Devangas are a set of weavers, consisting of two nations, Karnata, and Telinga.

"The Karnata or Canara Devangas in this country all wear the Linga, but are a distinct cast from the Pancham Banijigas, with whom they neither eat nor intermarry. The same is the case between them and the Teliga Devangas. Their Guru is Cari Baswa-uppa, who, from the place of his residence, is commonly called the Nidamavudy Swamalu. The Devangas pretend that he is totally independent of the Gurus of the Linga Banijigaru; but I have reason to think that this is a vain piece of pride, and that he is one of the Mahantina before mentioned. The Guru sends Jangamas to all the villages where Devangas reside, and receives contributions under the name of charity. Owing to a dispute about the burning of the body of the Raja's mother, this priest incurred the heavy displeasure of Tippoo, and was under the necessity of flying to the dominions of the Nabob of Arcot, and still remains there at Trinomaly. The learning is chiefly confined to the Swamalu and his pupils. Most of the Jangamas are acknowledged, even by their followers, to be very ignorant. The sect have a book called Devanga Purana, which every one may read. It was written by Devanga Muni, the common ancestor of the race. The Jangamas read the Baswana Purana, and possess many books that the Devangas are not permitted to see. Out of these they repeat portions to the laity, at the annual ceremony performed in memory of their deceased parents, at births, and at funerals. These portions are committed to memory by the Jangamas, it not being lawful for the laity even to look at the books; but as these are written in the vulgar language, and of course are understood by every one, the Devangas are laughed at by their neighbours for considering them as of any value. The Panchanga attends at marriages, and reads a Mantram in Sanscrit, which, being unintelligible, is very highly valued. The knowledge of the laity is confined to the keeping of accompts and writing letters. The Gurus and Jangamas possess the same authority over the Devangas, as they do over the Pancham Banijigas.

"The proper god of the cast is Iswara, or Siva, and his wife and family, especially his servant the Baswa, and his son Ganesa, who has particular authority over the loom, and, when his worship is neglected, is apt to make it go wrong.

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"The hereditary chiefs of the Canara Devanges are called Ijyamana. With the assistance of a council of the elders, these chiefs take cognizance of all offences against the ceremonies of cast. They reprimand for small offences; for those of a higher nature, excommunicate; and, in cases of great importance, send the accused person to the Swamalu for his decision. The chiefs and councils endeavour to settle all civil disputes between members of the cast; first, by admonition; then by excommunication of those who are unreasonable; and finally by applying to the officers of government, who generally enforce the decrees of the Ijyamanas.

"The whole of the Canara Devangas can intermarry. They are allowed a plurality of wives, which they purchase from their parents, paying from four to sixteen pagodas (*1l. 6s. 2¼d.—5l. 7s. 5½d.*) for each, according to their circumstances. The wives are not shut up; nor are they ever divorced, except for adultery. They eat no animal food, nor use any intoxicating substance, except as a medicine. They bury the dead, and believe that after death good men are united to God: bad men suffer transmigration. The Nidamavudy Swamalu is looked upon as the same with Iswara, and even a common Jangama is considered as a portion of the deity.

"The Teliga Devangas retain their native Telinga language, but are divided into two sects, of whom one worships Vishnu, and the other Iswara; but both sects intermarry, the wife always adopting the religion of the husband.

"The Teliga Devangas of the sect of Siva do not wear the Linga, although they consider Cari Baswauppa as their Guru. This priest admonishes them to wash their heads, and to pray regularly to Iswara; and, as usual, requires from them contributions. He has a small due on every marriage. The Panchanga reads Mantrams at births, marriages, and funerals; at the Amavasya, or last day of the lunar month; and at the Tithi, or day on which their parents died; on both of which days a fast, in commemoration of their deceased parents, is observed by the greater part of the Hindu race. On these occasions the Jangamas attend, but merely to receive charity. Concerning a future life, they have similar opinions with those who wear the Linga. They offer bloody sacrifices to the Saktis. They bury the dead; and the custom of the widow burying herself alive with her husband's body was once prevalent among them, but has now become obsolete. Girls, after the age of puberty, continue to be marriageable. A man is allowed to take many wives, but is not permitted to shut them up, nor to divorce them for any cause except adultery. The men confine their learning to their being able to read and write accompts. They eat fowls, fish, hogs, sheep, and goats; but account it unlawful to drink spirituous liquors.

"The Teliga Devangas of the Vishnu sect are followers of the Sri Vaishnavam Brahmans, and are acknowledged by them to be Sudras.

"The hereditary chiefs, or Ijyamanas, of all the Devangas are the same, each man in the place submitting to the authority of the chief of the sect that is most numerous.

"The Shaynagas, or Shaynagaru, form a very numerous and wealthy class of weavers. They are divided into two nations, Telinga and Canara; but of the former, there are none in this neighbourhood.

"Although by far the greater

part

part of the Canara Shaynagas are settled below the Ghats, in countries where the Tamul language is spoken, and though all these who are settled now in this neighbourhood came up from the lower Carnatic about eighty or a hundred years ago, yet the whole cast retain the language of Karnata as their native tongue. This confirms the truth of a tradition prevalent among them, of their having all originally gone down from this country; but they can assign no date, nor any reason for such an emigration. They are divided into two classes; one dedicated to religion, and called Einaru, Jangamas, or Wodearu; the other follow lay professions. All the weavers can intermarry; but they are never honoured by an intermarriage with the Einaru, nor are they ever admitted into that sacred order. They wear the Linga, and consider their priests as portions of the deity. They bury the dead. They can eat in the house of a Pancham Banijiga, but the two casts never intermarry.

" The hereditary chiefs of the Canara Shaynagas are called Ijyamana, and, with a council of elders, possess the sole cognizance of transgressions against the rules of cast, as well as of civil disputes; for the power of the Jangamas is confined to admonition. They do not shut up their women; and are not allowed to take a second wife, unless the first dies, or has no children. When a man marries his first wife, he must give her father 101 fanams, or 3*l.* 7*s.* 10*d.*; for a second he must give 131 fanams, or 4*l.* 7*s.* 11$\frac{3}{4}$*d.* No divorce can take place, except for adultery on the side of the woman; the wife in India having no remedy for her husband's infidelity except her tongue, and, in case of her being too free in the use of that weapon, the men very frequently repress it by a beating.

" The weavers learn to read and write accompts, and letters on business; but in this country these are reckoned very mean accomplishments. A plain composition in prose, and consisting merely of common sense, is looked upon as a kind of reading beneath the dignity of a man of learning, who ought always to compose in poetry; and the more obscure he renders his meaning by allegories, the better. The books containing the doctrines of the sect are confined entirely to the Einaru, whose duty it is to explain them to the laymen. The chief book in use among them is called the Markandiya Purana; and they do not receive as canonical the Baswana Purana.

" Among the Einaru of the Shaynagas are several high priests, called Putta Devarus, or Swamalus. These are all Sannyasis, and seem to be independent of each other. Those which are known to the people here, are, Sankara Devaru, who lives at Changamau, near Trinomaly; Bhusagara Swami, at Narasingha pura, near Arnee; Gangadhara Swami, at Kunji; Senavera Devaru, at Chinamangala, near Trinomaly; and Gurusiddha Devaru, at Trinomaly: all which places are in the lower Carnatic. These Putta Devaru have their Matams at the places above mentioned, but travel occasionally through the country occupied by the weavers, collecting the contributions of the charitable, bestowing advice on the adults, and the Linga on the children, who receive it with some particular ceremonies. Each of the Putta Devarus educates a boy, who is of the sacred class by birth, who is intended to be the successor of his master, and who is called Mari

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The Putta Devaru, if he chooses, may deliver over his office to the Mari, and take a wife; in which case he is degraded to the rank of a common Einaru. This is frequently done, as my informants were obliged to confess; though they did so with great reluctance, for they were unwilling to disgrace their Swamalus before their neighbours, who consider celibacy as a much more honourable state than marriage. The married Einaru have their houses near the different Matams. Some of them live with the Sannyasis, and are their menial servants; but the greater part of them, that are able to undergo the fatigue, wander about to collect charity for their support. In the lower Carnatic they are said to sell glass rings, and other trinkets.

"The people of this cast, with whom I conversed, were either so ignorant, or so unwilling to speak, on the subject of their religion, that I cannot depend much on what they said. The Jangamas of the Pancham Banijigaru alledge, that the Swamalus of the Shaynagas are of their sect; and the Mahantina, no doubt, attend at the funerals and other public ceremonies of the Shaynagas; but those alledge that this is merely for the purpose of begging, and that they perform no part of the ceremony. The Panchanga reads mantrams at marriages and births, and receives the usual fees.

"The Coramas, or Coramaru, are a set of people considered by the Brahmans as of an impure or mixed breed. They make baskets, and trade in grain and salt to a considerable extent; but none of them can read or write. They live, in general, in small camps of moveable huts, which are sometimes stationary near large towns; but they are often in a state of daily motion, while the people are following their mercantile concerns. The Coramas consist of four families, Maydraguta, Cavadiru, Maynapatru, and Satipatru. These are analogous to the Gotrams of the Brahmans; for a man and woman of the same family never intermarry, being considered as too nearly allied by kindred. The men are allowed a plurality of wives, and purchase them from their parents. The agreement is made for a certain number of fanams, which are to be paid by instalments, as they can be procured by the young woman's industry; for the women of this cast are very diligent in spinning, and carrying on petty traffic. When the bargain has been made, the bridegroom provides four sheep, and some country rum, and gives a feast to the cast, concluding the ceremony by wrapping a piece of new cloth round his bride. Should a man's wife prove unfaithful, he generally contents himself with giving her a beating, as she is too valuable to be parted with on slight grounds; but, if he chooses, she may be divorced. In this case, he must assemble the cast to a feast, where he publicly declares his resolution; and the woman is then at liberty to marry any person that she chooses, who is willing to take her.

"The Coramas do not follow nor employ the Brahmans; nor have they any priests, or sacred order. When in distress, they chiefly invoke Vencaty Ramana, the Tripathi Vishnu, and vow small offerings of money to his temple, should they escape. They frequently go into the woods, and sacrifice fowls, pigs, goats, and sheep, to Muni, who is a male deity, and is said by the Brahmans to be a servant of Iswara; but of this circumstance the Coramas profess ignorance. They, as usual, eat

the sacrifices. They have no images, nor do they worship any. Once in two or three years the Coramas of a village make a collection among themselves, and purchase a brass pot, in which they put five branches of the melia azadarichta, and a cocoa nut. This is covered with flowers, and sprinkled with sandal-wood water. It is kept in a small temporary shed for three days, during which time the people feast and drink, sacrificing lambs and fowls to Marima, the daughter of Siva. At the end of the three days, they throw the pot into the water.

"The Panchalas, or Panchalaru, a name corrupted by the Mussulmans into Panschal, are a cast that follow five different trades, goldsmiths, carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, and coppersmiths. These occupations do not occasion any difference of cast; the son of a man of any one of the trades may, if he pleases, follow any other, and all of them can eat together and intermarry. Each trade, it is true, has a head-man; but the whole are subject to one hereditary chief, who is here a goldsmith. He is the leader of the left hand side; and at present the dispute between him and the chief of the Banijigas runs so high, that government have been obliged to part the town into two divisions. In the one of these the right hand side is not allowed to perform any ceremonies, nor to go in procession; and the other division is kept equally sacred from the intrusions of their adversaries. The headman of the goldsmiths has a similar jurisdiction with other chiefs of casts, and, with the assistance of his council, can levy fines, which are given to the goddess Kali, that is to say, to her priest.

"The Panchalaru are divided into two sects, one worshipping Siva, the other adoring Vishnu; but this does not produce any schism, the two parties eating together, and intermarrying; and when this happens, the wife adopts the religion of her husband. Kali is considered as the proper deity of the cast, but receives no bloody sacrifices from her votaries. Both sects are prohibited from animal food, from spirituous liquors, from divorce (except in case of adultery), and from marrying a girl that has arrived at the age of puberty. The Brahmans read mantrams at the births, marriages, and funerals of both sects; and no distinction is made by either, whether the Brahman be a worshipper of Siva or of Vishnu.

"The most numerous and richest of the Panchalas belong to the sect of Siva, and wear the Linga; but they have nothing in common with the Pancham Banijigas, and in fact are their most bitter enemies. This sect bury the dead.

"The Panchalas who worship Vishnu are called Bagota, and have among them a family dedicated to religion. The eldest son of this family always succeeds to the dignity of Guru on the death of his father; the other male branches of the family are supported by the contributions of the sect, and pass their time in devotion and study. The women of the family intermarry with the working men of the cast. The Guru is named Vipur Vencaty Acharya; Vipur being his name, and Vencaty Acharya his title. He lives at Wadiga-palla, which is twelve cosses from Bangalore, and in the Doda Bala-pura district. He travels about among his followers, receiving their contributions, and bestowing Upadesa, and Chakrantikam, or Mudradarana, as it is called in the Sanskrit language.

"The Madigas, or Madigaru, are

are looked upon as a very low cast. They dress hides, make shoes, and some of them cultivate the ground, acting as servants to the farmers. They are divided into small tribes of ten or twelve houses, and intermarry with the daughters of these houses only, in order to be certain of the purity of their race: of which they seem to be as fond as those casts that are esteemed infinitely superior in rank. Some of the richer among them take two or more wives; but this is not common, as a girl's father requires from thirty to eighty fanams (1*l.* 0*s.* 1¾*d.*—2*l.* 13*s.* 8¾*d.*) They never divorce their wives for any crime, except adultery. They eat carrion, and all manner of animal food; and avowedly drink spirituous liquors. Their religious worship seems to be exactly the same with that of the Coramaru; but they have a priestly tribe, who never intermarry with the laity, who live entirely on their contributions, and are called Jambu. There is a Matam of Jambu at Cuddapa, and the office of high priest there is hereditary. This person takes frequent rounds through the country, collecting money, and admonishing his followers. I have never seen any of the Jambu; and, if they have any learning among them, they keep it entirely to themselves, as none of the laity can either read or write.

"The Madigaru, who by the English of Madras are called Siclars, have no hereditary chiefs; but, in case of any fault being committed by a person of the cast, the elders assemble, and punish him according to custom.

"The Rungaru are a tribe admitted to be of the Sudra cast. They are taylors, and printers of calico cloths. They have hereditary chiefs, with the usual jurisdiction, and follow the rules of their cast. Their Guru is an hereditary chief of the Sri Vaishnavam, who resides at Seringapatam. He punishes obstinate offenders, and bestows Upadesa; and in return takes their contributions. He does not favour this cast by giving them Chakrantikam.

"The Jotyphanada, or Jotynagarada Ganagaru, are a kind of oil-makers, who deal largely in that commodity, and have two oxen in their mills. They pretend to be of the Bheri, or Nagarada sect of the Vaisya cast; but this is not admitted by either the Bheri or Brahmans. They are a real Karnataca tribe. Two families here wear the Linga, and are not admitted either to eat or intermarry with the others, who are all followers of one of the hereditary chiefs of the Sri Vaishnavam Brahmans, who lives here, and is called Nullary Chakravarti. He bestows on them Upadesa, and sometimes Chakrantikam, but that rarely. When they marry, he gives them a string or thread, to be worn over the shoulder. This should be given to the real Vaisya only, but a relaxation is made in their favour, as they pay for the badge; and the preservation of the privileges of the lower casts is looked upon as a matter of very little importance. The Guru comes sometimes in person, and at others sends his agents, to levy the dues which are paid at marriages, and to receive the casual charity that is given according to the ability and disposition of his followers.

"These oil-makers offer sacrifices to the Saktis, or destructive powers; making vows to do so, when they are in sickness or distress. Some of them take Daseri; and their descendants ever afterwards follow the same manner of living,

and refuse to intermarry with the industrious part of the cast, whom they consider as their inferiors. Some of the oil-makers burn, and some bury the dead. There have been instances in the memory of man, of some of their widows having burned themselves along with the bodies of their husbands, but it is a very rare occurrence. Their wives can be divorced for adultery only, and are not shut up, although the men are allowed a plurality of women. They eat no animal food, nor is it lawful for them to drink spirituous liquors. They possess no learning, farther than being able to read and write accompts; and a few poems in the Andray, or poetical language of Telingana, which the Daseri commit to memory.

"The people who, in the language of Karnata, are called Chitrakara, are commonly better known by the Mussulman appellation Jinigar, or Jiligar. They make chests, trunks, scrutoires, beds, and palankeens, paint houses, draw pictures of the gods and of women, gild, act as tailors, make gold thread and sword scabbards, turn wood, and bind books. They never cultivate the ground, nor act as merchants. They pretend to be of the Kshatriya cast, and their Guru, in consequence, indulges them with a thread like that of the Brahmans; but their pretensions to high rank are entirely disavowed by all other casts. They have among them some rudiments of learning. In the Brahmanda Purana, which is the book that they consider as appropriated to their cast, it is related, they say, that their ancestors, on account of some injury done to the Brahmans, were condemned to follow their present mechanical occupations. They are divided into two sects, one worshiping Siva, and the other Vishnu; but this division produces no difference of cast, as they can all eat and marry together, the wife, as usual, adopting the religion of her husband. The worshippers of Siva do not wear the Linga, but are followers of the Smartal Brahmans. A Vaidika Brahman residing here bestows the thread and Upadesa, and attends at births, marriages, and funerals, which are performed on the pile, and are sometimes accompanied by the sacrifice of a wife. Those who worship Vishnu are followers of the Sri Vaishnavam Brahmans. Neither division of these people eat animal food, nor drink spirituous liquors. They are allowed plurality of women, but do not confine them. Like all the other tribes of this country, however, they do not willingly admit any person of a different race into the inner apartments of their houses, especially if he be of a cast that they consider as inferior to their own; persons of their own tribe, and those whom they consider as of higher rank, can go into every part of their house, except the kitchen. The circumstances which seem chiefly to add dignity to a cast are, its being restricted from the pleasures of the world, especially those of the table; the following no useful employment, and the being dedicated to what they call piety and learning. Almost every man endeavours, as much as possible, to assume at least the external appearance of these qualifications; and in the people of this country a hypocritical cant is a remarkable feature. Even young men of active professions, when talking on business, will frequently turn up their eyes to heaven, and make pious ejaculations, attended with heavy sighs.

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"The Shalay are a cast of weavers, divided into two distinct tribes, that never intermarry, and have separate hereditary chiefs. They are of a Telinga origin, and in their families retain that language; according to tradition they have been in this country for six generations.

"The Samay Shalay wear the Linga, and of course are worshippers of Iswara, and the gods of his family. They reject the worship of the Saktis, or destructive powers. Their Gurus are the Einaru of the Pancham Banijigas, with which cast the Samay Shalay can eat, but they cannot intermarry. When their Guru visits the town, each Shalay of this sect must present him with two fanams (1s. 4d.); and when a Samay Shalay waits on the Guru at the Matam, he must make an offering of ten fanams, (6d. 8½d.). The Guru does not give Upadesa; but, in place of it, bestows the Linga. In case of the Guru's absence, this may be done by any Einaru. The Einaru attends at births, marriages, funerals, and on the occasion of building a new house. The Panchanga attends at marriages to read the mantrams, or service proper for the ceremony, and receives the usual fees. On these occasions, the Einaru washes the bridegroom's feet, and gives him some consecrated victuals. They bury the dead, and the widow is sometimes buried alive at the same time, but not in the same grave with the deceased husband. Widows cannot marry a second time, as is the case throughout India with females of any cast above those that are reckoned impure. The men are allowed a plurality of wives; but, except for adultery, can neither confine nor divorce them. They cannot legally eat animal food, nor drink spirituous liquors. The laymen are permitted to read several Puranas; such as the Baswa Purana, which gives an account of the laws of their religion: and the Shalayswara Purana, which is extracted from a book called the Brahmanda Purana, and contains the rules of their particular sect, as the original work contains the rules of every sect whatever.

"The worshippers of Vishnu, among this class of weavers, are called Padma Shalay, and give the following account of their origin. The whole Shalay formerly wore the Linga; but a house having been possessed by a devil, and this sect having been called upon to cast him out, all their prayers were of no avail. At length ten persons, having thrown aside the Linga, and offered up their supplications to Vishnu, they succeeded in expelling the enemy; and ever afterwards followed the worship of this god, in which they have been imitated by many of their brethren. The descendants of these men, who are called Sadana Ashorlu, or the celebrated heroes, never work; and having dedicated themselves to the service of god, live upon the charity of the industrious part of the cast, with whom they disdain to intermarry.

"The Guru of the Padma Shalay is Tata Acharya, one of the hereditary chiefs of the Sri Vaishnavam Brahmans. He lives at Doda Balapura, and bestows Upadesa and Chakrantikam. He has here a deputy, a Vaidika Brahman, who attends at births, marriages, and burials. Widows are never buried alive. The Padma Shalay are allowed a plurality of wives; but cannot confine their women, nor divorce them, except for adultery. They cannot legally eat animal food, nor drink spirituous liquors; but

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are permitted to use Ganja, or hemp, which the English in India usually call Bang. Some among them are able to read poetry, and have a book called Markandiya Purana, which is also followed by several sects that wear the Linga, and is said to have been written by a Rishi named Markanda.

"The Comatigas say, that they are the only true Vaisya, which is the third in rank of the pure casts; and they pretend, that now they are next in rank to the Brahmans, as the second pure cast has become extinct. In both these pretensions they are supported by all the Brahmans who are not desirous of flattering some Raja that pretends to be a Kshatri. They are found thinly scattered in every part of India, and are not prevented from eating in common, or from intermarriage, by any difference of nation or sect. A Comatiga coming from Kasi or Benares, on being examined, and found to be acquainted with certain customs peculiar to the cast, and which are kept secret, is received here into all families, and may marry any of their women. They deal in cloth, and all kinds of merchandize, especially money and jewels; but are not allowed to sell spirituous liquors, nor any intoxicating substance; nor do they ever cultivate the ground, or follow any mechanical profession. They have hereditary chiefs, called Pedda Chitties; and the chief of each town or district is totally independent of the others. When a town is very large, the chief, for the parts that are remote from his house, appoints inferior officers, who settle trivial disputes. These chiefs possess the usual jurisdiction, and enjoy more than common immunities, for they pay nothing to government. They can in no case act without the assistance of all the elders in the place. The Comatigas are not allowed to take animal food, nor any thing that will intoxicate. Polygamy is allowed to the men, and the women are not divorced for any cause, except adultery. In this country they are not confined; but in the northern parts of Hindostan the Comatigas follow the example of their neighbours, and shut up their wives. Many of this cast read books composed in poetry; that which is considered as peculiarly belonging to it, is called Vaisya Purana, and is imagined to have been composed by the goddess Kanyaka Parameswari, which is one of the names of the wife of Iswara. They all burn the dead, and sometimes the widow accompanies on the pile her departed husband. The women are no longer marriageable after the signs of puberty have appeared; and widows are condemned to perpetual celibacy. Some families of this cast worship Vishnu, and their Guru is Bhadra Acharya, one of the hereditary chiefs of the Sri Vaishnavam Brahmans, who resides at Sri Rangam near Tritchinopoly. Younger branches of the family reside at different places, and act as deputies for the chief. The one who acts in this neighbourhood resides at Doda-Bola-pura, and is called Chicana Botalu. The other families of this cast worship Siva, and have for their Guru a Sannyasi Brahman of the Smartal sect, who lives at Sivaganga, and acknowledges the Sringagiri Swamalu as his superior.

"The Ruddi are one of the tribes of Sudra cast, which being much employed in agriculture are called Woculigaru in the language of Karnata, and Cunabi in that of the Decany Mussulmans. Besides cultivating the land, both as farmers and as their servants, they act also

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as porters, and sometimes carry on a small trade in grain. Like all the other Sudras employed in agriculture, they have formed a part of the native foot militia, that seems to have been established throughout India, and in which probably every man of this description was enrolled. The considering the Kshatriya as the military cast seems an error. At present, the Ruddi frequently serve as Candashara, or the armed men, that without discipline collected the revenue, and composed the most considerable body in the armies of all native princes. They appear to form a numerous race of men; many of them live below the Ghats, and some are of Telinga, while others are of Karnata extraction. They can all eat together, but they never intermarry, except with particular families, the purity of whose descent they consider as well known. They acknowledge an inferiority to another class of Sudras who cultivate the land, and are called Sadru; for they will eat in the house of a Sadru, but he will not return the compliment by eating in theirs; which, among the Hindus, is a sure criterion of rank. They have Ijyamanas, or hereditary chiefs, possessing the usual jurisdiction and immunities. Some of them can read and write accompts, but none proceed further in learning. They eat hogs, sheep, goats, venison, and fowls, and can take Bang (or the leaves of the cannabis sativa); but lose cast by drinking spirituous liquors. The men are allowed polygamy; but do not shut up their women, who are very industrious, and perform much of the country labour. They are divided into two sects by a difference of religion; one party worshipping Vishnu, and the other Siva; but this does not prevent intermarriages. Those who worship Vishnu are followers of the Sri Vaishnavam Brahmans; but do not receive either Upadesa or Chakrantikam, contenting themselves with a little holy water, which they obtain in return for their charity. Those who worship Siva are followers of a kind of Jangamas, but do not wear the Linga. The people with whom I conversed seemed to consider these as the same with the Jangamas of the Pancham Banijigas; but this cast informed me, that they were distinct, and that the Gurus of the Ruddi were the same with those of the Curabaru, whose chief resides at Cangundy in the Bara-mahal. In their visits, the Gurus of both kinds receive from one to ten fanams (from 8d. to 6s. 8½d.) from each Ruddi, according to his circumstances. The Panchanga attends at births, marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies; and on each occasion receives a fanam. At the new and full moons, he also gets some trifling present of grain. Besides the worship of the great gods, they offer sacrifices to the destructive powers; among whom a female spirit, named Chaudeswari, has in this neighbourhood many temples. The Pujari, in at least one of them, is an oil-maker of the cast formerly described, and his office is hereditary. The Ruddi is one of the lowest of the casts employed in agriculture, and allowed to be of pure descent; but many of its members are rich, and are the Gaudas, or hereditary chiefs of villages.

"The Bheri are a kind of merchants, who call themselves also Nagaratra, corrupted by the Mussulmans into Nagarit. They pretend to be of the Vaisya cast; but this is denied both by the Brahmans, and by the Comatigas. They deal in drugs, grain, cloth, and money, and travel about in caravans. Some of them are farmers;

farmers; but they never cultivate the ground with their own hands; nor do they ever follow any mechanical profession. They are divided by religion into two sects, that do not eat together, nor intermarry; and each has its own hereditary chief, who acts independently as to matters of ceremony; but in matters of a civil nature, the chief of the sect that is most numerous in the place assumes the sole authority. These chiefs are called Ijyamana, and possess the usual jurisdiction; but are not indulged with any immunities from taxes. When a man wants to marry, he goes to his hereditary chief, as is indeed usual with all the higher casts, presents him with betel, and discloses his intention. The chief sends for the father of the girl, and endeavours to bring the matter to a favourable conclusion. As for the girl, she is not at all consulted, and is indeed too young to have formed any attachments, as she must be married before any signs of puberty appear; for afterwards she is considered as being deflowered, and incapable of marriage. Owing to the custom of polygamy, however, very few of the women of this country live in a state of celibacy, except young widows of the higher casts, who never can marry again, and who are very numerous; for matches between old men and mere children are common. The comfort of having children, however, is, in general all the pleasure that married women of rank in India enjoy. Where polygamy prevails, love is little known; or if it does possess a man, he is generally captivated by some artful dancing girl, and not by any of his wives; all of whom were married before they could either excite or feel that passion.

"The Nagaratra, who worship Vishnu, are here the most numerous sect. They burn their dead, and the rules of cast require the widow to burn herself with her husband's body; but this custom has fallen into disuse. They do not intermarry with such of their sect as, being originally of the lower Carnatic, speak the Tamul language as their native tongue. Their Guru is Trimula-tata Acharlu, an hereditary chief of the Sri Vaishnavam Brahmans; but, as forming part of the left hand side, they are, in all matters belonging to that division, under the authority of Dharma Siva Acharlu, a Smartal Sannyasi, and who, they say, bestows Upadesa and Chakrantikam on them, in the same manner as their own Guru. My interpreter, however, suspects that in this there is some mistake; as the latter ceremony is performed with the point of Vishnu's spear, which a Smartal Brahman, so far as he knows, never uses. Their own Guru comes once a year, receives contributions, bestows Upadesa and Chrakantikam, and, as usual, exercises spiritual jurisdiction. The Panchanga acts as their Purohita; and it is of no consequence, whether or not he be of the same sect with them. Some of this cast are able to read poetry, and peruse a book called Vaisya Purana, which they consider as belonging to their cast.

"The Palliwanlu are the only persons in the Colar province (of which this is a part) who cultivate kitchen gardens. They also cultivate the ground, both as farmers, and as their servants. They are all of Tamul extraction; and, although they have been in this country for many generations, still speak the Tamul language in their own houses, and intermarry with the Palli of Arcot and Vellore. They

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are properly called Vana Palli, and must be distinguished from the Mina Palli, who are fishermen. This is one of the most numerous of the tribes of the Tamul nation, but is considered as rather low. They have hereditary chiefs called Gaunda, who possess the usual jurisdiction. None of them can read. They are allowed to eat animal food, and to drink spirituous liquors. Their women continue to be marriageable after the age of puberty, and are very laborious. They cannot be divorced for any cause, except adultery; but the men are permitted to have a plurality of wives. They bury their dead.

"The Palliwanlu have no Guru; but the Panchanga acts as their Purohita at births and marriages, at the Amavasya, and at the annual commemoration of their deceased parents. They wear the mark of Vishnu's sect and sometimes pray to Vencaty Ramana; but the proper god of the cast is Dharma Raja. His images exactly resemble those of Godama, who is frequently called by that name; but by the people here their god is said to be the eldest brother of the five sons of Pandu, who lived at the commencement of this Yugam. He is a beneficent deity, like Godama, abhorring blood; and is worshipped by offerings of fruit, flowers, and the like. The Palliwanlu have temples of this god attended by Pujaris of their own cast. Like all the other inhabitants of this country, they are much addicted to the worship of the Saktis, or destructive powers; and endeavour to avert their wrath by bloody sacrifices. These are performed by cutting off the animal's head before the door of the temple, and invoking the deity to partake of the sacrifice. There is no altar, nor is the blood sprinkled on the image; and the body serves the votaries for a feast. The Palliwanlu have temples dedicated to a female spirit of this kind named Mutialima, and served by Pujaris of their own cast. These priests can neither read nor write, but their office is hereditary. Their families can intermarry with those of the laity, who cultivate the priest's garden, and give him annually a suit of clothes. The Palliwanlu also offer sacrifices to Marima, whose Pujaris here are Curubaru; and to Putalima, whose Pujaris are Lingait. They sometimes take the vow of Daseri.

Religion, Morals, and Manners of the Turks.

(From Mr. Thornton's Present State of Turkey.)

"THE Turks are of a grave and saturnine cast; they are in general well made and robust; patient of hunger and privations; capable of enduring the hardships of military service, but not much inclined to habits of industry. The early hours and regular lives of their mothers, their own habitual temperance, and general freedom from violent passions, give them good health and undistorted features.—Their way of living is simple and domestic: they prefer apathy and indolence to active enjoyments; but when moved by a powerful stimulus they

they sometimes indulge in pleasures to excess.

"The moral character is fundamentally formed in infancy and childhood, not by precept, so much as by the absence of evil; for the Turks receive their early education under the care of their mothers and their female attendants, who are secluded from the promiscuous society of men, and removed from the contagion of corrupt example. Their religion, which is simple, is taught them by their parents in the *harem*. The minds of the children, as in other countries, are instructed in the dogmas of a particular system: they are inflated with the superiority of their own situation, in a religious sense; and they are taught to indulge in the contemplation of it, and in a contempt bordering on hatred, for the professors of every other religion. The revelations of heaven, and the precepts of the prophet equally inculcate on the minds of Mussulmans, this exalted idea of themselves, and this sentiment of disdain and aversion for strangers to their faith. "The prayers of the infidels are not prayer, but wanderings," says the Koran. "I withdraw my foot, and turn away my face," says Mahomet, "from a society in which the faithful are mixed with the ungodly." Nor is the uncharitableness of the sentiment extinguished, or even weakened, by the death of its object. "Pray not for those whose death is eternal," is a precept of the Mahometan church, "and defile not thy feet by passing over the graves of men, the enemies of God and his prophet." These commandments are precise and positive: they regulate the principles and the conduct of all classes of Mussulmans. It is vain to suppose their pernicious and uncharitable tendency counteracted by passages of scripture which breathe a milder spirit, or by the example of the prophet, who is known to have frequented the society of unbelievers and pagans. The Mahometan, who has risen above the prevailing prejudices of his religion and country, will alone appeal to these more tolerant precepts, in order to justify his conduct to his own heart, or to sanction it in the eyes of the public: but the vulgar mind, the great majority of the nation in every class of society, will always be chained down to the observance of the most intolerant precepts of religion."

"The *namaz*, the prayer the most obligatory on Mussulmans, and the most pleasing to the Supreme Being, is chiefly a confession of the divine attributes, and of the nothingness of man; a solemn act of homage and gratitude to the eternal majesty. The faithful are forbidden to ask of God the temporal blessings of this frail and perishable life: the only legitimate object of the *namaz* is to adore the Supreme Being, by praying for spiritual gifts and the ineffable advantages of eternal felicity. Confident in the efficacy of belief and the virtue of prayer and legal purification, the Mussulmans feel no humility because of the imperfections of human nature, and no repentance because of actual transgressions. The unity of the Supreme Being, and the divine mission of the prophet, are all that are insisted on as necessary to justification with God; and as these imply no contradiction, and involve no mystery, the mind seems to comprehend both points without an effort, and to hold them with steadiness. Hence their consciences are never alarmed at the weakness or insufficiency of their faith; nor can they ever doubt of their acceptance with God. Their

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religion consoles and elevates them through life, and never disturbs their dying moments.

"Many of the learned Turks are said to refuse an implicit belief to all the miracles recorded in the Koran; but none of them so far contradict the national prejudices, as publicly to withhold their assent. An *effendi*, skilled in mathematics, was asked, how he could believe, that Mahomet broke the star of the moon, and caught half of it falling from heaven, in his sleeve. He replied, that indeed in the course of nature it could not be done, nay was contrary to it; but as the miracle is in the Koran affirmed to be wrought, he resigned his reason, and embraced the miracle; for, added he, God can do whatever he pleases. They admit with equal facility the wonderful stories related by Christians, and on some occasions conform in their conduct to the popular prejudices even of these people; as in the instance given by Cantemir, of the lord of a village, who suffered no work to be done on St. Phocas's day, because formerly the saint, in revenge for the profanation of his festival, had burnt their standing corn. The opinion, that sanctity of life, independently of any particular religious persuasion, is sufficient for salvation, is silently embraced by a few liberal Turks, though it is condemned by the Mahometan church as a heresy.

"It has been observed, that in all ages, men satiated with enjoyments, are most inclined to become atheists; and men the most to be pitied are superstitious. But atheism, either speculative or practical, is a vice which is rare among the Turks; for when the doctrines of the existence of God, and the immortality of the soul have been implanted in the mind by early education, they cannot be eradicated, unless, perhaps, by intense and perverted study and reflection, of which the Turks, from habitual indolence, are incapable. The terrors of conscience, which generate in the vicious and profligate, a wish to disbelieve, and at last, perhaps, a trembling hope that they do disbelieve these doctrines, operate but little on the minds of men who are firmly convinced, that the divine favour is never withdrawn from those, who are stedfast in their profession of faith and constant in the practice of the ceremonies of religion. The belief and performance of both are simple and easy, and not only may exist unconnected with virtue, but may even expiate vicious conduct. Hence that tranquillity with respect to futurity which never abandons the Turk: and hence his neglect of palliatives for an evil, of which, as far as regards himself as a believer, he cannot consistently suspect the existence.

"The popular religion of the Turks consists in belief, prayers, ablutions, and fastings at stated periods.

"They are called to namaz (prayers) five times a day, by the *muezzinn* (chanter), who recites, from the highest tower of the *jami*, the hymn *ezann*, containing a confession of faith in the following form.—"God most high! I bear witness that there is no God but God; I bear witness that Mahomet is the prophet of God. Come to prayer; come to the asylum of salvation.—Great God! There is no God but God."

"The canonical hours for the morning prayer are from the first dawning of the day to sun-rise.—This prayer was first performed by Adam on his expulsion from Paradise, when he returned thanks to God

God on being delivered from the darkness of night, and again permitted to behold the approach of day. Towards the conclusion of the morning *ezann*, the *muezzinn* exhorts the faithful to be diligent in their devotions, by repeating immediately after the words, come to the asylum of salvation, " prayer is preferable to sleep, prayer is preferable to sleep." The *namaz* of noon, which may be said at any period of the interval between the meridian and the next succeeding *namaz*, was instituted by Abraham after his purposed sacrifice of his son Isaac. The afternoon *namaz*, in which the prophet Jonas first expressed his gratitude on being cast up from the belly of the whale, begins when the shadow projected on the dial is of twice the length of the gnomon; and it may be said as long as the sun continues above the horizon. The evening prayer is believed by Mahometans to have been instituted by Jesus Christ; the hours appointed by this *namaz* are from the setting of the sun to complete nocturnal darkness, when the night prayer is performed, in imitation of Moses. On Friday, which is consecrated to public worship in commemoration of the creation of man, the Mahometans recite an additional *namaz*, and a prayer *salath' uldjuma* between sunrising and noon.

" In the *namaz* there are several prostrations, some of which must not on any account be omitted, being *farz*, or the immediate command of God: others may be omitted, though not without some degree of sin, being *sunneth*, institutions of the prophet, or rather an imitation of his practice.

" The Turks admit of purgatory, in which the believer is to repeat the prayers which he omitted in his life time, or neglected to say at the appointed times. They assert that the sinful soul is greatly benefited by the prayers of the living, and still more so by the reading of the Koran, whereby the angel Gabriel is assisted in guarding the soul from the devils, during the forty days of its hovering about the grave wherein the body is laid.

" The *abdest*, or ablution of the hands, face, mouth, head, neck, arms, and feet, accompanied with suitable prayers, is performed by the Turks in a particular manner, to distinguish them from the Persians, and is an indispensable preparation to the *namaz* or prayer. *Ghoussoul* is the purification of the whole body, in cases which are specified in the religious code of the Mahometans. *Ghassl*, or simple washing, is ordered for removing any visible or substantial impurity, from the clothes or the person, of a nature to invalidate or annul the virtue of prayer.

" The fast of the month of *ramazan* consists in abstaining from food or drink, or any gratification of the senses, during the whole time of the sun's continuance above the horizon.

" The immediate ministers of religion make no part of the body of *ulema*. In the larger mosques there are *sheïks*, or preachers: *kiatibs*, readers or deacons, who, in imitation of the prophet and caliphs, and in the name and under the sacerdotal authority of the sultan, discharge the functions of the *imameth* or high priesthood; *imams*, who recite the *namaz*; and *muezzins*, who summon the people to prayers; besides *cayyims* or sextons. In villages, or small parishes, the duties of the whole are performed by the *imam*, who is sometimes also the *hogia*, or schoolmaster for the children: but he owes this appointment to his being the only person possessing sufficient

ficient leisure or the necessary qualifications.

"The ministers of religion throughout the Turkish empire are subordinate to the civil magistrate, who exercises over them the powers of a diocesan. He has the privilege of superseding and removing those whose conduct is reproachable, or who are unequal to the dignified discharge of the duties of their office. The magistrates themselves may, whenever they think proper, perform all the sacerdotal functions, and it is in virtue of this prerogative, joined to the influence which they derive from their judicial power and their riches, that they have so marked a pre-eminence, and so preponderant an authority, over the ministers of public worship.

"The priests in their habits of life are not distinguished from other citizens: they live in the same society and engage in the same pursuits: they sacrifice no comforts, and are compelled to no acts of self-denial: their influence on society is entirely dependent on their reputation for learning and talents, or gravity and moral conduct. They are seldom the professed instructors of youth, much less of men, and by no means are they considered as the directors of conscience. They merely chant aloud the church service, and perform offices, which the master of a family or the oldest person in company, as frequently, and as consistently, perform as themselves. The Turks know nothing of those expiatory ceremonies which give so much influence to the priesthood: all the practices of their religion can be, and are performed without the interference of their priests.

"The institution of the different orders of *dervishes* is foreign to the genuine spirit of the Mahometan religion. Some of the Ottoman ministers have even attempted their suppression; but the vulgar, who certainly consider their ceremonies as of the nature of incantation, submit to their caprices, and court their benediction by respect and liberality.

"The professors of Islamism, in the genuine spirit of piety, consider that religion is best characterised by acts of public utility. They have been accused of ostentation in their charities, and of being actuated only by the spirit of pride or superstition; but it is surely a pardonable, if not even a laudable, superstition, to suppose the author of all good looking with complacency on the humble imitation of his perfections; and a justifiable pride, to feel the heart swell upon seeing the weary and the hungry fed and refreshed, the ignorant instructed, and the sick healed, by our beneficence. A *khan* or *caravanserai* for the accommodation of travellers, a mosque with its schools and hospitals, a fountain, a bridge, or a public road, cannot be unostentatiously established, without abridging their utility. "We must not attribute their erection," says Mr. Eton, "to patriotism or public spirit." Be it so: but I have gallopped across a scorching desert, in hopes of discovering a fountain to allay the thirst of myself or my horse, and have blessed the philanthropy which had searched out, and erected a monument on, the only spot which furnished water. Baron de Tott asserts, that "the *namaz giahs*, or places for ablution and prayer erected on the road side, are worth a great number of indulgences, for which the Turks, who obtain them, find a ready sale."—But the Turks are unacquainted with indulgences: they indeed allow that the merit of good works may be transferred

transferred or sold; and their historians relate that Sultan Bajazet, after vainly endeavouring to prevail on a pasha to yield to him the merit of erecting a bridge over a torrent which interrupted the communication between Constantinople and Adrianople, struck off the pasha's head, swam across the torrent at the hazard of his life, and ordered his army to halt till the waters had abated.

"Hospitality to strangers and giving alms to the poor, are virtues to which the Oriental nations are much habituated. In imitation of the patriarchs, and with unaffected simplicity, the tables of the rich and great are daily open to all who can with propriety present themselves; while inferior persons of every class range themselves around the tables of the officers of their household and their domestics; and the fragments are distributed at the door to the poor and the hungry. A servant would blush at the idea of making a perquisite of them: even the peasant will offer the corner of his hut to the traveller, and rather than refuse him a welcome, will put himself to considerable inconvenience to entertain him. The right of proprietorship is seldom exerted to exclude from a garden, an orchard, or a vineyard, any person who may choose to enter them, and to pluck and eat the herbs or the fruit. I will not wholly attribute to the same principle their tenderness to the inferior classes of animals, as in some cases they seem to be restrained from molesting or destroying them, as much by indolence as humanity. The dog, as an unclean animal whose contact produces legal defilement, is rigorously excluded from their dwellings and the courts of their mosques. But they allow dogs to increase in their streets till they become an intolerable nuisance, even in the day time, and are really a formidable evil to those, who have occasion to pass through the Turkish quarter of the town at night. These animals have divided the city into districts. They jealously guard from encroachment the imaginary line which bounds their native territory; and they never transgress it, either in their pursuit of an invading dog, or in their attack on the passenger, whom they deliver over at their frontier to be worried by the neighbouring pack. Contsantinople may be considered as the paradise of birds: the doves feed unmolested on the corn which is conveyed in open lighters across the harbour, and they feed with such a confidence of safety that they scarcely yield a passage to the boatmen or labourers. The confused noise of the harbour is increased by the clang of sea-birds: to shoot at them in the neighbourhood of the city would be rash; and even in the villages on the Bosphorus inhabited by Franks, where the Turks can only censure, they never fail to reproach the murdering of them as wanton cruelty. The hog alone, of all animals, excites in the Turks a sense of loathing and abhorrence; and though permitted in the infidel quarters of some provincial towns, is scrupulously banished from the capital and its suburbs. The hog, however, is a creature destined by nature to live in filth and mire, and to cleanse the neighbourhood of the habitations of men; and it may be worth inquiry, whether the absence of so useful an animal, by deranging the order of nature, may not tend to the production, or facilitate the progress, of the plague.

"The physical effect of climate upon the character, though its operation cannot be wholly denied, is yet

yet so much over-ruled by moral causes, that they alone form the line of demarcation between the different inhabitants of this great empire. The austerity of the Mahometan religion gives to its votaries a certain moroseness of character, which, towards the person of a different persuasion, is heightened into superciliousness. The gravity of deportment, which such a religion necessarily generates, is left without its proper corrective, the gayety inspired by the presence and conversation of women. The Turk is usually placid, hypochondriac, and unimpassioned; but, when the customary sedateness of his temper is ruffled, his passions, unsoftened in their expression by the influence of female manners, are furious and uncontroulable. The individual seems possessed with all the ungovernable fury of a multitude; and all ties, all attachments, all natural and moral obligations, are forgotten and trampled upon, till his rage is appeased or subsides. De Tott represents them as "seeking celebrity by murder, without having courage to commit it deliberately, and deriving from intoxication only sufficient resolution for such a crime." But intoxication itself is a vice so rare among the Turks, that it is evident De Tott must have drawn his general conclusion from some particular instance. It has been asserted, with more truth, by a more ancient author than De Tott, "that brawls and quarrels are rare among the Turks: assassinations are unheard of; and though among men striving onward in the same career there must necessarily exist a spirit of envy and secret rancour, yet the base means of supplanting a rival candidate by slander and detraction are seldom resorted to." The point of honour so much insisted upon, and so pernicious in its consequences, among Europeans, exerts a very feeble influence over the minds of the Turks. De Tott's observation applies rather to the Italians or the Greeks of the Ionian islands, than to the Turks, among whom it is certain that anger generally evaporates in terms of reproach. The practice of duelling is confined to the soldiers and *galiongis* (or marines), if a combat can deserve the name of duel, which for the most part is decided on the spot where the offence was given, and with such weapons as are nearest at hand, or the parties may happen to wear, whether knives, or swords, or pistols. The man of rank may insult his inferior by words or even blows; and as the one derives impunity from his situation, so the other feels no farther than the real, or physical, extent of the injury. An affront received from an equal is retorted without any variation of form, and is almost immediately forgotten, if the friends of the parties interfere and propose a reconciliation. There must indeed be some exceptions to this remark, though they occur so rarely, that I cannot recollect to have heard a single instance which can justify the general assertion of Sir James Porter, "that they are vindictive beyond conception, perpetuating revenge through successive generations:" and indeed we may appeal to the general experience of human nature, whether such a temper be not inconsistent with the constitutional apathy of the Turks; or whether the resentment, which bursts out in sudden fury, be not generally of very short duration.—D'Ohsson indeed asserts, that individuals have exhibited such depravity of heart, as to cherish their projects of vengeance, and sacrifice with unrelenting barbarity the object of their

their resentment after an interval of forty years. I cannot question a fact supported by such respectable testimony; neither can I consider it as an illustration of the national character, but rather as a departure from that conduct which the Mussulman law, and the manners of the Ottoman people, more naturally generate. If the circumstances of the case had been more fully explained, I have little doubt but we should discover, that this long continued anger of the Turk had been first excited by the insolence of a *rayah*, the creature or the favourite of a man in power. An affront of this nature is seldom forgotten, but is indeed as rarely given; for the *rayah*, however puffed up with arrogance towards his fellows, cautiously avoids the expression of superiority towards a Turk even in the humblest situation, as knowing, that in the ordinary course of events he may be raised to posts of the highest dignity. But if we admit among the features of the national character an implacability of temper, we may oppose to it, and in instances more frequently exhibited, the moral quality of gratitude. A benefit conferred on a Turk is seldom forgotten: the greater his elevation, the more does he feel and acknowledge the desire and the duty of repaying benefits. "I have received kindness from him in the days of humiliation and distress: I have eaten his bread and his salt:" and the obligation, so simply, yet so energetically expressed, is sacred and never to be annulled.

"Drunkenness is condemned by the Mussulman law and the customs of the Ottoman nation. It is, however, considered but as a venial crime, and has been indulged in by some of their greatest sultans. Selim the Second was so addicted to it, that he even obtained the surname of *Mest*, or the Drunkard; but the Turkish historians observe, in extenuation of his excesses, that they never caused him to omit his daily prayers. Intemperance in wine had come to such an ungovernable excess among the Turks in the reign of Soliman the First, that that *virtuous* prince says D'Ohsson, was obliged to have recourse to the most rigorous penalties to check the use of it. He carried his severity even so far, as to order melted lead to be poured down the throats of the obstinate transgressors of the precepts of the Koran. But, as a Turkish writer has well observed, "the religion of a nation is as the religion of a monarch:" for Selim the Drunkard, the son and immediate successor of Soliman, seduced the nation by his example into the most unblushing debauchery. "Let others put their trust in man," said the jovial sultan, "I throw myself into the arms of the Almighty, and resign myself to his immutable decrees. I think only of the pleasures of the day, and have no care for futurity." Murad the Fourth, seduced by the gayety and example of Becri Mustafa, not only drank wine in public, but allowed the free use of it to his subjects, and even compelled the *mufti* and *cazyaskers* to drink with him.

"The practice of drinking wine is generally reprobated; but as drinking a large quantity entails no greater a curse than moderation, those who have once transgressed, proceed without further scruple to perfect ebriety. Busbequius saw an old man at Constantinople, who, when he took the glass in his hand, summoned his soul to take refuge in some corner of his body, or to quit it entirely, and thereby avoid partaking of his crime or being polluted. I myself have frequently observed

served an habitual drunkard carefully remove his mustaches from defilement, and, after a hearty draught, distort his face, as though he had been taking medicine. The prophet has declared, that the pens of the two recording angels are unemployed upon the actions of men in certain situations of life; of those who sleep, until they awake; of minors, until the full maturity of their reason; and of madmen, until they be restored to their senses. I conclude, rather indeed from the conduct of the Turks than from the glosses of the Mussulman doctors, that the drunkard, the voluntary madman, is also considered as not morally accountable for his conduct until his phrenzy be dissipated.

" Those who intoxicate themselves with opium are stigmatized with the appellation of *teriaki*.— The usual effects of that drug are that it exhilarates, lulls, and proportionably depresses, those who habituate themselves to it, and brings on decrepitude and ideotism. To some it is by habit rendered so necessary, that the fast of the month Ramazan, during which they are deprived of it in the day time, becomes a serious penance. I have been assured by a Turk, but I do not warrant his assertion, that in order to alleviate their sufferings, they swallow, besides their usual pill at the morning *ezann*, a certain number of pills wrapt up in certain folds of paper, which they calculate will resist the powers of the stomach for different lengths of time, and be dissolved in due rotation, so as to correspond with their usual allowance. Dr. Pouqueville cites a still more remarkable fact, which, although he omitted to confirm it by his own inquiries, he says cannot reasonably be questioned, *since every body agrees in asserting its truth*. M. M. Ruffin and Dantan (both dragomans attached to the service of the French legation, and both worthy members of the corps to which they belong), assured him, that in the year 1800, there existed in Constantinople, a Turk known to the whole town under the name of *Suleyman yeyen*, or *Soliman the taker of corrosive sublimate*. " This man," says Dr. Pouqueville, " was a rare instance of longevity. He was nearly an hundred years old when I was in Constantinople. In his early youth he had habituated himself to take opium, till at last, though he augmented his dose, it failed in producing its effect. He had heard of corrosive sublimate, and substituted the daily use of it to that of opium: his dose exceeded a drachm, and he had regularly taken it for upwards of thirty years." I am less acquainted than Dr. Pouqueville with the effects commonly produced by corrosive sublimate: but without indulging in scepticism as to the marvellous part of the story, I cannot persuade myself (unless it be an acknowledged quality of corrosive sublimate to exhilarate in the manner of opium) that even a Turk would gratuitously persist for thirty years, in the daily custom of swallowing a nauseous and poisonous draught.

" The custom of receiving and making presents is consecrated among the Oriental nations by immemorial practice, so that it seems to have acquired the force and inviolability of a law. " Whoever has dealings with the Turks," says Busbequius, " must open his purse from the first moment of his passing their frontiers, and keep it in constant activity during his residence in their country. By no other means can the Turkish austerity be relaxed, or their aversion to foreigners removed. Without this charm it would be a vain attempt to sooth or

to render them tractable. The stranger owes his safety among them only to the influence of money: without it he would experience as few comforts, as in travelling over solitudes condemned by nature to the extremes of heat or cold." Busbequius's judgment in this instance has submitted to the guidance of his rhetoric, and he has been hurried into exaggeration. Foreign ministers of the present day express less disapprobation of the gentle importunities of the Turks, and feel less regret at the necessity of keeping their coffers continually open; an Englishman can, indeed, scarcely read without blushing for the honour of his country, the long detail and wearisome repetition of presents recorded in Dr. Wittman's journal; of snuff boxes and pelisses, of shawls and gown pieces, of sheep and even of money, which, in some instances, appear to have been expected with a greater degree of confidence than is consistent with the nature of a free gift. Among the Turks, presents from a person of equal rank or fortune are considered to denote pure and disinterested affection: the great receive them from their inferiors as marks of homage and respect, and confer them in token of favour or beneficence. Their political institutions suppose the venality of every subdivision of government; and hence the national character for avarice. The subjection of the rayahs furnishes them with the means of satisfying this passion; hence they consider their influence, their authority, the powers of their mind, and the force of their arm, as proper objects of barter in affairs between or against infidels, without regarding the action in a moral point of view: and if Aristotle's judgment could be so biassed by the corrupt institutions of Greece, as to conclude from them, that nature had ordained the barbarians to be slaves, can we wonder that such shallow reasoners as the Turks should consider the abuse which they make of their power as sanctioned by the divine approbation, from the very circumstance of its existing; and should exercise it to their own advantage, whenever the weaknesses and vices, the follies and crimes, of the rayahs afford them the means of acquiring wealth? It is in these instances that they shew their hypocrisy, and will express all the benevolence of virtue, while acting only from sordid and selfish motives. In higher life and public stations, these vices attain a greater extension; and the crimes which flow from them sometimes excite horror in indifferent auditors, but never produce remorse in the perpetrators.

"The pursuit of their own interest exerts their sagacity, and stimulates their industry. But in general it may be observed, that the interest of the moment, and not the permanent good of themselves or of society, is the standard of their actions. The ambitious man, cautious, cunning, and persevering, moves forward to the attainment of his object with undivided attention; and is not checked in his progress or pursuits, by the inferior considerations of consanguinity, friendship, or gratitude. Such, however, is the character of ambition in all countries; and it is not in Turkey alone, that power has been raised on the ruin of a patron or benefactor.

"The Turk, uncorrupted by public employments, considers sincerity as the basis of all virtue, and his word as sacred. But the Turkish courtier veils his purposes with the most impenetrable dissimulation; and the keenest observation cannot detect the tumult of his mind, in

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the interval between the first project and the commission of a crime, on which his life or his fortune depends.

" The Mussulmans, courteous and humane in their intercourse with each other, sternly refuse to unbelievers the salutation of peace.— " Hence," says Cantemir, " Christian princes may easily imagine how infirm is the peace they can promise themselves from the Turks." But the conclusion is erroneous; for they do not refuse temporal peace, but that " which the world cannot give," and which, consistently with their religious opinion, they must suppose to be exclusively attached to a belief in Islamism.

" The common people, more bigoted to their dogmas, express more bluntly their sense of superiority over the Christians; but it is false that even they return the address of a Christian with insult. The formulary of compliments is indeed different: believers recognise each other by the benediction, sanctified by the arch-angel Rafaël in his address to Mahomet, *selam aleykum*, the peace of God be upon thee; but they reply to the civilities of an unbeliever by the polite and charitable expression, *ahbetin hayr ola*, may thy end be happy. Dr. Dallaway says, " I have observed a Turk lay aside his moroseness, and become affable and communicative, when he can do so without stepping from his dignity. I think, indeed, it would be difficult to produce, from the history of any people, an instance of more dignified courtesy, than was exhibited in the reception given by Ised Bey to Baron de Tott. Ised Bey was promoted to the rank of grand vizir; and on the third day after his installation the Baron went to the Porte to pay his respects.— They had served together in the army, and were familiarly acquainted: but de Tott, instead of presuming upon former intimacy, placed himself upon the sopha at a respectful distance. " How, my old friend," said the vizir, " are you afraid to approach me?" Then opening his pelisse, and spreading it on the sopha, " sit down," said he, " on that fur; that is your proper place: though you have forgotten, it ought not to escape my memory." The multitude, says De Tott, who always act from first impressions, immediately exclaimed, with a kind of enthusiasm, " long live our new master." Mr. Eton, pleasantly and accurately enough, compares the general behaviour of a Turk to a Christian, with that of a German baron to his vassal. But if a Turk, as not unfrequently happens, rises above the prejudices and institutions of his country, he then, in his commerce with infidels, divests himself of his predominant passions, and exercises towards them the same virtues which regulate his transactions with men of his own religion.

" The external manners of good breeding among the Turks entirely differ from those established in the other countries of Europe. The uncovering of the head, which with us is considered as the expression of reverence and respect, is ridiculed or reprobated among them, as an act of folly, or as indicating a contempt of propriety and decency. These and similar opinions are universal; and hence the Turks are more strongly attached to the observance of their own peculiar customs.

" Their usual form of salutation is natural and graceful. In greeting an equal, they put the hand on the heart: in addressing a superior, they apply the right hand first to the mouth, and then to the forehead: when a Turk presents him-

self before a man of rank and dignity, he makes a profound inclination of his body, extends his right hand first towards the ground, and then raises it to his mouth and forehead: in the presence of the sovereign, he must even touch the ground before lifting the hand to the head. The air of gravity and decorum of exterior, which are common to the Ottomans, give considerable dignity to this ceremonious expression of homage or civility; and its effect is further improved by the grandeur of their ample and flowing garments. Children and subalterns express submission to their parents, and chiefs, by kissing their robe: if the superior withdraws his robe and presents his hand, and more especially the palm of his hand, it is received as a mark of distinguished favour. The kiss of religious fraternity is interchanged only at the two festivals of *baïram*. At other times, they figuratively express parental or filial affection by extending the hand toward the chin or the beard of the person, and then applying it to their own mouths. The father of a family, and the man of elevated rank, never rise from their seats to receive either their children, or inferiors; and by parity of reasoning, no Mussulman rises to salute an infidel whatever be his situation in life: a guest of distinction, is received at the foot of the stairs by two officers of the household, who support him under the arm as far as the entrance of the visiting chamber, where the master of the house advances to meet him, if his rank entitles him to such marks of respect. At his departure, the master of the house rises with him, and accompanies him to the door of the apartment, walking, not on his right or left side, but a few paces before him. After exchanging compliments, the stranger is reconducted by the pages to the horse or his barge.

"Every traveller must have noticed, (though Dumont appears to be the first who has recorded the observation), that the Turkish usages contrast in a singular manner with our own. This dissimilitude, which pervades the whole of their habits, is so general, even in things of apparent insignificance, as almost to indicate design rather than accident. The whole exterior of the Oriental is different from ours. The European stands firm and erect, his head drawn back, his chest protruded, the point of the foot turned outwards, and the knees straight. The attitude of the Turk is less remote from nature, and in each of these respects approaches nearer to the models which the ancient statuaries appear to have copied. Their robes are large and loose, entirely concealing the contour of the human form, encumbering motion, and ill adapted to manly exercise. Our close and short dresses, calculated for promptitude of action, appear in their eyes to be wanting both in dignity and modesty. They reverence the beard as the symbol of manhood and the token of independence, but they practise depilation of the body from motives of cleanliness. In performing their devotions, or on entering a dwelling, they take off their shoes. In inviting a person to approach them, they use what with us is considered as a repulsive motion of the hand. In writing, they trace the lines from right to left. The master of a house does the honours of his table by serving himself first from the dish: he drinks without noticing the company, and they wish him health when he has finished his draught. They lie down to sleep in their clothes.

clothes. They affect a grave and phlegmatic exterior: their amusements are all of the tranquil kind: they confound with folly the noisy expression of gayety: their utterance is slow and deliberate: they even feel satisfaction in silence: they attach the idea of majesty to the slowness of motion: they pass in repose all the moments of their life which are not occupied in serious business: they retire early to rest; and they rise before the sun.

"The Turks of the capital are somewhat removed from the simplicity of nature in their mode of cloathing their new born infants, whom they bind and swaddle, so as necessarily to obstruct the motion of the principal organs of life, and to exhaust them with excessive perspiration; but they do not attempt by art or dress to correct or improve the human shape: the clothes of persons of both sexes and of all ages, though more in quantity than the climate seems to require, are free from ligatures. They neither confine the neck nor the waist, the wrist, the knees, nor the feet; and though their clothes may encumber them in quick motion, yet they sit easily and gracefully upon them when walking with their usual gravity, or when reclining on the sopha. The turban, is, however, a part of the Turkish dress which is not recommended by any convenience.—It is apt to overheat the head by its bulk and weight; and its form is exceedingly inconvenient to a people, whose chief exercise and diversion are in horsemanship.

"The use of the warm bath is universal among persons of both sexes, and all classes, as well for the purposes of purification from worldly and carnal stains, as for health and cleanliness. Some writers are of opinion that it induces, among the women, a habit of too great relaxation. But in the men, it certainly developes and invigorates the powers of the body. The Russians have the custom of plunging themselves into cold water, immediately on coming out of the hot bath; which I have seen them do (and I must confess with some degree of astonishment) in the severest rigour of the winter, and exposed to a bleak north east wind. Busbequius's physician, an Hungarian, used the same as a medicine at Constantinople; but such custom, if at all practised among the Turks, is unusual.

"The habitual use of the vapour bath is peculiar to that great Scythian family, from the Tartar branch of which the Turks derive their origin. The Greeks and Romans, whose language from its resemblance to the modern Russian in terms essential to the very existence of society, proves a preceding relationship, used the warm bath, as it is still used in the Russian and Turkish empires, from the northern extremities of Europe to the neighbourhood of the tropic; while the Gothic families, who overspread and settled in the western empire, suffered the vapour baths to fall into disuse. But the custom itself is certainly derived from the north: the inhabitants of the temperate climates, and still more those in the southern latitudes, would naturally prefer the refreshment of cold bathing. The Turks, however, whether they adopted or inherited the custom, found it established in the eastern empire, and perpetuated the use of it.

"The public baths are elegant and noble structures, built with hewn stones; the inner chambers

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are capacious, and paved with slabs of the rarest and most beautiful marble. Savary has described the luxuries of an Oriental bath with an enthusiasm, which nothing that I have experienced enables me to account for. A very comfortable sensation is communicated during the continuance in the heated rooms, and it is heightened into luxury, when the bather reposes himself on a couch after the ablution. But delicious repose, though the highest gratification to a Turk, can be considered by the European only as rest from pain, and can never excite the raptures of actual pleasure.

" A Turkish bath consists of several apartments; the entrance is into a spacious and lofty hall, lighted from above: round the sides are high and broad benches, on which mattresses and cushions are arranged: here the bather undresses, wraps a napkin about his waist, and puts on a pair of wooden sandals, before going into the bathing rooms.

" The first chamber is but moderately warm, and is preparatory to the heat of the inner room, which is vaulted, and receives light from the dome. In the middle of the room is a marble estrade, elevated a few inches: on this the bather stretches himself at full length, and an attendant moulds or kneads the body with his hand for a considerable length of time. After this operation the bather is conducted into one of the alcoves or recesses, where there is a basin, supplied by pipes with streams of hot and cold water: the body and limbs are thoroughly cleansed by means of friction with a horse-hair bag, and washed and rubbed with a lather of perfumed soap. Here the operation ends: the bather stays a few minutes in the middle chamber, and covers himself with dry cotton napkins: thus prepared he issues out into the hall, and lies down on his bed for about half an hour.

" The Turk, stretched at his ease in his pavilion on the banks of the Bosphorus, glides down the stream of existence without reflection on the past, and without anxiety for the future. His life is one continued and unvaried reverie. To his imagination the whole universe appears occupied in procuring him pleasure. The luxuriance of nature, and the labours of a tributary people spread out before him whatever can excite or gratify the senses; and every wind wafts to him the productions of the world, enriched by the arts, and improved by the taste, of the industrious Europeans.

" The luxuries of a Turkish life would sink however in the estimation of most people, on a comparison with the artificial enjoyments of Europe. Their houses are built in contempt of the rules of architecture: their gardens are laid out without order, and with little taste: their furniture is simple, and suited rather to the habits of a military or vagrant people, than to the usages of settled life: their meals are frugal, and neither enlivened by wine nor conversation. Every custom invites to repose, and every object inspires an indolent voluptuousness.—Their delight is to recline on the soft verdure under the shade of trees, and to muse without fixing their attention, lulled by the tinkling of a fountain or the murmuring of a rivulet, and inhaling through their pipe a gently inebriating vapour.—Such pleasures, the highest which the rich can enjoy, are equally within the reach of the artisan or the peasant. Under their own vines and their own fig-trees, they equally feel

feel the pride of independence, and the uninterrupted sweets of domestic comfort. If they enjoy not the anxieties of courtship, and the triumph over coyness and modesty, their desires are inflamed and their passions are heightened, by the grace of motion, the elegance and suppleness of form, and the beautiful symmetry of shape and features. The education and modes of life of their women, though certainly too confined and too limited to domestic objects, for the cultivation of talents which exercise and invigorate the powers of the mind, yet leave them all the charms which can result from nature, and sentiment, and truth.

"The Turks particularly delight in conversation; and their colloquial intercourse is ornamented with all the graces of a manly and polished style. Nothing can convey a more favourable idea of Turkish urbanity than to observe the natural and becoming gravity, the decent raillery, the sprightly turns of expression, and the genuine wit, with which they carry on discourse. In the long evenings of a Ramazan a *meddhé*, or professed story-teller, will entertain a large company in private assemblies, or in coffee-houses, with histories, which sometimes are pleasingly marvellous, as those of the Arabian Nights, sometimes a ludicrous representation of foreign or rustic manners, and sometimes political satire. Even the common people listen to them with pleasure, and criticize with taste and judgment the construction of the fable, the intricacy and developement of the intrigue, the style and sentiments, the language and the elocution.

"The standard of delicacy varies so much in different countries, and even among the same people at different times, that it may be unfair to judge of past ages, or of foreign manners, by a strict comparison with our own established maxims. The *Ombres Chinoises*, which in Turkey supply the want of dramatic exhibitions, are chiefly reserved for the entertainment of retired leisure. I have also seen them sometimes from the window of a coffee-house in a public street; though I confess I did not partake of the satisfaction which the populace so repeatedly expressed, at indecencies too ludicrously absurd to excite any other feeling than derision or disgust.—Young men, born in the Greek islands of the Archipelago, exercise the infamous profession of public dancers: they chiefly perform in the wine houses in Galata; but they, as well as public gladiators, who attack and defend themselves with a sword and a shield, are frequently hired to enliven the entertainment given at a marriage or a circumcision. The female dancers are Turkish women, of whom I know nothing but from description, and the imitation of their manner by other women.

"Of other public amusements of which the Turks are willing spectators, the chief is wrestling.—Sandys describes this game as he saw it at Acre in Syria. "Here wrastle they in breeches of oyled leather, close to their thighs: their bodies naked and anointed according to the ancient use, derived, as it should seem by Virgil, from the Trojans. They rather fall by consent than by slight or violence." In Turkey the contest in wrestling is not, however, decided by a fall: the victory is determined by one of the parties being thrown on his back, and held in that posture, while his adversary recovers his feet. When the wrestlers have finished

nished the combats or exhausted their strength, they give each other the kiss of peace.

"To ride on horseback and to throw the *djerid,* a sort of light javelin, are considered as the necessary accomplishments of a Turkish gentleman. They are excellent horsemen, and throw the *djerid* with admirable dexterity and force. I know of no exercises fitter to give grace, strength, and agility to the body.—The young men contend with each other for superiority in exercises of force or address. A common amusement is to lift a weighty stone on the palm of the hand, and after running with it a few paces, to throw it to the greatest possible distance.

"Mourning, or any external expression of grief, is considered as a murmuring against the dispensations of Providence, and reprobated by law and custom. The mother, however, is allowed to lament the death of her son, and to mourn for three days; and though all restrain their feelings, and at most indulge in melancholy, yet they decorate the tombstones of their parents, their children, or their friends, with epitaphs expressive of their fondness and affection, of regret for their loss, and their hopelessness of finding any further enjoyment in this world. They divert their melancholy by prayers, and other acts of devotion, for the relief of the departed soul; and are frequently seen kneeling by the side of a new made grave, and performing their pious supererogations.

"They hasten to relieve the sufferings of the soul on its quitting the body, by almost immediate interment, and never willingly defer the burial till the morrow of the decease. Such precipitation must sometimes be productive of the most dreadful consequences; and the evil is further extended by the practice being imitated by the Jews, and Armenian Christians.

"The Turks conceal the body, during its passage to the burying ground, under a shell or coffin, called *tabut,* at the head of which is the turban, or muslin, denoting the rank, or sex, of the person. It is carried to the grave by the friends of the deceased; a duty enjoined by the prophet, who has declared that he who carries a dead body the space of forty paces, procures for himself the expiation of a great sin. The graves are shallow, and the body is protected from the immediate pressure of the earth, by thin boards placed over it obliquely. The Greeks and Armenians carry the body through the streets dressed up in its greatest finery, and on the burying ground enfold it in a winding sheet. I have myself met a procession, returning with the body of a Greek exposed on a bier, which, on the brink of the grave, had given signs of life; and I have heard of bodies being interred, notwithstanding unequivocal symptoms of animation. De Tott, with his usual levity and exaggeration, says, that "in the Turkish burying grounds the voices of some unhappy people have been heard from beneath; and they were left to perish for want of immediate relief, which was withheld that the fees of interment might not be restored."

"The tomb-stone at the head of a man's grave is erect, and decorated with a turban carved in stone, which distinguishes it from that of a woman. The cemetery is a wood of cypresses, as a tree is planted near every new grave. All persons, except the sultan's families, and some few of high rank, are buried without

out the cities: and as a grave is never again opened, a vast tract of the country is occupied by the burying fields, among which one at the head of the harbour, supposed to contain the remains of Ayub, a companion of Mahomet, who fell in the first siege of Constantinople by the Arabs, and was esteemed a saint and martyr, is distinguished by a great number of elegant mausolea. Those on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus are preferred by many persons, because the holy cities of Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, and Damascus, are situated in that quarter of the world.

"The epitaphs contain the name and quality of the deceased, the day of his death, and an exhortation to the passenger to repeat the introductory chapter of the Koran, *fatihha*: they represent death as the term of human misery, congratulate the deceased on his happiness, and compare his soul to a nightingale of paradise. "May the Eternal deign to envelope his soul in a cloud of mercy and gladness, and cover his tomb with the brightness of divine light." On the tombstones of their children, the parents bewail their affliction, and complain that death has plucked the rose from the garden of beauty, has torn the tender branch from the parent stock, and left a father and a mother to consume the remainder of their lives in grief and bitterness.

Amusements and Manners of Persia.

[From Mr. Warring's Tour to Sheeraz.]

"THE Persians very often complain of a want of time, but which I could only account for by applying the common remark, that the most indolent are usually the forwardest to repine at a deficiency of leisure. A man of rank in Persia generally rises before the sun, he says his prayers, and then enters his Deewan Khanu; his kuleean is brought him, perhaps some fruit: and here it is that he expects his visitors and dependents. He is probably engaged with them till nine o'clock; listening to the reports of the morning, settling disputes, and arranging domestic concerns. It is now time for him to visit the prince or the governor; and if he is likely to be detained there beyond mid-day, preparations are made for conveying his chast (dinner). He pays his obeisance, and takes precaution to remain sufficiently long in the presence of the person he visits to attract his observation. His kuleean always accompanies him; and when he thinks he can retire unnoticed, he regales himself with smoking. At noon the governor probably retires, which is a signal for all those who are in attendance to depart. When he returns home, the chast is brought, and eat with a good appetite. The mid-day prayers are to be said, after which he retires to sleep till three o'clock. He may again have to attend the Duri Khoona; if not, he pays visits; or, if he is too high a personage, he remains

mains at home to receive them. He has to perform the Numazi usur, or afternoon prayers.

"When it becomes dark, the carpets are spread in the open air, and with either his friends or dependents he prepares to pass the night. The kuleean supplies the intervals of silence; and, if he can afford it, a set of Georgian slaves exert themselves for his amusement. The evening prayer is now to be said; this does not interrupt the harmony of the evening, for as one performs it another gets up to supply his place. The business of saying prayers appears to be a necessary and irksome task, and they get rid of it with the utmost expedition. In Persia it seems to be an established custom for every person to perform his five daily prayers; this is an observance which is but little attended to in India. The numaz is a ready excuse for the absence or idleness of a servant. About ten the shoom (supper) is brought, and the hour of eleven usually closes the eventful day.

"This is, as far as I am able to judge, a true description of the way in which persons of rank pass their time. About five or six khans are not under the necessity of visiting the Duri Khoonu; they are independent of the governor, and therefore only pay him ceremonious visits. But the remainder pass their days nearly as I have represented. The sheikh of Bushire, and the governors of districts, or their representatives, are obliged to be in constant attendance at the Duri Khoonu, and must have enjoyed this *even course* of life. Agha Ruza, with whom I lived, and who was Darogha of the Bazars, constantly attended on either the prince or governor: and, as he held his appointment from the king, he had less occasion for their favour than the governors of districts, who are their immediate dependents.

"The merchants, instead of visiting the governor, visit the Caravansera, where they have usually shops. Here they expose their merchandise for sale, form their speculations, and transact all their concerns. By renting a room at a Caravansera, they not only avoid all kind of interruption when at home, but are also able to purchase goods to large amounts, by walking from one merchant's apartments to another's. If they are too poor to sleep, they remain until evening; and their day is always closed, like their superiors, with an enormous supper. Another prayer remains to be said about the middle of the night, which, except by a few, is, I believe, mostly forgotten.

"With what profound contempt does a Moosulman look upon the qualifications of being able to sing, play, or dance! He gravely twists his beard, and probably ejaculates a prayer of thanks that he was born a gentleman. This accounts for the serious and taciturn character of a Moosulman. Ignorance frequently limits his conversation within narrow bounds; and a habit of silence renders speaking a disagreeable and irksome task. A learned Moohammedan gentleman is a rare character; indeed men of rank think it beneath them to know any thing but their own consequence.

"This is not, however, much the case with the Persians, who are generally affable and courteous men, possessing a variety of anecdote, and considerable information. It is the custom with them to converse upon literary subjects, and repeat a variety of verses before supper, which enables them to acquire a stock of superficial knowledge with little or no

trouble,

trouble. And perhaps it may be thought that their evenings are spent to more advantage, and more rationally, than if they had been taken up by a game of cards, which interests the passions without informing the mind. The extent of their memory is really astonishing; they will repeat almost any ode you may mention, and yet I believe they read less than any description of people.

"Many of the great people keep sets of Georgian boys, who are instructed to sing, to play on various instruments, and perform feats of activity. The Persian songs are very sweet and pathetic; and the music which accompanied their voices I thought to be very good. Their songs are in praise of wine and beauty, mixed with frequent complaints of the cruelty of their mistresses. The following is a specimen of their songs:

"Hasten hither, O cup-bearer, ere I die;
"See that my shroud be made of the leafy vine.
"Wash me in rosy wine,
"And scatter my ashes at the door of the tavern.
"I am faithful, I am still constant;
"Turn not away from me, for I am a suppliant."

"The Arabic songs are sung in parts, and much quicker than the Persian time. There are two men at Sheeraz who are considered to be very superior players on an instrument very like a violin; I heard them, and admired them much, but could form no judgment on their performance. These men, and the dancers, drink wine in enormous quantities, and that too publicly.

"Although the Persian music is so greatly superior to that of India, their dances are as much inferior, being nothing more than an exhibition of the most indecent and disgusting movements and gestures. The dances in India are admirably calculated to set off an elegant figure to the highest advantage; and, notwithstanding the warm and animated descriptions which have been given of the indelicacy and voluptuousness of eastern dancers, I must confess that many of them appear to me wholly unobjectionable.

"The most beautiful women in Persia are devoted to the profession of dancing; the transparency of their shift, which is the only covering they use to conceal their persons, the exquisite symmetry of their forms, their apparent agitation, and the licentiousness of their verses, are so many incentives to a passion, which requires more philosophy than the Persians possess to restrain.

"After the dancers, come another description of people, if possible of more infamous morals. They are called Lootees, a kind of buffoon; and, as I learnt, have free access to the prince and governor, whom they amuse by a variety of indecent anecdotes and stories, which they relate or invent, of the inhabitants of Sheeraz. Both the prince and governor keep a set of these wretches, who are allowed to take the greatest liberties with the most respectable characters; and who are obliged, in their own defence, to make them presents to ensure their forbearance, and to get rid of their importunity. They perform feats of activity and sleights of hand; but their principal means of subsistence is on the contributions they levy on strangers. They appear to be a privileged people; and, I believe, the reason why they are so often entertained in the houses of the great, arises from a dread lest they should exert the influence they are supposed to possess against them. Aga Ruza often had them; but why I could never discover.

"Another

"Another amusement, among those who can afford it, is listening to a Shah Namu Khoon, a person who repeats and acts various passages of Ferdousee's epic poem called the Shah Namu. This is an amusement of a very superior kind, and one which a stranger is sure to delight in. They act the different descriptions of the poet with great spirit, particularly the account of the battle between Roostum, the hero of the poem, and Sohrab.

"Although I did not understand the meaning of several words, I was fully able to comprehend the purport of every verse, and as they repeat the lines in an artificial voice, you are able to follow them with ease.

"The game of back-gammon is common among the Persians, they know little of the game of chess. The priests hold persons who play, particularly if it is for money, in little estimation; and, I fancy, most conscientiously believe, that they will suffer in a future world for these acts of impiety. They have horse-races at Sheeraz, but I was not there at the proper season. From description I learnt, that the horses start at least at the distance of fifteen miles, and pursue a direct course to the post. No care is taken to level the ground; and, as it very often happens that more than twenty horses start together, there are frequent accidents. Purses of gold are given to the owners of the first, second, and third horses. They take great pains in training their horses, which they do for a much longer time than I believe is practised in Europe.

"The military men are constantly playing at jureed-bazee, which is throwing a dart three cubits long at a horseman when they are at full gallop. The person at whom it is thrown either catches it in his hand, or throwing himself under the horse's belly, allows it to fly over him. This they perform very expertly; and which is by no means easy, when we recollect that the horse is going nearly at his speed. The jureed comes with sufficient force to break an arm. They also amuse themselves with riding full speed, turning round on their saddles, and firing a small carbine they carry; or in throwing the jureed on the ground, and catching it as it rebounds. The Persians appear very bad horsemen to Europeans; one thing is evident, that they must ruin a horse's mouth in the course of a month.

"The dress of the Persians is admirably calculated either for a cold or hot climate. Their limbs are under no restraint, and their clothes may be put on or thrown off in five minutes. The Persians are generally too poor to be fashionable, their dress, therefore, seldom varies, except in the colour of the robes. The Qajjars, however, preside over fashion; and every thing which is supposed to be neat or elegant, is called Qujuree or à la Qajjar. Their clothes may be easily described. The Zeer Jamus are very light trowsers made of silk, those worn in the hot weather sometimes of flax; the peerahun, or shirt, comes over the trowsers, and then the Urkhaliq, which is made of a Masulipatam chintz, or fine shawls. The outside robe, or quba, is made of various kind of cloths, some of which are very magnificent and expensive; the kolah, or cap, is made of the skin of the sheep of Tartary, which is very fine, and beautifully black. The merchants are prohibited wearing either scarlet or crimson cloths, and also using silver or gold buttons to their robes. This may not possibly amount to a prohibition,

hibition, but as it is never done, it is attended with the same effect. The wearing of silks is interdicted by the Moosulman law, but they avoid this by mixing a very little cotton with them: a large quantity of this kind of cloth (Gurmasoot) is imported into Persia from Guzerat.

"The Persians neither resemble those of old, nor their neighbours the Indians, in effeminacy of dress. The king, I believe, is the only person in the empire who wears any kind of jewels; and he only does so on state occasions. They greatly ridicule the fondness the Indians have for female ornaments; and they relate a story of one who was travelling in Persia, whom the Rahdars took for a woman, and would not be convinced to the contrary, until they had taken him to the Hakim. The pompous and high sounding titles of India are likewise a fund of amusement to them; for, excepting the dignity of Ihtimad ood doulu, which is given to their prime minister, and the hereditary honour of Khan, there are no other marks of distinction among them.

"It is the custom for the military men to press their caps down on one side; the mirza, or civil officers, twist a shawl about them; and the artificers, tradesmen, &c. wear their caps upright.

"Shah Ubas, who wished to make the merchants very frugal, issued an order that they were always to wear shawl turbans, and robes of broad cloth. This he thought would be the cheapest dress they could wear, as the shawl would last their lives, and descend to their children, and the cloths would last some years. Although the Persians bathe so often (which is rather a luxurious enjoyment than an act of cleanliness), they are a very dirty people. They very rarely change their garments, and seldom before it is dangerous to come near them. The Persian who accompanied me slept in his clothes until we reached Kazroon, although it was the hottest season of the year; and I believe then was only induced to change his dress at my recommendation. It is thought nothing in Persia to wear a shirt a month, or a pair of trowsers half a year.

"A Persian soldier, armed cap-a-pee, is of all figures the most ridiculous. It is really laughable to see how they encumber themselves with weapons of defence: their horses groan under the weight of their arms. These consist of a pair of pistols in their holsters, a single one slung in their waist, a carbine, or a long Turkish gun, a sword, a dagger, and an immense long spear; for all these fire arms they have separate ramrods tied about their persons, powder-horns for loading, others for priming, and a variety of cartouch-boxes, filled with different sized cartridges. If they are advancing towards you, they may be heard a long way off. I should really suppose that their saddle and arms would weigh about eighty pounds, an enormous addition to the horse's burthen. Yet they consider themselves as light armed troops, ridiculing the Turkish cavalry, who, they say, can take care of little else than their big boots and cap. The arms of the Persians are very good, particularly their swords, which are highly prized by the Turks. They are full of jouhur, or what is called damask; which, however, does not express the meaning of the word, for the jouhur is inherent in the steel. Tavernier says that none but Golconda steel can be damasked; but in this he is mistaken, as the Khorasan swords are more valuable than any others, the blade often

alone

alone costing twenty or thirty guineas.

"The dress of the Persians is very expensive, frequently amounting to sixty or one hundred guineas; but which, of course, must be in proportion to their capacity to bear this expence. The poor people wear no cap, and very little clothes; when the cold weather comes on, they make dresses out of sheep skins, &c.

"The women of Persia, when at home, do not encumber themselves with many clothes, nor are they very attentive to the whiteness of their garments. A peerahun and a pair of zeer jamus is the whole of their dress, the trowsers are made of thick velvet, and their shift either of muslin, silk, or gauze. Their legs appear literally to be tied up in two sacks, and the peerahun is but concealment visible to the rest of their persons. This is their summer apparel; in the winter they wear garments made of shawls, silks stuffed with cotton, and, if they can afford it, cloaks made of sable.

"The Persian women, like the Indian, are totally devoid of delicacy; their language is often gross and disgusting, nor do they feel less hesitation in expressing themselves before men, than they would before their female associates. Their terms of abuse or reproach are indelicate to the utmost degree. I will not disgust the reader by noticing any of them; but I may safely aver, that it is not possible for language to express, or the imagination to conceive, more indecent or grosser images.

"When they leave the house, they put on a cloak, which descends from the head to their feet, and their faces are concealed with *oriental scrupulosity*. The veil which they wear is sometimes worked like a net, or else two holes are made in the cloak for their eyes. It is curious to see a number of tall and elegant formed figures walking in the streets, and presenting nothing to your view but a pair of sparkling black eyes, which seem to enjoy the curiosity they excite. The veil appears to be essential to their virtue; for as long as they can conceal their face, they care not how much they expose the rest of their person. The women in Persia are the only people who wear jewels or use perfumes; and this is a privilege they take much delight in.

"The Persians differ as much from us in their notions of beauty, as they do in those of taste. A large, soft, and languishing black eye with them constitutes the perfection of beauty; and which, they say, diffuses an amorous softness over the whole countenance, infinitely superior to the piercing and ardent glance of majestic beauty. It is chiefly on this account that the women use the powder of antimony, although it adds to the vivacity of the eye, throws a kind of voluptuous languor over it, which makes it appear (if I may use the expression) dissolving in bliss.

"Many of the women of Sheeraz are as fair as those of Europe, but confinement robs them of that lovely bloom so becoming and so essential to female beauty. The Persian women have a curious custom of making their eye-brows meet; and, if this charm be denied them, they paint the forehead with a kind of preparation made for that purpose.

"I need hardly mention that, agreeably to the laws of the Moosulmans, a man may have four wives, and as many concubines as he is able to maintain. Many descriptions have already been given of the seraglios

raglios of the east; with what correctness I am unable to determine. I can pretend to no more information on this subject, than that it is customary, when a man marries a woman, whose age does not admit of her managing his domestic concerns, for him to place at the head of his family a kud banoo (a duenna) who instructs his wife in all the duties it is necessary for her to acquire.

"It is not an observance in Persia as in India, not to marry a widow. After a certain time of mourning, a woman marries again, and is treated by her husband with the same distinction as is shewn to his other wives.

"The city of Sheeraz is divided into muhuls (wards), over which a kud khoda or superintendant presides, but who receives no salary for executing this duty. This office is generally conferred on the most respectable man of the ward, and over all these khud khodas another is appointed, who receives their reports, and communicates them to the governor. It was formerly the custom for them to report the minutest transaction which might happen in their wards; the birth of a child, a marriage or death was instantly conveyed to the ears of the Hakim. This practice is dispensed with at Sheeraz, but is still, I believe, observed in some cities. It is the duty of the kud khoda to acquaint himself with the trade and occupation of the different persons who reside in the ward, and of the means they have of subsistence.

"But the great advantage which results from this division of the city, not only to government, but also to the inhabitants, is on the sudden arrival of a large body of troops, or when the city is laid under contribution. In either case, the kud khodas attend the governor, who informs them what number of men their wards must accommodate, or what sum of money it is requisite they should contribute. They are responsible to the governor; and it is their business to make such an arrangement, that each individual shall suffer in proportion to his capacity to bear this act of violence. The people are generally satisfied with their decisions; for it is needless for them to desist, and often dangerous to delay.

"The licentiousness of the troops is thus prevented by their finding houses ready to receive them; and an indiscriminate plunder is averted by a compliance with the terms of the conqueror. In a despotic monarchy, this division of the city is of wonderful utility; it allows a tyrant, who captures a place, to proceed on a systematic plan of plunder; and the inhabitants of the city suffer much less than those in similar cases have done in Europe.

"There is often a degree of weight attached to the representations of the kud khodas, which serves as a strong restraint on the oppression of a governor. In the event of their suffering greatly from the rapacity or tyranny of the hakim, they sign a petition, representing the causes of complaint, and praying for redress. It is seldom that the king refuses to grant their request. They are the mediators for the poor people; and despots have the sense to know, that oppression, carried beyond a certain extent, can be but of short duration.

"In all the little trifling disputes which occur among neighbours, the kud khoda exerts his influence to bring them to an amicable termination, and frequently with good success. If a husband and wife disagree

agree, he endeavours to effect a reconciliation by remonstrating with the husband, and through the medium of a kud banoo (a kind of governess), with the wife. In short, it is his business to be a peace-maker, and to exert himself for the good of the community over which he presides.

The office of khud knoda appears to me to be a most admirable institution; and, though it will doubtless be often abused, it must, in the end, prove beneficial to the poorer classes of people. Nor can the kud khoda oppress them with impunity; he exposes himself to frequent complaints, and complaints in Persia are generally listened to with avidity. They certainly may become the instruments of tyranny; but we have yet to discover an institution that cannot be abused.

"It has been remarked, that the police of a despotic monarchy is infinitely superior to that in a free state. It is necessary that it should be so; for suspicion is the prevailing cause which directs the actions and councils of a despot.

"The police of Sheeraz is admirably regulated; and I hardly think it possible for the middling classes of people to harbour any design against the government, which should not come to the immediate notice of the governor. The darogha, or superintendent of the bazars, holds his office from government; it is his duty to settle the disputes that may occur in the markets, and to hear the complaints of the people of the bazar. If a shopkeeper refuses to execute, or violates his agreement, you make your complaint to the darogha, who obliges him to perform it; or, if he should prove that he is totally unable, he grants him a certain time for its performance. The humanity of the Mooslman law grants a merchant an opportunity of recovering himself from unforeseen misfortunes. But if the person complained against is of an infamous character, a fine is imposed on him, and the darogha orders him either to be punished or put in confinement.

"The darogha of the bazar likewise superintends the morals of the people; and if he detects any of them drinking wine, or in the society of courtezans, he compels them to purchase his connivance at no small expence.

"I remember Aga Ruza's receiving fifty toomans (guineas) from an unfortunate Armenian, who was caught in the house of a prostitute; and he thought he conferred a favour on him, in allowing him to escape at so easy a rate. He has a large establishment under him, who are employed in preserving the peace of the markets, and in apprehending persons whom they detect acting contrary to the orders of the darogha.

"This appointment is considered to be very lucrative; for, in addition to the presents and bribes he is in the habit of receiving, the people of the bazar furnish him with every thing he requires, that they may ensure his protection and favour.

"The appointment of Meer Usus, or Uhdas, greatly resembles that of Darogha of the Bazar; the former is superintendant of the police during the day, the latter at night. It is his office to preserve the peace of the city, to take up persons who may be out of their houses at improper hours, and to prevent robberies. He has a number of people under him for this purpose, who patrole the streets, and keep watch on the top of the houses. Each shopkeeper in the bazar contributes about two or three-pence a month

to

to defray the expences of this establishment. If a house-keeper is robbed, the Meer Usus, or kucheek-chee-bashee (the head of the watch) are accountable for the robbery, and are obliged either to produce the property stolen, or pay the amount. This rarely happens, for the Meer Usus is generally connected with all the thieves in the city, and can answer for their obedience to his orders. They rob, therefore, in places not under his protection; and, as it is commonly supposed he participates in their plunder, they are connected with each other by a common interest.

The Mohtusib is, I believe, subject to the orders of the Darogha of the Bazar; it is his business to regulate the prices of every article which is sold in the Bazar, and to see that the weights are of the proper standard. This duty is usually performed once a week; and if he convicts any person of using false weights, the punishment is often death.

"Besides these officers, there are others who are stationed at the gates of the city, to prevent the inhabitants of any consequence from leaving the city without the governor's permission. These appointments are doubtless obnoxious to the grossest bribery; but, notwithstanding the evils which result from this system of corruption, they are at least equal to similar institutions in any European country. People have, in general, been clamorous against the laws and ordinances of despotic monarchies, which, they conceive, like the source of a poisoned river, must necessarily infect all its branches; but with what propriety I shall leave those to determine who are acquainted with other states, where property is secured by the payment of a monthly tax of threepence; and where merchandize is conveyed to the remotest parts of the empire without the smallest risk. It may be said, that in despotic monarchies, not only property, but life, depends upon the will of one man, and that where the latter is uncertain, there can be little satisfaction in the enjoyment of the former. This is a maxim which may be disputed; for we have no reason to suppose that the life of either a soldier or a sailor is any ways more uncomfortable, than that of a merchant, remote from the probability or chance of dangers.

"Men of rank or enterprise, who expose themselves by holding responsible situations to imminent hazard, gratify their ambition at the risk of their lives; but they are aware of this, and as they court the danger which it would have been easy for them to avoid, they can have no reason to complain if they fail in their pursuit. They can with no more justice lament their fate, than a minister of state can his being impeached. Far be it from me to become an advocate in favour of a despotic monarchy; yet there is, I think, some reason to doubt the relations we have of the wretchedness and misery of those who live under and are ruled by the laws of an arbitrary government.

"That the Persians suffer greatly from the enormities and oppression of government no one will attempt to deny; nor will any person suppose that an inhabitant of a free country could live either happily or comfortably under the government of a Persian despot. I may, however, be excused doubting, whether the moral character of the Persians qualifies them for a better government; or whether they may not attribute the tyrannical measures of their prince to the enormity of their own excesses.

Customs and Fashions of Amsterdam and its Vicinity.

(From Sir John Carr's Tour through Holland.)

"TO return to the Exchange of this great city: I was much struck with the confluence of people which surrounded one gentleman, who stood with his back towards one of the pillars, and were very eager to get a word or a whisper from him: upon enquiry this proved to be the acting partner of the house of Messrs. Hope; a house that, before the last war, could at any time dictate the exchange to Europe. This place is infested by a great number of Jew fruiterers, who practise all sorts of stratagems to set off their fruit, such as pinning the stalk of a fresh melon upon the bottom of a stale and rotten one, which had nearly succeeded with me. The melons in Holland are remarkably fine; and as a proof of their cheapness, I need only mention, that one morning, when strolling through the streets, I gave no more than the value of tenpence for a very large one, exquisitely flavoured.

"I was much pleased with seeing the marine school, which, although its object is to form a nursery for naval officers, was, strange to relate, much neglected by the stadtholderian government, and was originally instituted, and afterwards supported, by the patriotic spirit of private individuals. The pupils are the children of citizens of all classes, and are received from seven to twelve years of age, upon the payment of a very moderate yearly stipend. Their education and treatment are the same as in similar institutions here and in other countries. In the yard is a brig completely rigged, for the instruction of the boys.

"In the north-east part of the city stands the Rapshuys, or rasp-house, in which criminals, whose offences are not of a capital nature, are confined. A narrow court receding from the street, in which are the keeper's lodge and apartments for the different officers, form the entrance of this prison. Over the gate are some insignificant, painted, wooden figures, representing criminals sawing logwood, and Justice holding a rod over them. The gaoler, apparently a good natured, merry fellow, shewed me into the inner court, forming an oblong square, on three sides of which the cells of the prisoners, and on the fourth side the warehouses, containing the ground dye wood, are arranged. This yard is very much encumbered with piles of log-wood, which sadly reduce the miserable pittance of space allotted for the prisoners to walk in. In one corner, in terrorem, is a whipping-post, with another little figure of Justice holding a rod. In this yard I saw some of the men sawing the Campeachy-wood, with a saw of prodigious large teeth, which appeared to be a work of extreme labour; and upon my so expressing myself to the gaoler, through my *lacquais de place*, he informed me, that at first it required a painful exertion of strength, but that the prisoners by practice were enabled to saw it with ease, and to supply their weekly quota of 200 pounds weight of sawed pieces, and also to make a variety of little articles in straw, bone, wood, and copper, to sell to those who visited the prison. The prison dress consists of a jacket, or surtout of white woollen, white shirts, hats, flannel stockings,

stockings, and leather shoes. The conduct of these unfortunate persons is annually reported to the magistrate, who regulates the period of their confinement, where the case will admit of an exercise of discretion, by such report.

"In the corner of a yard I was shewn a cell, in which, if the person who is confined in it does not incessantly pump out the water let into it, he must inevitably be drowned; but the gaoler informed me that it had not been used for many years, and that it was now only an object of terror. In the warehouses, which are very shabby, were piles of rasped wood for dying of various colours; amongst others, the Evonymus Europæus, the Morus Tinctoria, and the Hæmotoxylum Campechionum. I was informed, that women who are attached to the prisoners, are permitted to visit them at stated periods, without any restraint, by which one of the great political objects of Holland, the encouragement of population, does not suffer by this wholesome separation of the faulty from the blameless members of society. The number of prisoners amounted to 124; they were far from looking healthly; this I attributed more to the height of the walls enclosing the yard, which, as well as the number of logwood piles, must greatly impede the circulation of the air, than to excess of toil and severity of treatment. The prisoners are not encumbered with irons, and I should think an escape from such a prison might be easily effected.

"From the rasp-house I proceeded to the work-house, in the east quarter of the city, close to the Muider and Prince Gragts, an establishment which I believe has no parallel in the world. It is a vast building: the purposes to which it is applied are partly correctional and partly charitable. The number of persons within its walls, when I saw it, amounted to seven hundred and fifty of both sexes, and the annual expence is about one hundred thousand florins. In the rooms belonging to the governors and directresses, are some exquisite pictures by Vandyke, Rembrandt, and Jordaens. In a vast room very cleanly kept and well ventilated, were an immense number of women, occupied in sewing, spinning, &c.; amongst them was a fine, handsome, hearty-looking Irish woman, who had been confined two years at the instance of her husband, for being more fond of a little true Schidam gin than of her liege spouse. In another vast apartment, secured by massy iron railing and grated windows, were about seventy female convicts, who appeared to be in the highest state of discipline, and were very industriously and silently engaged in making lace, &c. under the superintendency of a governess. From the walls of the room were suspended instruments of punishment, such as scourges, irons for the legs, &c. which, we were informed, were not spared upon the slightest appearance of insubordination. These women are always kept apart from the rest. The wards of the men, and the school-rooms for a great number of children, who are educated and maintained under the same roof, as well as the dormitories, were in the highest state of neatness. In another part of this building, never shewn to strangers, were confined about ten young ladies, of very respectable, and some of very high families, sent there by their parents or friends for undutiful deportment, or some other domestic offence—they are compelled to wear a particular dress as a mark of degradation,

tion, obliged to work a stated number of hours a day, and are occasionally whipped; they are kept apart by themselves, and no one but a father, mother, brother, or sister, can see them during their confinement, and then only by an order from one of the directors. Husbands may here, upon complaint of extravagance, drunkenness, &c. duly proved, send their wives to be confined and receive the discipline of the house; and wives their husbands, for two, three, and four years together. The allowance of food is abundant and good, and each person is permitted to walk for a proper time in the courts within the building, which are spacious. Every ward is kept locked, and no one can go in or out without the especial permission of the proper officer.

"Close to this place is the plantation, a very large portion of ground within the city, laid out in avenues, and a great number of little gardens, formed into several divisions by streets of pretty country and summer-houses; and the whole is surrounded by canals. To this *rus in urbe*, such of the citizens and their families repair in the summer to dine or drink tea, whose finances, or spirit of economy, will not admit of their having a house in the country. To render these rural indulgences as cheap as possible, three or four families join in renting one small cottage, or perhaps a summer-house and garden. Never did any spot devoted to the pleasure of nature exhibit more silence and solemnity: no sports, no pastime, no laugh nor gambol: the females drink their tea and work, and the men smoke in peaceful taciturnity, and scarcely move their eyes from their different occupations, unless some very animating and attractive object passes.

"In my way from the plantation to the elegant country residence of a Dutch merchant of high respectability, I passed, a few miles from Amsterdam, two burial-places of the Jews, who wisely bury their dead in the country; the other inhabitants follow the baneful practice of burying in the churches and church-yards in the city, where the catholics deposit their dead very frequently in protestant churches. In Holland the honours of funeral pomp are scarcely ever displayed: the spirit of economy, which seems to be the tutelar saint of these moist regions, seldom incurs a further expence than a plain coffin, which costs little, and some genuine tears or sighs, which cost nothing. To describe the numerous churches, chapels, and conventicles of the religious of all persuasions, who since the revolution live in cordial amity with each other, and with the government, under which they enjoy the rights of equal citizenship, would be a laborious and not a very interesting labour. The quakers here, and in every other town in Holland, are very few: the Jews and the anabaptists are very numerous, and there are many roman catholics. Before the revolution the clergy of the established church were paid by the government; they, as well as every other priest or pastor, are now supported at fixed salaries, raised rateably amongst the inhabitants of the parishes in which they officiate, each sect supporting its own minister. In every parish registers of births, marriages, and deaths, are regularly kept. The church-yards are not disgraced, like ours, with low facetious epitaphs, more calculated to make the living merry, than to lead them to serious meditation. Each parish maintains its own poor, under the controul of a council.

a council. They have also, as with us, out-door poor. The sabbath is kept in Holland with the same solemnity as in England. The great number of noble charitable institutions in Amsterdam, in which the sick and the friendless of all persuasions are received and cherished, without any recommendation but that of affliction, cannot fail to impress a stranger with admiration, though to enumerate them here would not be very entertaining to the reader.

"There are several literary societies in Amsterdam, which are supported with equal spirit and liberality. The Felix Meritis is the principal public institute; it is supported by private subscriptions; no money is paid upon admission; foreigners are admitted with a subscriber's ticket, but no native can be received unless he is a subscriber. This place is a large building, containing some fine apartments, particularly the music-room, which, during the concerts, is much resorted to by the most opulent and fashionable families, many of whom play, with the assistance of professional performers. There are also rooms devoted to philosophy and the arts. In the painting-room I was shewn some works of the modern Dutch painters, which were not above mediocrity: they appear to have lost that exquisite art of colouring, which so eminently distinguished their predecessors. This circumstance is very singular, considering how many ingenious artists this city has produced, amongst whom may be enumerated the three Does, Griffier, Schellinks, the celebrated Adrian, and William Vandervelde, &c. M. Smit, and Mr. De Winter, very opulent merchants, have a fine collection of paintings. Mr. Van Brenton has also a valuable cabinet, in which are the only Venetian pictures supposed to be in Holland; and in the surgery is to be seen a noble picture by Rembrandt.

"The Dutch theatre is large and handsome, and has a noble front. On the night I was there, Madam Wattier performed: she occupies the same place in the public estimation in Holland as the immortal Siddons does in that of England: she is advanced in years, but still continues to display great tragic qualities: at the same time her manner is rather too vehement for an English auditor. The principal dancer in the ballet was Mademoiselle Polly, who dances with great agility. The scenery is good. During the interval between the acts, the people quit the house, to take refreshments and walk in the open air: upon these occasions the national spirit is again displayed: as there is no half-price, little boys hover round the doors, and bid upon each other for the purchase of the re-admission tickets of those who come out, for the purpose of re-selling them at a profit. The French theatre is small but neat, and tolerably well supplied with performers. After the play it is usual to go to the Rondell, where the higher classes of the women of the town assemble to waltz. This assembly-room, like the spill-house of Rotterdam, is frequented by tradesmen, their wives, and their children. After hearing so much of this place, I was greatly disappointed on viewing it. The assembly-room is small and shabby, the music wretched, and adjoining is a small square court, with three or four trees in it, scantily decorated with about a dozen lamps. Such is the celebrated Rondell of Amsterdam, which the Dutch who have never visited England contend

contend is superior to our Vauxhall.

"With a large and very agreeable party, I made an excursion into North Holland, where we visited Brock, one of the most curious, and one of the prettiest villages in Holland. The streets are divided by little rivulets; the houses and summer-houses, formed of wood painted green and white, are very handsome, though whimsical in their shape, and are all remarkably neat. They are like so many mausoleums, for the silence of death reigns throughout the place. The inhabitants, who have formed a peculiar association amongst themselves, scarcely ever admit a stranger within their doors, and hold but little intercourse with each other. During our stay, we saw only the faces of two of them, and those by a stealthy peep. They are very rich, so much so, that many of their culinary utensils are of solid gold. The shutters of the windows in front of the houses are always kept shut, and the principal entrance is never opened but on the marriage or the death of one of the family. The pavement of the street is tesselated with all sorts of little pebbles and cockle-shells, and are kept in such exquisite order, that a dog or a cat are never seen to trespass upon it; and it is said, that formerly there was a law which obliged all passengers to take off their shoes in the summer when they walked upon it; that a man was once reprimanded for sneezing in the streets; and latterly, a clergyman, upon being appointed to fill the church on the demise of a very old predecessor, was treated with great shyness by his flock because he did not (unwittingly) take off his shoes when he ascended the pulpit. The gardens of this village produce deer, dogs, peacocks, chairs, tables, and ladders, cut out in box. Such a museum of vegetable statuary I never witnessed before. Brock represents a sprightly ball-room well lighted up, without a soul in the orchestra or upon the floor. From Brock we proceeded to Saardam, which at a small distance seems to be a city of windmills. The houses are principally built of wood, every one of which has a little fantastic baby-sort of garden, Government has discontinued building ships of war here, which used to be a source of great prosperity to the town; however, its numerous paper and sawing-mills employ a vast number of hands, and produce great opulence to the place. We paid our homage to the wooden cottage where Peter the Great resided when he came to this place to learn the art of ship-building; it is very small, and stands in a garden, and is in tolerable preservation. The women in North Holland are said to be handsomer than in any other part of the country. As I was very desirous of commencing my tour on the Rhine, I was glad to return to Amsterdam.

"The climate of Holland is moist, but far from being unpleasant or unwholesome, although some travellers have thought proper to say it consists of six months of rain and six months of bad weather. The principal divisions of the country are at present the same as they were during the republic, namely, Holland, Overyssel, Zealand, Friesland, Utrecht, Groningen, Guelderland, and Zutphen, besides the Texel and other islands; but the king has it in contemplation, it is said, of speedily dividing the kingdom into ten departments. Holland contains 113 cities or large towns, 1400 villages, and nearly 2,800,000 inhabitants. The military force of Holland amounts to about 40,000 cavalry and

and infantry. A population and a force which cannot but astonish the reader, when he reflects upon the size, soil, and position of the country.

"I intended to have taken the treckschuyt to Utrecht, as the river Amstel is all the way lined with the most beautiful country-houses and grounds in Holland; but as some friends of mine in Amsterdam obligingly proposed accompanying me, and were strongly desirous that I should see Naarden, Soestdyke, and some other places in our way, the boat was relinquished for the carriage. I however recommend the traveller not to omit going to Utrecht by water. Excellent carriages and horses are always to be procured at a large livery-stable keeper's who resides near the Utrecktsche Poort, or Utrecht Gate, in Amsterdam, close to the house from which the Utrecht treckschuyts proceed: for these he must make the best bargain he can, as he will be wholly at the mercy of the proprietor. The inconvenience and imposition arising from travelling in Holland are frequently severely felt, on account of there being no regular posting. In Amsterdam the price of a carriage for the day is fourteen florins, and for this the coachman provides for himself and horses. The back of our carriage towards the horses, folded into two divisions, resting upon the fixed seat, so that when the cushion was placed upon it, the seat was only a little raised; thus the coach became either close or open: the roof was fixed. In this vehicle, with a pair of good horses, we set off for Naarden, a clean, pretty little town, and more skilfully and strongly fortified than any other town in Holland: here the same tranquillity reigns as in most of the other Dutch country towns. From the ramparts, which present a very agreeable walk, there is a fine view of the Zuyder Zee on the northern side, the water of which being in many places very shallow, at a distance resembled moving mounds of sand. Here, and throughout the journey, our coachman gave the preference to coffee, of which the Dutch are remarkably fond, instead of wine or spirits, with his dinner. From economy, as I observed at this place and elsewhere, the middling people keep a bit of sugar-candy in their mouths when they drink tea or coffee, instead of using sugar in the way we do. Our host regaled us after dinner with a volunteer desert of some very delicious pears, which grew in very great profusion in his garden.

"From this place to Soestdyke, one of the two country palaces of the king allowed by the constitution, the roads are very sandy, and we were obliged to take four horses. In the neighbourhood of Naarden the country is covered with buckwheat; which, after we had advanced about four English miles, began to undulate, and present a very beautiful appearance. The many spires and chimnies of villages peeping above the trees in all directions, the small divisions of land, the neat and numerous little farm-houses which abounded on all sides of us, presented a picture of industry and prosperity seldom seen in any other country. The sound wisdom displayed by the Dutch in preventing the overgrowth and consolidation of farms, cannot fail to strike the observation of the traveller, and particularly an English one. By this admirable policy, Holland is enabled to maintain its comparative immense population, under the great disadvantage of a soil far from being in general genial; hence it is but little

little burthened with paupers, and hence the abundance of its provision. In England, on the contrary, the farmers, grown opulent by availing themselves of the calamities of unproductive seasons, and consequent scarcity, have for many years past omitted no opportunity, by grasping at every purchase, to enlarge their estates; and hence a portion of land which, if separated into small allotments, would give food, and a moderate profit, to many families, is now monopolized by one; and those who ought to be farmers on a small scale, are now obliged to toil as labourers in the fields of their employer, at wages that are not sufficient, if their families are numerous, to prevent the necessity of their applying for parochial aid. If some legislative provision could be effected to restrain this monstrous and growing evil, by that ardent and cordial lover of his country, and particularly of the lower classes of society, Mr. Whitbread, who has so laudably in parliament applied his enlightened mind to ameliorate the condition of the poor, it would be one of the most beneficial measures that ever received the fiat of the British senate. I do not repine to see the farmers, or any other respectable class of men, receive and enjoy the honest fruits of their own enterprize and industry: I could see with less regret all those decent and frugal habits of the farm which once characterised the yeomanry of England superseded by the folly and fashion of the gay and dissipated; the farmer drinking his bottle of port instead of some cheap salubrious ale; his daughter, no longer brought up in the dairy, returning from a boarding-school, to mingle the sounds of her harp with the lowing of cows, or reluctantly going to the market of the adjoining town, tricked out in aukward, misplaced finery, with a goose in one hand and a parasol in the other, did not the poor classes of society become poorer, and the humble more humiliated, by the cause of this marvellous metamorphosis in rural economy. In Holland, I was well informed, there is not a farm that exceeds fifty acres, and very few of that extent. There the economy observed in and about the "peasant's nest," is truly gratifying; the farmer, his wife, and a numerous progeny, exhibit faces of health and happiness; their dwelling is remarkable for its neatness and order throughout; in the orchard behind, abounding with all sorts of delicious fruits, the pigs and sheep fatten; three or four sleeky cows feed in a luxuriant adjoining meadow; the corn land is covered with turkies and fowls, and the ponds with ducks and geese. Such is the picture of a Dutch farm.

"Notwithstanding the enormous tax upon land, and a tax upon cattle per head, an imposition unknown to any other country, the expence of contributing to the support of the dykes, the duty on salt, and a variety of other charges, amounting to more than fifty per cent. on the value of their land, the beneficial effects arising from small farms, and the simplicity, diligence, and economy of the Dutch farmer, enable him to discharge those expences, and his rent, with punctuality, and with the surplus of his profit to support his family in great comfort. To these causes alone can be attributed the astonishing supplies which are sent to the different markets. North Holland, so celebrated for its cheese, supplies Enkuysen, upon an average, with two hundred and fifty thousand pounds weight of that valuable article of life, and Alkmaar with

three hundred thousand per week. In a very small space in the isle of Amak, within about two English miles of Copenhagen, no less than four thousand people, descendants of a colony from East Friesland, invited over by one of the kings of Denmark to supply the city with milk, cheese, butter, and vegetables, are enabled to live and flourish, and continue to supply that city with these articles. I remember being highly delighted with seeing their dwellings and little luxuriant gardens; nor did I ever see so many persons living within so small a space, except in an encampment. An experienced English agriculturist who had visited Holland, informed me that he thought the Dutch farmers did not sufficiently dress their land. The vegetable soil is in general so thin, that trees in exposed situations are usually topped, to prevent their being thrown down by the wind. In that part of Holland which I am describing, on account of its being well sheltered, there is a large growth of wood. Upon leaving the romantic and exquisitely picturesque village of Baren, we entered the royal chace, which occupies a vast tract of ground; in this forest the trees are generally poor and thin, but I saw some fine beeches amongst them. On the borders of this chase are two country villas, in the shape of pagodas, belonging to a private gentleman, the novelty and gaudy colouring of which served to animate the sombre appearance of the forest behind.

"In the evening we reached the principal inn at Soestdyke, lying at the end of a very long avenue in the forest, chiefly filled with young oaks, a little fatigued with the tedium produced by the heavy roads through which we had waded; however, after some refreshing tea taken under the trees, near the house, we proceeded to view the palace, formerly a favourite sporting chateau of the Orange family. A tolerable plain brick house, on the left of the entrance, composed the lodge, and after passing through a large court, we ascended by a flight of steps to the principal entrance of this palace, if palace it may be called, for a residence more unworthy of a prince I have never seen. The only part of the house in any degree deserving of notice was the hall, the sides of which were decorated with the emblems of rural recreation, the implements of husbandry, and all the apparatus of hunting, fishing, and shooting, tolerably well executed. The rooms were principally whitewashed, and destitute of furniture: the windows were large, and the panes of glass very small, fastened with lead, such as are used in cottages; in short, the whole palace presented the appearance of a country mansion in England of the date of Charles the First, deserted by the family to whom it belonged, and left to the care of the tenants who rent the estate to which it belongs. Nothing could be more dreary and desolate. The king and queen partook of a cold collation here a short time before I visited it, provided by the family who rented the place of the state, and occupied it when we visited it. I was not surprised to hear that the royal family staid only one hour, during which they scarcely ventured out of a large naked room at the back part of the house, called the grand saloon; one of the young princes gave a son of the gentleman, who occupied the premises, an elegant watch set round with brilliants. I could not help reflecting a little upon the disgust this visit must have given to the queen, who had just arrived from Paris, and

and from all the voluptuous and tasteful magnificence of the new imperial court. The palace is surrounded by a ditch half filled with green stagnant water, the dulness of which was only relieved by the croaking of a legion of undisturbed frogs. The gardens and grounds, which abounded with hares, are very formally disposed into dull, unshaded, geometrical walks. After supper a brilliant moon and cloudless night, attracted us into one of the most beautiful and majestic avenues of beeches I ever saw, immediately opposite the palace; as we sat upon a bench, looking through an opening upon the bright bespangled heavens, the description of our divine bard stole upon my mind:

——— Look how the floor of heaven
Is thick inlaid with patterns of bright gold!
There's not the smallest orb, which thou behold'st,
But in its motion like an angel sings.
Merchant of Venice, Act V. Sc. 1.

"In this wood are several genteel country-houses, many of which were formerly occupied by those who belonged to the Orange court. The inn here is much frequented, the accommodations of which are good, by the people of Amsterdam, who frequently make parties to it; and it is the great resort of those married couples fresh from the altar, until the honey-moon is in her wane.

"In the morning about five o'clock we set off for Zeyst, or Ziest, and passed through a large tract of champagne country, interspersed with short brushwood, the dull monotony of which was at last relieved by a vast pyramid, erected by the French troops who were encamped in the immense open space in which it stands, amounting to 30,000 men, under the command of General Marmont. On the four sides are the following inscriptions:

Inscription on the Grand Front.

"This pyramid was raised to the august Emperor of the French, Napoleon the First, by the troops encamped in the plain of Zeyst, being a part of the French and Batavian army, commanded by the commander-in-chief, Marmont."

Inscription on the Second Front.

Battles gained by the Emperor.

"The battles of Montenotte, de Dego, and Millesimo, of Mondovi, the passage of the Po, the battle of Lodi, the engagement of Berguetto, the passage of the Mincio, the battles of Lonato, of Castiglione, of the Brenta, of St. George's, of Arcola, of le Favourite, of Chebreis, of Sediman, of Montabor, of Aboukir, of Marengo.

Wherever he fought he was victorious.
Through him the empire of France was enlarged by one-third.
He filled the world with his glory."

Inscription on the Third Front.

"He terminated the civil war; he destroyed all cabals, and caused a wise liberty to succeed to anarchy; he re-established religious worship, he restored the public credit, he enriched the public treasury, he repaired the roads and constructed new ones, he made harbours and canals, he caused the arts and sciences to prosper, he ameliorated the condition of the soldiers—the general peace was his work."

On the Fourth Front.

"The troops encamped in the plains

plains of Zeyst, making part of the French and Batavian army, commanded by the general in chief Marmont, and under his orders, by the generals of division, Grouchy, Boudet, Vignolle, the Batavian lieutenant, General Dumonceau, the generals of brigade, Soyez, &c. (here follows a long list of the names of the other officers, too tedious to enumerate; also a very long list of the different divisions of the regiments to which the above officers belonged), have erected this monument to the glory of the emperor of the French, Napoleon the First, at the epoch of his ascending the throne, and as a token of admiration and love, generals, officers, and soldiers, have all co-operated with equal ardour; it was commenced the *24th Fructidor*, 12 ann., and finished in thirty-two days.

"The whole was designed by the chief of the battalion of engineers. The total height of this stupendous monument is about 36 metres, or 110 French feet; that of the obelisk, exclusive of the socle, is about 13 metres, or 42 French feet. One end of the base of the pyramid is 48 metres, or 148 feet. From the summit of the obelisk the eye ranges over a vast extent of country—Utrecht, Amersfort, Amsterdam, Haarlem, the Hague, Dordrecht, Leyden, Gorcum, Breda, Arnheim, Nimeguen, Bois le Duc, Cleves, Zutphen, Dewenter, Swol, and a great part of the Zuyder Zee, may be distinctly seen on a fine clear day.

"Upon this spot it is in contemplation immediately to erect a new city, the building of which, and the cutting of a canal to be connected with the adjoining navigation, have already commenced. Zeyst is a very handsome town, or rather an assemblage of country houses, it abounds with agreeable plantations and pleasant woods, and is much frequented in the summer by the middling classes of wealthy merchants from Amsterdam, who sit under the trees and smoke with profound gravity, occasionally looking at those who pass, without feeling any inclination to move themselves—what an enviable state of indifference to all the bustle and broil of this world! upon which they seem to gaze as if they were sent into it to be spectators and not actors. Who, upon reflection and sober comparison, would not prefer this "even tenour" to the peril of the chace and the fever of dog-day balls!

"The principal hotel here is upon a noble scale, the politest attentions are paid to strangers, and the charges are far from being extravagant. The only striking object of curiosity in the town is a very spacious building, formerly belonging to Count Zinzendorf, and now to a fraternity of ingenious and industrious Germans, amounting to eighty persons, who have formed themselves into a rational and liberal society, called the Herrenhuthers, or Moravians. This immense house, in its object, though not in its appearance, resembles our Exeter 'Change, but infinitely more the splendid depot of goods of every description, kept by a very wealthy and highly respectable Englishman of the name of Hoy at Petersburgh. Upon ringing at the principal entrance, we were received with politeness by one of the brotherhood, in the dress of a layman, who unlocked it and conducted us into ten good sized rooms, each containing every article of those trades most useful, such as watchmakers, silversmiths, saddlers, milliners, grocers, &c. Many of these articles are manufactured by the brethren who have

have been tutored in England, or have been imported from our country. The artificers work upon the basement story, at the back of the house, and no sound of trade is heard; on the contrary, the tranquillity of a monastery pervades the whole.

"After inspecting the different shop-rooms, it will repay the trouble of the traveller to make interest to see the other part of the premises, shewn only upon particular application. The refectory is a large room, kept with great cleanliness; and the meals of the fraternity, if I may judge by so much of the dinner as was placed upon the table, are very far from partaking of the simple fare of conventual austerity. A *bon vivant* would have risen from their table without a murmur. In this room were several music-stands, used every other evening at a concert; the vocal and instrumental music of which is supplied by certain members of the brotherhood, who I was told excelled in that elegant accomplishment. In the chapel, which was remarkably neat, there was an organ, and on the wall was a very energetic address from one of the society upon his retiring from it, handsomely framed and glazed. The dormitory upon the top of the house partook of the same spirit of cleanliness and order. Never was any sectarian association formed upon more liberal and comfortable principles. In short, it is a society of amiable, industrious, and agreeable men, who form a coalition of ingenuity and diligence for their support, and benevolently remit the surplus of their income, after defraying their own expences, to their brethren established in the East and West Indies, and other parts of the world. They marry whenever they please; but those who taste of this blissful state are not permitted to have the chambers in the house, although they may contribute their labours, and receive their quota of subsistence from it.

Present State of Coblentz and Ehrenbreitstein.

(From the Same.)

"ALMOST all the immense mass of mountains which extend from Bonn to Andernach, is composed of the basalt and slate; the former has a more artificial appearance than almost any other mineral production. In no form can it puzzle the philosopher more than at the Giant's Causeway, in Ireland, where it assumes a columnar shape, which has every appearance of having been chisseled by the hand of a skilful mason, and of having been regular granite cooling after fusion, and formed into regular masses by crystallization. In the small cavities of these mountains the martins and swallows find refuge, and in a comfortable state of torpidity pass through the cold and cheerless weather of winter. The children of the peasantry amuse themselves in discovering their retreats, at an apparent exposure of their own lives.

"In an amphitheatre of vast dusky basalt mountains, the sombre gates, towers and pinnacles of Andernach

dernach appeared; in consequence of the river making a long sweep, I landed with an intention of rejoining the boat at a village named by the skipper; a more solemn scene of gloom and grandeur, I never contemplated; the ruins of this town towards Coblentz are of great antiquity. The inhabitants insist upon it, that the remains of the emperor Valentine are deposited in one of their churches, and that Julius Cæsar when he so victoriously fought against the Suabians, passed over the Rhine at this spot, where Drusus, the general of Augustus, built one of those fifty castles which are erected on the banks of the Rhine: but the French, who narrowly investigated every part of the river which their victorious arms enabled them to visit, with great acuteness, and with the assistance of history, believe that this celebrated landing was effected a little higher up the river, a short distance from Engers, at a place called the White Tower (der Weisse Thurm), the venerable front of which I saw as I afterwards advanced on our right, in the centre of a sudden recess of the river, where it has the appearance of having served the united purposes of a castle and a watch-tower; at its base is a considerable village, which formerly belonged to the elector of Treves: this situation is from a combination of local advantages, peculiarly favourable to the completion of such a passage, and in confirmation of the opinion, a great number of Roman antiquities have been found there. General Hoche, at the head of an immense army, aided by the obscurity of the night, crossed the Rhine at this place in 1797, and astonished the imperial troops the next morning by their presence.

"This was the last exploit of that general. Near this tower there are deposited his remains, over which a mausoleum has been erected. This young commander died of an enlargement of the heart at Wetzlar. His funeral was conducted with uncommon military pomp. The procession moved from the place where he died, across the Rhine to the White Tower, amidst the discharge of cannon, which were fired every quarter of an hour.

"The trade of the Rhine is here very flourishing, for exclusive of the neighbouring vineyards which produce fine wines, and the basalts of the adjoining mountains used for building and paving, this city derives considerable wealth from the lapis tophaceus or tuf stone, the harder sort of which form excellent mill-stones; vast quantities are shipped for Holland, to construct or repair its dykes with, and the more friable is used for building, whilst its powder mixed with lime forms the hardest and most durable cement. I saw the cabins of several treckschuyts in Holland covered with it, which were perfectly impervious to the rain: the Germans also use it to floor their houses with. This stone is considered to be a species of the pumice-stone, or imperfect lava, and of volcanic production.

"On the banks leading to this city, I saw part of one of those amazing floats of timber which are formed of lesser ones, conveyed to this city from the forests adjoining the Rhine, the Moselle, the Maine, &c.; these floats are attached to each other, and form a platform generally of the enormous dimensions of eight hundred feet in length, and one hundred and sixty in breadth, upon which a little village containing about eighty wooden houses is erected for the accommodation of those

those who are interested in, and assist in navigating this stupendous raft, frequently amounting to seven and eight hundred persons, men, women, and children; besides these buildings, there are stalls for cattle, slaughtering houses, and magazines for provisions: the float is prevented from striking against the shores, where the turnings are abrupt, by the application of thirty or forty anchors, which with the necessary cables are conveyed in fourteen or fifteen boats which precede it, and its course is safely directed by German and Dutch pilots, who are hired for the purpose.

"After great rains when the current is rapid, the whole is entrusted to its propelling force, otherwise several hundred persons are employed in rowing, who move their oars at a given word of command. The whole of these wonderful moving masses is under the entire direction of a governor and superintendent, and several officers under him. Sometimes they are months in performing their voyage, in consequence of the water being low, in which case they are obliged to wait till the river is swelled by the rains. In this manner they float from the high to the low countries, and upon their arrival at the place of destination, the whole is broken up, and finds a ready market. About twelve of them annually arrive at Dort, in Holland, in the months of July and August, where these German timber-merchants have converted their floats into good Dutch ducats, return to their own country with their families, to enjoy the produce of their labour and enterprize.

"The clergy and monks in Andernach used to be, to use a good-humoured homely expression of a late illustrious statesman, upon an application made to him for a place under his administration "as thick as five in a bed;" besides six vicars belonging to a large parish church, there were no less than five crouded convents, and the population did not exceed four thousand souls; the convents are now converted into garrisons for French soldiers, and storehouses for tradesmen. After viewing the city, I set off on the road to Coblentz, with a view of meeting the boat at the place appointed, and after walking about two miles, I lost all traces of the river; however, observing about three parts of a mile the tops of a long semicircular line of poplars, I concluded the river flowed by them, and I accordingly endeavoured to penetrate to the bank through a large willow wood, in which I soon lost myself. At last, however, I succeeded in forcing a way into a little footpath, in pursuing which I suddenly came upon a Frenchman, poorly cloathed in green, with a book in his hand; he courteously addressed me, remarked that I looked rather warm, and conducted me to a recess in the wood, close to the water, where there was a bed of straw and a gun; at first I regarded him as a robber, but he soon gave me to understand that he was a link in a vast chain, composed of forty thousand soldiers, placed in this sort of ambuscade at the distance of a gun-shot from each other, by the orders of the government of France, to guard the left bank of the Rhine from smugglers; and that to prevent contraband practices, no boat is suffered to pass either up or down the river after sunset, without being fired upon; and that they are always cloathed in a sombre dress, to prevent observation, and are concealed in this manner wherever the sides of the river will admit of it. Upon my informing him that I had lost

lost my way and my boat, he politely assured me that it had not yet ascended the river, and hailed a little punt passing by, which enabled me to regain the vessel, then very fortunately just approaching. Notwithstanding the vigilance of the French police, the rafts I have described carry on a considerable contraband trade in the Rhine wines and Seltzer water.

"Opposite to the spot where this occurrence took place, at the bottom of a range of hills, is the delightful town and palace of Neuwied, built of white stone, at one end of the line of poplars which I have mentioned, and almost the only town I saw without walls or any sort of fortification on the Rhine. Nothing could exceed the air of happiness and prosperity which seemed to reign in this delectable little capital, which looked perfectly fresh and new, the prince of which receives, because he deserves, the affections of his subjects; every one on board, with great vivacity, spoke of the toleration, the liberal extension of the rights of citizenship to foreigners, and the public spirit of its ruler. The place is enriched by several flourishing iron works, steel, paper, and cotton manufactures (the latter, the first introduced into Germany), printing, watch, and ingenious cabinet-making. Before the last war, in the forges and founderies, and different fabrics, not less than four thousand persons were employed, and their circulation at a fair has been known to amount to forty or fifty thousand florins. There is an establishment of Moravian brethren here more numerous than that at Zeyst. The last and the present wars have of course considerably reduced the number of workmen, by forcing many of them into the army; but, notwithstanding, there is no town on the Rhine in a more enviable condition, for every thing which can impart content and felicity to man. It was a curious and highly interesting circumstance to see in Neuwied and Andernach, almost opposite to each other, the most modern and the most ancient city on the Rhine. The price of freight upon the Rhine is rather high: before the French united together so many petty sovereignties it was much higher, owing to the number of tolls which were paid to each; previous to that event there were no less than twelve tolls to discharge between Cologne and Amsterdam.

"We had a very good table d'hote on board, at a moderate price, abundance of Rhine crabs, excellent grapes, and a variety of other fruits, which, as well as the most delicious bread I ever tasted, we purchased at the different towns where we stopped. I had the comfort of being attended by an intelligent, animated fellow, who had been in the service of the immortal Nelson on board of one of the ships which he commanded, and afterwards with the English army in Egypt, who offered his services on board the boat at a very reasonable rate. The richness, novelty, and majesty of the scenery, kept me constantly on the roof of the cabin, from the early hour of starting till the hour of nine at night, when, for the reason stated, we always stopped at some town or village till morning. In these stoppages we entirely depended upon the variable velocity of the current, not to say a word of the caprice of our skipper, or the influence which the residence of any particular favourite or friend might have upon him; the consequence of which was, that we arrived at places to sup and sleep where we were not expected,

pected, and of course our patience was put to a little, but never a considerable trial. Within three or four miles of Coblentz, on our right in ascending the river, we passed a pyramidical mausoleum, erected to the memory of the French general Marceau, who distinguished himself at the battle of Mons and Savenai, and died of the wounds which he received at the battle of Altenkirchen in 1796.

"At Bendorf, a romantic village on our left, upon a branch of the river, a terrible battle was fought between the French army, commanded by General Hoche, and the Austrians, after the former had effected the passage I have before mentioned, from the white tower, which, after a tremendous slaughter on both sides, terminated in the retreat of the imperial troops. In this battle an extraordinary instance of prowess and enthusiasm occurred, which is said to have decided the fate of the day; the French had frequently attacked an Austrian redoubt, the possession of which was of great consequence to them, and had as often been repulsed with great carnage; at last a French general rode up to the grenadiers commanded by captain Gros, and exclaimed, 'Soldiers, swear to me that you will make yourselves masters of that redoubt.' 'We swear,' replied Gros, holding up his hand, and his soldiers doing the same: they returned to the attack with redoubled fury, and the havoc became dreadful: the French troops were upon the point of again giving way, when their leader had his right arm crushed by a grape shot, upon which, with a smile of triumph, he grasped his sabre with his left hand, rallied his men, and carried the redoubt. As we turned a considerable meander of the river by Neuendorff, one of the grandest spectacles I almost ever contemplated opened upon me: the mighty rock of Ehrenbreitstein, formerly called the Gibraltar of the Rhine, with its dismantled batteries and ruined castles, rose with awful and unexampled majesty on the south: at its base was the palace formerly belonging to the elector of Treves, and the town bearing the name of this wonderful fortification; and immediately opposite to it, as we advanced a little further, the beautiful city of Coblentz appeared. Here we were obliged to be separated from our horse, on account of the Moselle, which discharges itself into the Rhine at this place, the mouth of which we crossed by the assistance of our boatmen's poles. Over this river there is a handsome stone bridge of many arches, and formerly there was a bridge of boats from this city to Ehrenbreitstein, which has been most judiciously removed, and succeeded by one of the flying bridges before described, by which a more convenient communication is kept completely open, and the navigation is not impeded. Coblentz is a very ancient city; it was the seat of the Roman emperors, and of the kings of the Franks, and a favourite residence of the archbishops and electors of Treves, who, in ancient times of broil and peril, resided in the castle which crowns the majestic rock opposite to the city. Before the French revolution there were three parish churches, two colleges, a church belonging to the Jesuits, four convents of monks, dominicans, carmelites, franciscans, and capuchins, and three nunneries. At that period the population of the inhabitants, of the garrison, and the vale of Ehrenbreitstein, was calculated at 13,000 souls; at present it is not supposed to exceed nine thousand.

The

The city has many good and some handsome buildings, and is further recommended by its supplies of excellent mines, pit-coal, wood, and lime. Its best square is the Clemenstadt; there are several handsome hotels, of which the ancient hotel, the vast rock which formerly protected it, and the antiquity of its buildings, cast a gloomy grandeur over the whole place, which never exhibited so much gaiety as in the winter of 1791, when the French princes and their followers were nobly entertained and protected here by the elector, before they marched to Champagne, to experience those disasters which finally confirmed the overthrow of their devoted house.

"Coblentz derives its name by not a little meander of etymology, from the confluence of the Rhine and the Moselle at its base. Ausonius, one of the most celebrated of the Latin poets of the fourth century, wrote five hundred verses in commemoration of this river, which, compared with the majesty of the river into which it rolls and is lost, is scarcely worthy of such an honor: the view from its banks is also in an equal degree of comparative inferiority, and by the unceasing agitation of its confluence, it has the reputation of having alarmed the tender nerves of the river-fish, of which the inhabitants of this city are not so well supplied as the neighbouring towns.

"One of the most beautiful objects in this place is the new palace, built to the south of the city, close to the Rhine, by that splendid and amiable prince, the elector Clement Vencelas; it is of brick stuccoed, to resemble stone, has a noble Ionic portico, and including its wings, extends one hundred and eighty yards. A further description of its exterior, as I have made a drawing of it, and moreover as it is now converted into an hospital, were useless. Its grand stair-case, its apartments consisting of a chapel, an audience-hall, concert-room, library, cabinet, dining-room, besides an immense number of other rooms, excited the admiration of every visitor, by their magnitude, magnificence, or elegance. Its furniture, its mantle-pieces, its tapestry, and inlaid floors, all corresponded in taste and splendour with the rest of the building; now not a vestige of its consequence or original destination remains, but what its walls display. Most of the windows are broken, stuffed with hay, or further disfigured by having linen hanging out to dry from them; the area before the grand front, which was formed into an elegant promenade, is now broken, and its graceful plantation totally destroyed. A little way further to the southward, on the opposite side, under the impending rocks of Ehrenbreitstein, is the old palace, a sombre building, which the elector Clement quitted almost entirely on account of its gloom, and the humidity of its situation.

"The elector of Treves excited the indignation of the French against him very early in the French revolution, by encouraging the expatriated French princes to reside and hold their counter-revolutionary councils at Coblentz. In September, 1794, general Jourdan, with his accustomed energy, compelled the Austrians to retreat to Herve, and afterwards to Aix la Chapelle, when, supported by the main body of the army, the French attacked all the enemy's posts from Ruremonde to Juliers: at this eventful period, general Clairfayt having occupied a strong position upon the Roer, resisted the French for some time,

but their ardor and numbers at length compelled the Austrians to retire into Germany, leaving behind them ten thousand of their comrades, killed or taken prisoners, in the short space of three days; and soon afterwards a detachment of the French army, under the command of general Moreau, entered Coblentz as victors, Cologne being already in their possession, and Mainz, or Mayence, the only city in the possession of the allies on the left bank of the Rhine.

"I was informed by some French officers who were in the boat with me, that the society in Coblentz was very elegant; that a number of families lived in splendour; and also, that Buonaparte had continued with some modifications the colleges, and most of the public institutions, which the electors of Treves had at various times established in that city. The vast and celebrated monastery, called in German Karthaus, or La Chartreuse, situated on a high mountain, in the neighbourhood to the west of Coblentz, from which the countries of Treves, Mayence, Cologne, Darmstadt, d'Anspach, and Wied, may be seen, is converted into an observatory, and a place of very agreeable recreation.

"Upon my return, in descending the Rhine, I had an opportunity of more closely seeing Ehrenbreitstein, which I was enabled to do from the following circumstance: the Rhine schuyt was uncommonly crowded, and late in the evening we arrived at a hamlet on the right bank of the river to sleep: the house in which we were to pass the night was not able to furnish beds more than barely sufficient for the ladies on board, which at once determined a French officer, one of the party, who had not placed his head upon a pillow for three preceding nights, and who was a wretched invalid, apparently in the last stage of a decline, to hunt amongst the cottagers for a fidler, to whose miserable sounds this epitome of his nation, with several other officers and petty German merchants, danced till the dawn of day, *pour passer le tems*, and the boat was ready to proceed. Having found by moon-light a nook in a peasant's nest, in the most romantic situation under heaven, I lay down, and never awoke till an hour after the boat had departed, in which dilemma I was obliged to hire a punt with two paddles, and by the assistance of a couple of sturdy peasants overtook the passage-boat, which lay off Coblentz, during which I visited Ehrenbreitstein. At its base there is a pretty town and an excellent hotel; opposite to the palace is a walk of limes, close to which was moored the electoral state yacht, or barge, in shape and size resembling our Lord Mayor's, but not quite so gaudy. The ascent to this stupendous rock, which is eight hundred feet in a perpendicular line above the level of the river, is by a very narrow, steep, and winding path: the noble fortifications on its sides, and the castles, arsenals, barracks, and batteries upon its summit, from whence the eye can behold the mountains of Lorraine, the meanders of the Rhine, and the countries through which it flows to a vast distance, and from which the beholder might almost think he could step into the clouds, are all roofless and dismantled. The citadel was erected by the order of the Prince Bishop Herman Hillinus, in the 12th century, upon the ruins of an ancient Roman building.

"In the centre of the square, or parade upon the top, was formerly mounted the celebrated cannon, called 'the Griffon,' as well known to the

the Germans as that called 'Queen Anne's pocket-piece' is to the English. The former merits the national pride which it has excited. It was cast at Frankfort by the order of the elector, Richard Greifenklau, weighing thirty thousand pounds, and was capable of projecting a ball of one hundred and eighty pounds, to a distance of sixteen miles. Close to the touch-hole there was the following inscription: 'Vogel Greif heis ich, meinem gnadigen herrn von Trier dien ich, wo er mich heist gewanten, da will ich Thoren und mauren Zerspalten. Simon gos mich, 1523.' In English—'Griffon is my name, I serve my gracious master of Treves, I shatter gates and walls, whenever he commands me to exert my force. Simon cast me, 1528.' This rock was supplied with water from a well 280 feet deep, which occupied three years in digging, in the year 1481, and has a subterranean communication with Coblentz, dug out of the solid rock: the fortress was justly deemed, when properly garrisoned, impregnable. In the time of the Swedish war, the attacks of eighty thousand French troops on the southern side of it, and of forty thousand on the northern, could make no impression upon it; however, still maintaining its invulnerable character, it was destined to bend to a foe, before which all local advantage is useless, and all enterprise unavailing: after bravely sustaining a blockade for a whole year, by the troops of the French republic, the garrison having endured with the greatest fortitude almost every description of privation and misery, were obliged to surrender to famine, and capitulated on the 28th January, 1799; soon after which the French covered this mighty rock with the ruins of those wonderful fortifications, which had employed the skill of the ablest engineer to complete, and which, but for the want of food, would have defied the force of her assailing enemy to the end of time. The thal, or valley below, is justly celebrated for its fertility and romantic beauty.

"Soon after our departure from Coblentz, we passed the island of Obewerth; and a little further on, on our left, the disemboguement of the river Lahn, which flows between two ancient and picturesque towns, called the Upper and Lower Lahnsteins, where the line forms a considerable curve, and expands into the resemblance of a placid lake, adorned with two vast mountains, one crowned with a hoary watch tower, and the base of the other half encircled by a village, and the whole adorned by the captivating combinations of forest scenery, rich meadows, and hanging vineyards and orchards, amidst which, half embosomed in their foliage, the peasant's peaceful dwelling every now and then gladdened the eye. This lovely view was soon exchanged for one of gloomy magnificence; before we reached Boppart, we entered a melancholy defile of barren and rugged rocks, rising perpendicularly from the river to an immense height, and throwing a shade and horror over the whole scene; here all was silent, and no traces of man were to be found but in a few dispersed fishermen's huts, and crucifixes. Fear and superstition, 'when the day has gone down, and the stars are few,' have long filled every cave with banditti, and every solitary recess with apparitions.

"In the course of my passage I frequently, when the boat came very near the land, sprung on shore with two or three other passengers, and varied the scene by walking

along the banks for a mile or two, and during these excursions had frequently an opportunity of admiring the astonishing activity and genius of the French, who have, since they became masters of the left bank of the Rhine, nearly finished one of the finest roads in the world, extending from Mayence to Cologne, in the course of which they have cut through many rocks impending over the river, and triumphed over some of the most formidable obstacles Nature could present to the achievement of so wonderful a design. This magnificent undertaking, worthy of Rome in the most shining periods of her history, was executed by the French troops, who, under the direction of able engineers, preferred leaving these monuments of indefatigable toil and elevated enterprise, to passing their time, during the cessation of arms, in towns and barracks, in a state of indolence and inutility.

"The sombre spires of Boppart, surrounded by its black wall and towers, presented a melancholy appearance to the eye, relieved by the rich foliage of the trees in its vicinity, and the mountains behind it irregularly intersected with terraces covered with vines to their very summits. The antiquity of this city is very great; it was one of the fifty places of defence erected on the banks of the Rhine by Drusus Germanicus, and in the middle ages was an imperial city.

"Not far from Boppart we saw, on the right bank of the river, a procession of nuns and friars returning to a convent, the belfry of which just peeped above a noble avenue of walnut-trees; they were singing, and their voices increased the solemn effect of the surrounding scenery. We put up for the night at a little village, amid mountains half covered with vineyards, tufted with forests, and checquered with convents and ruined castles. The evening was stormy, and a full moon occasionally brightened the scene: frequently we were enveloped in solemn gloom,

> When the broken arches are as black as night,
> And each shafted Oriel glimmers white,
> When the cold light's uncertain show'r,
> Streams on the ruin'd central tow'r.
>
> *Lay of the last Minstrel.*

City of Washington and its Vicinity.

[From Mr. Janson's Stranger in America.]

"THE foundation of the present seat of government of the United States was one of the last national objects of the distinguished character whose name it bears. The ingratitude of a certain portion of Americans to that great and good man, is one of the foulest stains upon their character. After successfully fighting their battles, through a seven years' war, contending with the choicest troops of Europe, and gaining them independence, he resigned his commission to that Congress which appointed him their commander in chief, and retired to the peaceful shades of Mount Vernon. A short time only was he allowed for the enjoyment of tranquillity and domestic pleasures; for, on the

the formation of the federal constitution, he was called, by the unanimous voice of the delegates who ratified that compact on behalf of their fellow citizens, to fill the first post in the executive department of the state. For his military services he had already disclaimed pecuniary recompence, requesting his country to discharge only those expences which the emergencies of war had incurred. The office of the president is by law limited to the term of four years, at the expiration of which time, when Washington again looked forward for the enjoyment of his favourite retirement, his further services were a second time called for more loudly and unanimously than before. Four years more he devoted to the service of his country; in which time he beheld the foundation of the federal city, the permanent seat of government; and he survived to see the legislators of America convened at the capitol.

"It was about this time that the French faction began to raise its clamors, which president Washington soon quelled, by his energetic measures; but the disaffected in secret reviled him for saving their country from the merciless fangs of a set of monsters, who would have enslaved them, under the specious pretext of liberality and equality.

"They insinuated that he had pitched on a spot for the seat of government near to his estate of Vernon, in order to inhance its value, though they well knew that his private property was ten-fold greater than his private expences. His choice, I believe, was directed to one object only; the capital is built in the centre of the United States.

"The entrance, or avenues, as they are pompously called, which lead to the American seat of government, are the worst roads I passed in the country; and I appeal to every citizen who has been unlucky enough to travel the stages north and south leading to the city, for the truth of the assertion. I particularly allude to the mail stage road from Bladensburg to Washington, and from thence to Alexandria. In the winter season, during the sitting of Congress, every turn of your waggon wheel (for I must again observe, that there is no such thing in the country as what we call a stage-coach, or a post-chaise), is for many miles attended with danger. The roads are never repaired; deep ruts, rocks, and stumps of trees, every minute impede your progress, and often threaten your limbs with dislocation.

"Arrived at the city, you are struck with its grotesque appearance. In one view from the capitol hill, the eye fixes upon a row of uniform houses, ten or twelve in number, while it faintly discovers the adjacent tenements to be miserable wooden structures, consisting, when you approach them, of two or three rooms one above another. Again, you see the hotel, which was vauntingly promised, on laying the foundation, to rival the large inns in England. This, like every other private adventure, failed: the walls and the roof remain, but not a window! and, instead of accommodating the members of Congress, and travellers of distinction, as proposed, a number of the lowest order of Irish have long held the title of *naked possession*, from which, were it ever to become an object, it would be difficult to eject them. Turning the eye, a well finished edifice presents itself, surrounded by lofty trees, which never felt the stroke of the axe. The president's house, the offices

offices of state, and a little theatre, where an itinerant company repeated, during a part of the last year, the lines of Shakspeare, Otway, and Dryden, to empty benches, terminate the view of the Pennsylvania, or Grand Avenue.

"Speculation, the life of the American, embraced the design of the new city. Several companies of speculators purchased lots, and began to build handsome streets, with an ardour that soon promised a large and populous city. Before they arrived at the attic story, the failure was manifest; and in that state at this moment are the walls of many scores of houses begun on a plan of elegance. In some parts, purchasers have cleared the wood from their grounds, and erected temporary wooden buildings: others have fenced in their lots, and attempted to cultivate them; but the sterility of the land laid out for the city is such, that this plan has also failed. The country adjoining consists of woods in a state of nature, and in some places of mere swamps, which give the scene a curious patch-work appearance. The view of the noble river Potomack, which the eye can trace till it terminates at Alexandria, is very fine. The navigation of the river is good from the bay of Chesapeak, till the near approach to the city, where bars of sand are formed, which every year encroach considerably on the channel. The frigate which brought the Tunisian embassy, grounded on one of these shoals, and the barbarians were obliged to be landed in boats. There is another great disadvantage to the growth of the city. It never can become a place of commerce, while Baltimore lies on one side, and Alexandria on the other; even admitting the navigation to be equally good—nor can the wild and uneven spot laid out into streets be cleared and levelled for building upon, for many years, even with the most indefatigable exertions.

"The Capitol, of which two wings are now finished, is of hewn stone, and will be a superb edifice, worthy of its name: The architect who built the first wing, left the country soon after its completion; the corresponding part was carried on under the direction of Mr. Latrobe, an Englishman; from whose taste and judgment much may be expected in finishing the centre of the building; the design of which, as shewn to me by doctor Thornton, is truly elegant.

"The president's house, of which a correct view is given in the frontispiece to this volume, is situated one mile from the Capitol, at the extremity of Pennsylvania Avenue. The contemplated streets of this embryo city are called avenues, and every state gives name to one. That of Pennsylvania is the largest; in fact I never heard of more than that and the New Jersey Avenue, except some houses, uniformly built, in one of which lives Mr. Jefferson's printer, John Harrison Smith, a few more of inferior note, with some public-houses, and here and there a little *grog-shop*, this boasted avenue is as much a wilderness as Kentucky, with this disadvantage, that the soil is good for nothing. Some half-sharved cattle browzing among the bushes, present a melancholy spectacle to a stranger, whose expectation has been wound up by the illusive description of speculative writers. So very thinly is the city peopled, and so little is it frequented, that quails and others birds are constantly

stantly shot within a hundred yards of the Capitol, and even during the sitting of the houses of congress.

"Ten years ago Mr. Weld, speaking of the president's house, tells us of its being then erected; and of an hundred acres of land left for pleasure-ground, and a park or mall, to run in an easterly direction towards the Capitol—that the buildings on either side of this mall, were all to be elegant of their kind, and that among the number it was *proposed* to have houses built at the public expence for the accommodation of public ministers. This traveller then proceeds with informing us, that other parts of this city are appointed for churches, theatres, colleges, &c. In nearly the same state as Mr. Weld saw the city so long ago, it still remains, except indeed that some of the few houses which were then building, are now falling to ruin, the unfortunate owner having been ruined before he could get them roofed.

"Neither park, nor mall, neither churches, theatres, nor colleges, could I discover so lately as the summer of 1806. A small place has indeed been erected since Mr. Weld visited Washington, in the Pennsylvania Avenue, called a theatre, in which Mr. Green and the Virginia company of comedians were nearly starved the only season it was occupied, and were obliged to go off to Richmond during the very height of the sitting of congress. Public offices on each side of the president's house, uniformly built of brick, may also, perhaps, have been built subsequent to that period. That great man who planned the city, and after whom it is named, certainly entertained the hopes that it would at some future period equal ancient Rome in splendour and magnificence. Among the regulations for building were these—that the houses should be of brick or stone—the walls to be at least thirty feet high, and to be built parallel to the line of the street.

"The president's house is certainly a neat but plain piece of architecture, built of hewn stone, said to be of a better quality than Portland stone, as it will cut like marble, and resist the change of the seasons in a superior degree. Only part of it is furnished; the whole salary of the president would be inadequate to the expence of completing it in a style of suitable elegance. Rooms are fitted up for him, an audience chamber, and apartments for Mr. Thomas Randolph, and Mr. Epps, and their respective families, who married two of his daughters, and are members of the house of representatives.

"The ground around it, instead of being laid out in a suitable style, remains in its ancient rude state, so that, in a dark night, instead of finding your way to the house, you may, perchance, fall into a pit, or stumble over a heap of rubbish. The fence round the house is of the meanest sort; a common post and rail enclosure. This parsimony destroys every sentiment of pleasure that arises in the mind, in viewing the residence of the president of a nation, and is a disgrace to the country.

"Though the permanent seat of government has been fixed at Washington, its progress has been proved to be less rapid than any other new settlement supported only by trade. The stimulus held out by the presence of congress has proved artificial and unnatural. After enumerating the public buildings, the private dwelling-houses of the officers of government, the accommodations set apart for the members of the legislature,

gislature, and the temporary tenements of those dependent on them, the remainder of this boasted city is a mere wilderness of wood and stunted shrubs, the occupants of barren land. Strangers after viewing the offices of state, are apt to enquire for the city, while they are in its very centre.

"'The golden dreams of the speculator,' says an American writer in describing the city of Washington, 'ended in disappointment. His houses are untenanted, and going to ruin, and his land either lies a dead burthen on his hands, or he disposes of it if not, at a less price than his fond imagination had anticipated. The present proprietor is obliged to moderate his views of profit, and to centre all his hopes in the continuance of the government where it now is.'

"Another writer in Philadelphia says, 'The increase of Washington is attributed by sensible Americans to its true cause, speculation; a field for which being once opened to the land-jobbers, who swarm in the United States, they made large purchases, and bent all their resources towards running up buildings, and giving the city an eccentric appearance of prosperity. So industriously have those purchases been pursued, that in London five hundred pounds sterling was at one time asked for about the sixth part of a single lot, many of the prime of which, in point of situation, were originally purchased for twenty, and at three years credit. If this sudden increase had arisen from actual settlement alone, a more undeniable proof would be given of the prosperity of Washington, than by the magic appearance of uninhabited structures like mushrooms after a shower."

"It has been asserted that a seventy-four gun ship was building on the waters of the Potomack, from which circumstance no doubt was entertained of its channel being deep enough for ships of any burthen. This, like most travellers' exaggerations, is not true—no ship of the line, nor even a frigate, was ever constructed on the Potomack. The ship carpenters employed by government have enough to do to repair those already built, most of which are in a state of decay. I saw the plank and some of the timbers of the frigate called the United States, built at Philadelphia not twelve years ago, so rotten, that they crumbled to powder on being handled. The timber of America is not so durable as that of Europe.

"The only part of this city which continues to increase is the navy-yard, but this circumstance is entirely owing to the few ships of war which the Americans have in commission, being ordered there to be fitted out and paid off. Tippling shops, and houses of rendezvous for sailors and their doxies, with a number of the lowest order of traders, constitute what is called the navy-yard.

"Among the sufferers by the Washington speculation is Mr. Thomas Law, brother to Lord Ellenborough, who, as has been already observed, invested the greatest part of the money he obtained in India, in building near the capitol, where he still resides, under the mortifying circumstance of daily witnessing whole rows of the shells of his houses gradually falling to pieces.

"In November, in each year, there are horse-races in the capital of America. I happened to arrive just at this time on horseback at George Town, which is about two miles from the race-ground. After an

an early dinner, served up sooner on the occasion, a great bustle was created by the preparations for the sport. It had been my intention to pass the remainder of the day at the far-famed city, but, stimulated by curiosity, I determined to mingle with the sporting group. Having paid for the dinner, and the refreshment for my horse, I proceeded to the stable. I had delivered my beast to a yellow fellow, M'Laughlin, the landlord's head ostler. This name reminds me of an anecdote of Macklin, the English theatrical Nestor. It is said that his proper name was M'Laughlin, but dissatisfied with the harsh pronunciation, he sunk the uncouth letters, and called himself Macklin. Be that as it may, I went for my horse, to attend the race, and repeatedly urged my dingy ostler to bring him out. I waited long with great patience at the stable-door, and saw him lead out a number without discovering mine. I again remonstrated, and soon heard a message delivered to him to saddle the horses of Mr. A. Mr. B. Mr. C. and so on. He now appeared with the horses according to the recent order, leading them by their bridles. Previous to this, I had saddled my own horse, seeing the hurry of the time, yet I thought it a compliment due to me that the servant should lead him to me. I now spoke in a more angry tone, conceiving myself insulted by neglect. The Indian scurly replied, "I must wait upon the gentlemen," (that is the sporting sharpers). "Then," quoth I, "a gentleman neglected in his proper turn, I find, must wait upon you." I was provoked to knock the varlet to the ground. The horses which he led, startled at the sudden impulse, ran off, and before the ostler recovered from the effects of the blow, or the horses were caught. I led out my nag, and leisurely proceeded to the turf.

"Here I witnessed a scene perfectly novel. I have been at the races of Newmarket, Epsom, York, in short, I have seen, for aught I know to the contrary, one hundred thousand pounds won and lost in a single day in England. On coming up to an inclosed ground, a quarter of a dollar was demanded for my admission. Rather than turn back, though no sportsman, I submitted. Four-wheeled carriages paid a doller, and half that sum was exacted for the most miserable single-horse chaise. Though the day was raw, cold, and threatening to rain or snow, there were abundance of ladies, decorated as if for a ball. In this year (1803) congress was summoned very early by President Jefferson, upon the contemplated purchase of Louisiana, and to pass a bill in order to facilitate his election again, as president. Many scores of American legislators, who are all allowed six dollars a day, besides their travelling expences, went on *foot* from the Capitol, above four English miles, to attend the sport. Nay, it is an indisputable fact, that the houses of congress adjourned at a very early hour, to indulge the members for this purpose. It rained during the course, and thus the lawmakers of the country were driven into the booths, and thereby compelled to eat and pay for what was there called a dinner; whilst their contemplated meal remained untouched at their respective boarding-houses. Economy is the order of the day, in the Jeffersonian administration of that country, and the members pretend to avail themselves of it, even in their personal expences.

"I saw

"I saw on the race-ground, as in other countries, people of every description, sharpers in abundance, and *grog*, the joy of Americans, in oceans. Well mounted, and a stranger, I was constantly pestered by these sharks; and had I been idiot enough to have committed myself to them, I should soon have been stripped of all my travelling cash.

"On my last visit to the navy yard, I found six frigates dismantled and laid up in ordinary, and one nearly equipped for sea, for the purpose of carrying back the Tunisian embassy to Barbary. A small vessel of war, pierced for 20 guns, had just been launched. Mr. Jefferson, two years ago, adopted an idea of his own, in order to raise the credit of the American navy, and for the destruction of the powers of Barbary. This is, to build a number of small vessels of about 100 tons burden, to be called gun-boats, each of which is provided with two heavy pieces of ordnance—one at the stem, and the other at the stern. Though the inutility of these mockeries of men of war has been manifested on many occasions, yet the president persists in riding his naval hobby-horse, even in Kentucky; where several gun-boats are building on the river Ohio. One of them was nearly lost on a voyage to the Mediterranean—being, the whole voyage, to use a sea phrase, 'wet and under water.' Another, *gun boat*, No. 1. (thus they are named, to No. 8,) in a hurricane in South Carolina, was driven nearly a mile into the woods. These vessels must be very unmanageable in action. It would not be amiss if the projector could invent a piece of mechanism which would quickly turn them round; for, in this case, they might as we turn a wheel, first present the head gun, and then, while it was loading, by a magic touch, in a second give a stern shot! Thus, these nimble and redoubted gun-boats might chance to beat off an Algerine, or Tripoline rover.

"Added to these, the Americans have a frigate and two or three small vessels of war in the Mediterranean; and which constitute their navy. One of their finest frigates, in attempting to bombard Tripoli, grounded, and every exertion of the crew to get her off, proved ineffectual. She was taken possession of by the armed boats of the Barbarians, and the whole crew led into slavery, where they endured great hardships, and bore heavier burthens than their own domestic negro slaves. Strange reverse of fortune; that those who from infancy have been accustomed to hold the whip, are now flogged and chained with ten-fold cruelty!

"Travellers whose only business is to view the country, and make observations on the manners of the people, generally visit Mount Vernon, once the favorite retirement of General Washington, on their progress through the United States. A description of this place by various writers is already before the public, but a direct view is difficult to be found. The accuracy of the annexed may be depended upon. There is nothing very striking in the design or execution of the building, but the situation, commanding an extensive prospect over the majestic river Potomack, where it is nearly two miles wide, added to the circumstance of its having been the seat of one of the greatest characters of the last century, renders it an object of attention. As a tribute of respect to his memory, vessels of war, and such as are armed, on passing

ing, salute the house. The Mount Vernon estate is now in the occupation of Bushrod Washington, Esq. a nephew of the late general, and one of the associate judges of the supreme federal court. The mount is two hundred yards above the level of the water, and the house stands within sixty yards of the verge, nine miles below Alexandria, and in Fairfax county, Virginia: it is 280 miles from the sea. In front there is a lofty portico, ninety-six feet in length, and supported by eight pillars. The rear is towards the river, and it is a pleasing relief to the eye of the passenger, wearied with the succession of woods that clothe its banks. On the other side is the state of Maryland, which renders the view from the mount more delightful. There are two wings to the house, and on either side is a grove of trees, the choicest of the forest. The shrubberies and gardens are laid out in the English style, and through them wind serpentine gravel walks. There is a small park of deer, some of which were imported from England, and they entice the wild American herds into their company, so that they may easily be taken.

"There is in the house only one large apartment, called the banqueting room, and this was finished after the general had converted his sword into a plough-share. During his absence it had fallen much to decay; devoting his whole time to the service of his country, for which he never would accept any remuneration, it was totally neglected.

"In the course of the war, three small British armed ships sailed up the Potomack as far as Alexandria, and consequently passed Mount Vernon. I am at a loss to conjecture what object this force had in view. There were no stores, nor any thing on the river worth making a prize of. They did considerable damage in their progress, but the commanders gave strict orders to respect Mount Vernon; and, to their honor, it was not molested. Their arrival at Alexandria threw the people into dreadful alarm, the seat of war being far removed from that place. They mustered in haste at the market-place, under the command of Colonel John Fitzgerald, one of General Washington's aides-de-camp, who happened then to be on leave of absence with his family, residing there. The ships displayed an intention of landing, and Fitzgerald, leaving the command to a militia-colonel, proceeded at the head of several of the citizens to Jones's point, in order to repel the invaders. Soon after the departure of this party, the ships fired a few shot at the town, upon which the commander of the militia ordered his colours to be struck; but for this pusillanimity he was chastised upon the spot. The ships never seriously meditated a landing, and these were merely random-shot to create an alarm, on their departure.

"Alexandria was about eight years ago a very flourishing place; but the great losses sustained from the capture of American vessels by the French in the West Indies, occasioned many failures. In the year 1803, the yellow fever, which broke out there for the first time, swept off a number of its inhabitants. These shocks have so deeply affected the mercantile interest, that the town has but two or three ships in the trade with Great Britain; and there is little prospect of its ever attaining to its former prosperity.

"Alexandria,

"Alexandria, first called Belhaven, is laid out upon the plan of Philadelphia; and being well built and paved, in point of uniformity and neatness it somewhat resembles that city on a small scale. Its situation is elevated, commanding a view of the river and the opposite shore of Maryland. The navigation of the Potomack, on whose banks the town is built, is very good. It question whether a line of battle ship might not come up from the sea, and lie alongside of the wharfs, which is a distance of 289 miles. Six miles higher on this river is the city of Washington, but a bar impedes the navigation up to the navy-yard of government."

CLASSICAL

CLASSICAL AND POLITE CRITICISM.

On the SHAH NAMU of FEEDOUSEE.

[From Mr. WARING'S TOUR to SHEERAZ.]

[We have not thought ourselves at liberty to change the system of orthography here employed in decyphering oriental names, and which Mr. Waring seems to have imbibed from Mr. Gilchrist.]

"THE most stupendous monument of Eastern literature, is the Shah Namu of the poet Ferdousee; a work consisting of sixty thousand couplets, which has probably been praised as much for its length, as for its intrinsic merit.—This poem was composed under the patronage of Mahmood, Sultan of Ghizni, who, excepting his conduct towards this poet, appears to have been particularly liberal in his treatment of learned men. Ferdousee was happily born at a period when learning and talents were universally encouraged; nor did he fail to meet with protection and assistance, when he was persecuted by the enmity of his offended sovereign. I shall not repeat Ferdousee's well known story; nor should I have ventured these remarks if Sir William Jones had executed the design which he proposed in his learned Commentarii. The world may, on two accounts, regret its disappointment; at being deprived of the work of so distinguished a scholar, and at its having allowed of the following observations. I do not profess giving a full account of the Shah Namu; a poem consisting of sixty thousand couplets would require a separate work, and, perhaps, more time than the generality of my readers are willing to bestow.

"The celebrated poem of Ferdousee has survived, in a country by no means distinguished for its regard for works of genius, a period of not less than eight hundred years. The patron of Ferdousee is known for his cruelty, and is immortalized for his infamy; but this splendid monument of human genius and invention, rests upon a more certain basis. Kings have succeeded kings, and dynasties have followed dynasties; the works of imperial grandeur have fallen before the ravages of time, but Ferdousee lives fresh in the remembrance of the East, and, instead of suffering by a lapse of time, his fame rests upon a more solid and durable foundation. He rules by a prescriptive right. His work has become a model for imitation; and although his successors have partly changed his language, they have not dispensed with the assistance of his images and fables. The poets of the East have been unanimous in their opinion of this poem, and have come forward in a manner which does honour to their candour, and credit to their judgment. But when we allow it is unequalled in the East, we must pause before we pronounce

nounce it to be equal, or to approach *very nearly* the divinest poem of the West. So bold a comparison should be offered at least with caution; and I must confess that I would sooner be esteemed the Zoilus of Ferdousee, than the Zoilus either of Virgil or Milton.

"The Shah Namu is called (improperly, I think) an epic poem, and by Sir William Jones a series of epic poems. It is of little consequence, perhaps, what title a poem receives; those, however, who are only acquainted with it by name, will naturally imagine that it resembles or equals the epic poems of the Western world.

"The whole of the poem takes up a period of not less than 3,700 years; and although critics have not determined the time of the epic action, they would not yield their assent to so enormous a number of years. The part which Sir William Jones assumes, and which he says is *truly epic*, occupies a period of three centuries. If Bossu's definition of the epic poem be just, I have little hesitation in declaring, that the Shah Namu is entirely excluded from ranking with Homer or Virgil, although it resembles Lucan's Pharsalia, by being an historical poem. The Shah Namu may be fairly defined, 'an historical poem heightened by fable.' I cannot discover that the poet wishes to inculcate any moral maxim, or that he has any other view than that of embellishing the facts which have been handed down to him by tradition, and in the legions of the Gubrs. The stories in the Shah Namu are intricate and perplexed, and as they have a relation to each other, they can only be understood by a knowledge of the whole. Episodes are interwoven in episodes; a peace and war succeed each other, and centuries pass away without making any alteration in the conduct of the poem. The same prince continues to resist the Persian arms, the same hero leads them to glory; and the subterfuge of supposing two Afrasiabs, or two Roosturns, betrays, at least, the intricacy and confusion of the whole fable. The character of Nestor answered the most important ends; his eloquence and experience had a wonderful effect in soothing the contentions of a divided council; but the age of Zal or of Roostum answers no purpose, for they only share longevity in common with their fellow creatures.

"It is, perhaps, uncandid to try the merits of the Shah Namu by the standard of Homer or of Virgil; but do not let it then aspire to a standard which it will not admit. Let the enthusiastic admirers of the Shah Namu determine a standard of their own, but as long as it is called an epic poem, it must be tried by the rules which have been assented to by successive ages.

"The ground work of this poem is a history of Persia, which occupies a period of 3,700 years, and upon which is raised a stupendous monument of fable and romance. The authority for this history is said to be some legends of the ancient Persians, which, as we learn from Ferdousee, were undertaken to be turned into verse by Munsoor Duqeeqee. How much he executed of this task I am unable to determine; nor can I discover whether Ferdousee availed himself of the labours of his predecessor. Upon his death, Ferdousee undertook this laborious work, and has performed it in a manner which must delight and astonish every lover of Eastern literature. After Ferdousee had made

made a considerable progress in his work, he fell ill, and apprehending that it would be left imperfect, he entreated his master, the celebrated poet Asidi, to assist him, and who composed four thousand verses, which have been grafted on this poem. This is all the assistance we know him to have received; and as there is no prior claim to the machinery of this poem, he cannot be denied the merit of invention. We cannot but regret that he has made so little use of it; for although a fabulous bird presided over the birth of Roostum, and reared up his father Zal, his aid is only resorted to upon the most desperate cases, and when all other means had failed to command success. He strictly observes Horace's rule, " nec Deus intersit," &c. which applies, however, to tragedy, and not to epic poetry. Excepting in one or two instances, his storms are effects of natural causes; the demons of Mazenderan fight with human arms, and either scorn, or fail to resort to the powerful aid of magic or incantation. Whether this be a beauty or blemish, I shall not determine; it is at least contrary to the practice of the most admired authors of antiquity. The demons of Mazenderan appear to have been infinitely more cultivated than their neighbours the Persians. They were acquainted with letters, and imparted their knowledge to Tumoorus, the son of Hoshung. This is doubtless a fable, as well as the story of a navigation being carried on with foreign states in the time of Jumshyd. This strange assertion is in direct contradiction to the established principle of the Magian religion, and betrays an uncommon ignorance of the customs of the ancient Persians.

" The poetical part of the Shah Namu can hardly be said to commence before the period of the usurper Zohak, who overthrows Jumshyd's government, and puts him to death. His enormities, at length, become so excessive, as to excite his subjects to throw off his authority, and to espouse the cause of a blacksmith, whose two sons were murdered by the orders of the tyrant. Gawu raises his leather apron as a standard of rebellion, and which afterwards became the consecrated banner of the Persian empire. A descendant of the ancient family of Persia is discovered in the person of Feridoon, who succeeds to the throne of his ancestors. The education of Feridoon may be supposed to have been remarkable. He was brought up by the cow Poor Mahee, and miraculously escaped the diligent search of the usurper Zohak. The whole of this story is related with a considerable degree of poetical spirit; but as I have reserved my remarks for a future period, I must pass over this in silence.

" Feridoon divides his empire between his three sons, which gives rise to the celebrated feuds which afterwards prevailed between the Persian and Tooran governments.—Eeruj, the youngest son, receives the whole of Iran, or Persia, as his portion; and this preference is beheld with envy and indignation by the two brothers. Soolm and Toor resolve upon attacking their brother. Eeruj endeavours to mollify their anger, and falls the victim of his own moderation. The lamentations of the unfortunate old king are extremely affecting, and forcibly describe the anguish and disappointment of a fond and partial parent:—

To

'To Tooran, Toor, to Greece, now Soolm goes,
Unaw'd they triumph in a parent's woes.
With fond anxiety the god-like king,
And the whole army chide the tardy wing
Of time; when near approached the hour,
(For who could fathom fate's imperious pow'r),
A gorgeous throne, with jewels studded o'er,
And all the treasures of the orient shore,
The king prepares. He quits the chair of state,
And hastes, vain hope! to meet his son elate.
The richest wines Irania's vintage yields,
And the gay minstrels charm the martial fields;
On elephants the drum and tabor play,
And splendid arches, such as grace the day
Of Persian triumph, all prepar'd to go,
When from afar, with solemn dirge and slow,
Midst clouds of dust, a man of sorrow rose,
His face the picture of corroding woes!
Deep were his sighs; a golden urn he bore
(With silk the head of Eritch cover'd o'er!)
By sorrow worn his livid face appears,
And all his cheeks were dew'd with purple tears.
To Feridoon he came, the urn of gold
He groaning opens, dreadful to behold!
From his pale visage, and his faultering tongue,
The monarch feared some awful horror hung.
The silk around the head a servant tears,
The head of Eritch pale and wan appears.
From his high steed the fainting monarch falls,
And the whole sorrowing train on Eritch calls.
Sunk were his eyes, his face of livid hue;
Far different scenes his happier fancy drew!
Now they return; pale anguish led the way,
Torn were the colours, and the minstrel's lay
Was silent now. The universal grief
With ebony had mark'd each warrior's cheek.
No more the drum or flute's enlivening sound,
Teaches the warrior or his steed to bound.
They all dismount, each soldier weeps aloud;
As when all heaven, by some tempestuous cloud,
Is darken'd o'er. Their sorrowing breasts they tear,
All call on Eritch with a wild despair.
The stars, they cry, who mark'd thy fatal end,
Will change their course, and to thy murderers bend.
One truth attend, let not the meteor blaze
On this vain world, delude with dazzling rays;
'Tis vain, 'tis idle, a delusive dream!
Nor fancy fortune is as she may seem.
Should foes acknowledged strive to wound your breast,
Harbour no vengeance, and relieve distrest;
But if a friend assures of high esteem,
Watch all his actions, varying with his theme.
Sore griev'd each warrior, and with anguish tore,
'Loudly lamenting on the sounding shore.'
The king to Eritch's garden bends his way,
Once the gay scene, resplendent as the day!
Where Eritch's hours in pleas'd amusement flow'd,
Where social pleasure innocently glow'd;
His father, tott'ring with a weight of grief,
Bears the pale head of the love-murder'd chief.
To the high throne he casts his swollen eyes,
No Eritch there, once favór'd by the skies!
Oe'r all the garden lucid fountains play'd,
And choicest trees spread round their verdant shade.
Here gay pavilions, and here cool retreats,
Once pleas'd its lord. The mournful father goes
To where the edifice of Eritch rose,
And in his hand the pallid head he bore;
Grief sunk his soul, and all his bosom tore.
His loud laments and agonizing cries
Resound to Saturn, to the farthest skies;
He fires the garden, tears his aged hair,
Rends his wan cheek, sad picture of despair;
Large drops of blood ran streaming down his eyes,
He dips his belt in sanguinary dyes:

On

On the lone earth he sat, and all around
The flames arise, and scorch the smoking ground.
Hope fled for ever; oft the head he views,
And oft to God his pious pray'r renews.
Ah God! divine Director! Power august!
View this pale head, now mouldering into dust,
Murder'd without a cause, while tygers wild
Howl o'er the body of my darling child.
Oh may these impious feel the woes I know!
May all their days in anguish'd sorrow flow!
Let their whole frame be pierc'd by venom'd darts!
Let the voracious reptile tear their hearts!
Oh grant my pray'r! Oh let from Eritch spring
A vengeful hero—who, with martial wing,
Will headlong hurl them to the gates of hell,
Revenge his sire, these murd'ring fiends expel!
Him let me view triumphant, wise, and brave,
Then sink with pleasure in the lonely grave.
'Twas thus he spoke, still groaning as he lay,
No higher sorrows nature could display.'

CHAMPION'S Shah Namu.

"Feridoon marries the daughter of Eritch to one of Jumshyd's descendants, and Munokhchere is the offspring of this marriage. He is educated with infinite pains; and, upon his arrival at manhood, is placed at the head of the army, for the purpose of revenging his grandfather's murder. He entirely defeats the armies of Tooran and China, and slays, with his own hand, both Soolm and Toor. Feridoon now becomes sensible of the danger of prosecuting revenge, abdicates the throne in favour of Munokhchere, and, after a reign of five hundred years, dies.

"Munokhchere commences his reign with much applause. The poet now introduces the story of the birth of Zal, the father of Roostum.—This beautiful episode stands unrivalled among the compositions of the Persian poets, and is certainly one of the most admirable parts of the Shah Namu.

"Sam, the father of Zal, had been long anxious for the birth of a son; and his hopes are at length gratified. But his joy is soon converted into sorrow and indignation; for, as his son was born with white hair, he conceives him to be spurious. He resolves on making away with his innocent offspring. The child is exposed upon Mount Elboorz, the Olympus or Ida of the Persians, where he is fostered by a Seemorgh, a fabulous bird of antiquity. The existence of Zal is revealed to his father in a dream, who regrets his cruelty, and sets out in the hope of discovering him. The Seemorgh delivers over her charge to the rejoiced father, who endeavours to obliterate from the mind of Zal a sense of his former cruelty.

"Zal is appointed to the government of Cabool and Zabool, where he continues while his father carries his arms into Gurgsaran. Sal meets the king of Cabool, who invites him to his royal residence; but which he is obliged to refuse, on account of Mihrab's being related to the house of Zohak. The king returns to Cabool; and the description he gives of Zal's person captivates the heart of his daughter Roodavu.

"The description of Zal's person is laboured with infinite pains; and as the fairest possible manner of drawing a comparison between Asiatic and European writers is by comparing their descriptions upon the same subject, I shall adopt this rule in some few instances; it will mark the difference of Asiatic and European notions, the extent and justness of their imagination.

Mihrab, in reply to the enquiries of Seendokht, gives the following account of Zal's person :

'Mihrab replies he like the cypress rears
His head on high, and like a god appears;
No warrior equals his immortal beams,
His amber crown, his scientific themes.
When his fierce courser furious paws the ground,
No mortal rides him with such active bound;
His lion soul, his elephantine frame,
Resistless in the battle, seize on fame:
Not with more violence the Nile o'erflows,
And levels all that dare its course oppose.
His ruddy cheeks hang on the wing of youth,
Great is his wealth, magnanimous his truth.
When, like a dragon, in the bloody field,
He dares the fray, the boldest warrior yield,
White is his hair, which some a fault esteem;
Tho' long, tho' flowing, beauteous tho' they seem."

CHAMPION.

Shakspeare or Milton's description may be put in comparison with that of Ferdousee :

'See what a grace was seated on his brow,
Hyperion's curls, the front of Jove himself;
An eye like Mars, to threaten or command;
A station like the herald Mercury,
New lighted on a heaven-kissing hill;
A combination and a form indeed,
Where every god did seem to set his seal
To give the world assurance of a man.'

HAMLET.

'His fair large front, and eye sublime, declared
Absolute rule: and hyacinthin locks
Round from his parted forelock hung
Clustering, but not beneath his shoulder broad.'

MILTON.

"The description of Zal's person immediately enflames the soft bosom of Roodavu:

"Fir'd with the picture, o'er Roodavu's face,
The deepening blushes heighten every grace;
With eager passion all her bosom glows,
Love chases far her balmy soft repose;
The mad'ning fires urge on the panting maid,
And various thoughts her yielding mind invade."

"Roodavu reveals her love to her attendants in the most impassioned language, and with a fervency which equals Eloisa's letter to the unfortunate Abelard :

"To you to whom my guardian care has shone,
I speak the secret of my heart alone;
Hear, and be cautious—love inflames my soul,
Fierce as the winds my rapid passions roll.
Zal reigns triumphant; if I close my eyes
The soft illusions of his image rise;
Sleep flies my couch. Say then what blest relief
(To you alone 'tis known) can cure my grief."

"Her attendants are shocked at this account of her love, and attempt to persuade her to stifle her passion. She interrupts them, and indignantly replies :

"Are these thy counsels? Slaves in early bloom,
Wretched to breathe, the flames of love consume.
Those who on clay can make their rich repast,
Regardless view, torn by the stormy blast,
The shatter'd flower. I grant that blushing shame
Should awe the maid, and lead her on to fame;
But love in triumph bears the conquer'd soul,
And the whole world's submiss to his controul.
Should mighty Cæsar, or should Fahfoor bring,
The world's great empire, or Irania's king
Bribe with his sceptre as the farthest west,
The son of Sam alone can charm my breast:

How

How unavailing do your censures flow,
Zal is my soul, for him my wishes glow;
His image fills, his praises charm my mind,
The favour'd object of all human kind.
Speak not of Foor, of Cæsar, or the west,
Inthron'd is Zal for ever in my breast!
'Tis not his person, his external form,
Can charm the mind and all the senses warm;
'Tis excellence, 'tis wisdom, love of fame,
That caught my soul, all centered in his name.

CHAMPION.

"Her attendants agree to second her wishes; and as Zal was deeply enamoured of Roodavu by a description he had received of her person, they found no difficulty in drawing from him an avowal of his love.—They have little need of persuasion to induce him to consent to an interview. The two *unknown lovers* are brought together; and their meeting may, in some degree, be compared to the delicacy and tenderness of the exquisite scene between Romeo and Juliet:

"Now they descend, and to the palace move,
Attended by the slave who knew their love.
The gay illuminations gild the scene,
All was Elysium, splendid, yet serene!
Zal, all amaz'd, all glowing with desire,
Gaz'd on the eyes which beam'd celestial fire;
Her hair, her face, her ev'ry opening bloom,
Catch his fond soul, and fix the lover's doom.
In tissue drest, the sparkling necklace glows,
The bracelet on her hand new beauty throws;
In her small ear the splendid jewels blaze,
And every gem of variegated rays;
Bright as the various garden of the spring,
Melodious as when Nature's songsters sing:
Not even roses on Arabian gales
Thus scent the air, or fill the passing sails.
On the same couch they sit; on Zal's high head
A crown of rubies and of gems was spread;
With flow'rs diversified his ringlets wave,
And his bright form confess'd the warrior brave.
Roodavu blush'd, and in her conscious eye
Blaz'd the fierce rapture, and the am'rous sigh;
On all his charms, his eminence, she gaz'd,
Hung o'er his manly form, and much she prais'd.
She bids him rise: now stung with keen desires,
Their fond embraces speak internal fires;
Bliss smil'd enchanting, and with rapture warm
Around them Love diffused his brightest charm:
Thus the fierce lion, bounding o'er the deer,
In playful fondness chases every fear.
Zal then exclaims, 'O thou, whose scented hair,
Fair maid, with musk, perfumes the ambient air!
When Munokhchere our nuptial rites shall know,
I fear his anger, and the future woe!
That Sam, indignant, will declare his rage;
That death, alas! must close my early age!
Hear thou, high Heaven! and ye Pow'rs above,
No other object shall enjoy my love.'
Roodavu thus replied, 'Let Heaven attest
The same bright purpose of my faithful breast:
Though sceptered monarchs at my feet should fall,
Their thrones, their splendour, I would scorn them all;
My prayers to Heaven shall testify my soul,
Zal shall my wishes, all my thoughts controul;
My prayers shall soften th' illustrious sire,
Calm every thought, and his assent inspire.'
Lost was each sense, dissolv'd in soft delight,
And love encreases from the gazing sight.
Thus passed the fleeting hour, till the grey dawn
Beheld the sun just peeping o'er the lawn,

Till from afar the silver tabors play:
The lovers part; the pensive sighs display
The pang it gave; while tears o'erflowed the face,
Their love was pictur'd in the fond embrace.
'To the bright orb, intruding light,' they cry,
'Why early spangles all the morning sky?
Why thus our bliss, our happier hours destroy,
And close with pain the raptur'd scene of joy?'

CHAMPION.

"Zal, happy in the possession of his love, resolves upon informing his father of his passion for Roodavu. Sam yields an unwilling consent; but in the mean time their mutual love is discovered by Seendokht, the mother of Roodavu. She is unable to conceal the secret from her husband, who breaks out in a paroxysm of rage, and is with difficulty restrained from destroying his unfortunate daughter. Munokhchere also receives accounts of this affair; and dreading the result of an union between Zal and a descendant of Zohak, commands the attendance of Sam. He receives him with uncommon attention; and in a few days orders him to march against Mihrab, and to destroy him. Sam receives the command with sorrow and submission, and sets out to execute the tyrant's jealous and unfeeling mandate. Zal, highly incensed at the king's barbarity and his father's weakness, expostulates with Sam, and at length persuades him him to write to the king, and to allow him to carry the letter.—Sam enumerates, in his letter to Munokhchere, the obligations he had conferred upon the Persian government: and gives a full account of his killing an enormous serpent, which, like the hydra of antiquity, destroyed the surrounding country.

"Were I not active, desolating trains
Had mark'd with blood Irania's rich domains.
The winding serpent once spread wide dismay,
Stretching from town to town his horrid way,
High as a mountain, at whose hideous sight
Hope fled the world, and set in endless night;
No bird could safely wing the ærial sky,
No beast could move; the Kergush darting high,
Sunk at his breath; e'en the interior ground
Foam'd at his motion, trembling at his sound.
The water dragon frightened fell his prey,
And the black eagle dropp'd with sad dismay;
Mankind with terror saw whole cities fall,
And the whole world yielded to the serpent's call.
When this I knew, I felt the hero's glow,
God gave me force to dare the serpent foe:
In his high name my girdle on I bound,
Sprung on my horse, nor feared the hostile wound.
Now on my saddle blaz'd my cow-grav'd blade,
My bow and arrows o'er my arms were laid;
With rapid speed, as water-dragons fierce,
I lance my javelin, and my arrows pierce.
The crowds beheld me all appall'd and low,
And thought fate certain from the dreadful foe.
When near I came, and saw the monstrous sight,
Rising terrific as a mountain's height,
While o'er the ground far hangs his circling mane,
As toils to catch; the sure, the mortal bane!
As the black tree, when issuing from its veins
A mortal juice; thus with malignant stains,
Hoarse sounds his voice, while stagnant on his lips
Hang the dark foam which deadliest venom dips.
When his blood-darting eye beheld me near,
He roar'd indignant, and I launch'd my spear.
I thought, O king! emitting from his frame,
Around there issued pestilential flame.

A-

As the smooth surface of a summer's stream
Nature was hush'd; I heard no distant theme.
Like a black cloud his dreadful foam arose,
The wide earth trembled while his nostril blows;
The world all shook, as when the dreadful roars
Of seas contending rush on China's shores.
I raised my voice, and with a lion's sound,
As suits a warrior, dared him to the ground.
Steel pointed arrows from my bow I drew,
Aim'd the unerring shaft, it swiftly flew,
Tearing his hair, and passing through his throat,
Lodg'd in his brain, and life seem'd all afloat;
Another follows, when his venom'd tongue,
Foaming with blood and deadliest poison hung;
Another piercing through his throat, once more,
Laid him in anguish, weltering in his gore;
He writhed his body, when I raised my steel,
Spurr'd my fierce coarser—Heaven applauds my zeal,
The cow-grav'd sword impels the mortal blow,
Like falling mountains fell the serpent foe;
His elephantine head now shatter'd lies,
Rapid the poison flows, the monster dies;
Such streams of venom all the earth defile,
Vast as the flowing of the rapid Nile.
Crowds came to bless me, and the joyful throng
Hail'd me, in grateful triumph, 'Sam the Strong.'

CHAMPION.

"The king grants his consent to Sam's petition, and Zal returns upon the wings of impatient love to his beloved Roodavu. Their nuptials are celebrated with great pomp and splendour. Roodavu becomes pregnant, and is delivered of Roostum, as Semele was of Bacchus. She is relieved, however, by the Seemoorgh, whose assistance alleviates the pain of the operation.

"The whole of this beautiful episode of Zal and Roodavu is related with uncommon animation and tenderness; and is supported with a degree of spirit which is quite unusual with Persian poets. The loves of Sheeren, of Lylee, or of Zuleekha, fall infinitely below the passion of Roodavu for Zal. Their passion, instead of making them speak in natural and unaffected language, makes them reveal their love in a torrent of quibbles, of puns, and of *Eastern conceits*. This is a fault which cannot be alleged against Ferdousee; but which may be brought against Nizamee, Jamee, or Hatif, in almost every line of their Musnuwees. They have borrowed from his invention, but have either neglected or despised his simplicity: and have concealed the delicacy of his sentiments under a mass of absurd metaphors and incongruous similes.—The generality of Persians, however, would probably prefer Nizamee or Jamee to Ferdousee; and in India I have no doubt to whom the preference would be given.

"Munokhchere, after a reign of an hundred and twenty years, abdicates the throne in favour of his son Nodoorz, and predicts the events of his reign. These are fulfilled. Afrasiab invades Persia, makes a prisoner of Nodoorz, and, in revenge for the defeat which was given his army by Zal, destroys the unfortunate monarch. Afrasiab reigns in Persia; Zal and Roostum maintain themselves in Cabool: the latter, after a variety of adventures, discovers Ky Kobad near the mountain of Elboorz.

"They engage Afrasiab's army; and Roostum signalizes himself by making a prisoner of Afrasiab, who, however, unfortunately escapes.—The Turks are driven across the Oxus with the loss of 160,000 men. Afrasiab gives a recital to his father, Pishung, of the ill success of his arms,

arms, and generally acknowledges Roostum's vast superiority. A peace is, in consequence of these victories, concluded between the two states,

"Ky Kobad reigns an hundred and twenty years, and is succeeded by his son, Ky Kaoos, a weak and foolish prince. He attempts, contrary to the advice of his nobles, the conquest of Mazendaran, and is defeated and made prisoner by the demons of that country.

"Roostum undertakes to release the king from confinement. His journey is marked by seven adventures, called the seven stages, which fall infinitely below the labours of of Hercules. Indeed his famous horse Rukhsh deserves almost as much credit as his master. Roostum at length defeats all his enemies, relieves Ky Kaoos, and restores his sight in a miraculous manner. The king's misfortunes fail to effect a reformation in his conduct: he involves his country once more in the greatest distress, and is again released by Roostum.

"Roostum after this visits the prince of Sumancan, whose daughter falls in love with the hero, and whom he marries. He returns, after a short stay, into Persia; and his wife is delivered of Sohrab, who proves himself worthy of so distinguished a parent. When he arrives at manhood, he attacks Hujeer, a servant of the Persian government, and seizes upon his person. Goord Afreed, a female Amazon, endeavours to rescue him, engages Sohrab, who, after a sharp conflict, makes her his prisoner, and discovers that she is a woman. Like a second Tancred, he falls in love with this new Clorinda, and releases her.

"Ky Kaoos sends for Roostum (who was ignorant of his having a son) who makes some delay in obeying the king's order; which so incenses Ky Kaoos, that upon his arrival he commands him to be seized and confined. Roostum enraged at the king's folly and ingratitude returns to Cabool; and Ky Kaoos is now obliged to descend to entreaties and prayers to soften his anger. The army at length marches, and Roostum advances to reconnoitre the enemy.

"Sohrab, dreading lest he should engage his father, endeavours to discover from his prisoner, Hujeer, the marks that would denote Roostum. A description of the Persian army is now artfully introduced; and Hujeer, to deceive Sohrab, calls Roostum a chief who had accompanied Ky Kaoos from China. An engagement ensues between the two armies, and Sohrab is opposed to Roostum. They fight, without gaining any advantage, until they are both exhausted, and mutually agree to defer their combat till the next morning. Sohrab endeavours to discover whether he is engaging Roostum, but is deceived even by Roostum himself.

"Sohrab engages Roostum the following morning, and hurls him to the ground. As he was preparing to make away with his antagonist, Roostum informs him that it was unusual for a chieftain in Persia to take advantage of the first fall.—Sohrab with undaunted valour, gives Roostum his life, who retires, bruised and defeated from the field.—They part; and Sohrab breaks in upon the Persian line, where he is encountered by Roostum. Their combat is related with much spirit:

"Sohrab rushes on like a furious elephant, wielding his bright scimitar; or, as a wild boar, or a roaring lion, destroying whole ranks with his fatal noose. When Roostum beheld

held him, he trembled at his former prowess. When Sohrab beheld him returned to the field, his heart beat with the high blood of youth. He cried out, 'Just escaped from the paws of the lion! do you oppose him again? why did you not seek another quarter?' They alighted from their horses; the fatal period approached. They began to wrestle, and seized each other by the waist; but wax or the hard stone, yields equally in the hand of fate. They contended from morning till midday; fortune seemed to have deserted Sohrab; Roostum, raging with vexation, seized him by the two shoulders, and bent him to the ground. Fortune now lowered, and strength deserted Sohrab. Roostum, like a lion, struck him to the ground, but did not expect to secure him; he instantly drew out his poignard, and buried it in the breast of the lion-hearted warrior."

"The unfortunate Roostum discovers too late that he has slain his own son: he bitterly laments an involuntary crime; but appears to derive some satisfaction that it was his own offspring who contended with him with so much hardihood. A peace is immediately concluded between the two states, and Roostum departs for Zabool. He is met by Zal and the nobles of the country, who feelingly regret the fate of his gallant son.

"Ferdousee does not present the character of his hero in the most amiable light. He first denies his name; and, when he was defeated, takes advantage of his son's unsuspicious valour. The hero was vanquished, and *begged his life*, and then seized an occasion to destroy an enemy, who was at least entitled to the indulgence he had shewn.

"There is no apparent reason why Roostum should deny his name; upon every other occasion he is forward in divulging it. The full-grown hero might be indignant at his prowess being foiled by a boy, and unwilling to flatter his rival with the merit of resisting the champion of Persia. The custom of refraining from taking advantage of a first victory, might be conformable to the manners of Persia; but it was by no means incumbent on Sohrab to admit an observance which exposed his life to a second hazard.—If accident decided victory upon one occasion, it might do so upon another; and it seems absurd to forego an advantage which either conduct or fortune had placed in our hands. But Roostum never observed the same clemency towards a vanquished enemy; he only inculcated it when he fell beneath superior prowess. Ferdousee exalts the character of Sohrab, but depreciates that of Roostum; the one appears to have been brave and generous, the other wily and subtle.

"The story of Seeavush, and his step-mother, Soodavu, follows the episode. She falls in love with Seeavush; and her advances being rejected, accuses him, like another Phædra, of attempting to violate her chastity. But neither Ferdousee, nor Jamee, in his Yoosoof and Zuleekha, have observed much delicacy of their females; they feel no hesitation in divulging their love, but avow it with an effrontery which would have disgusted persons of less fastidious or colder feelings than either Seeavush or Joseph. Ky Kaoos acquits his son; but he is still persecuted by the malice of Soodavu, and is at length obliged to establish his innocence by the fiery ordeal.

"Afrasiab breaks the peace; and Seevush seizes the occasion to request permission to join the army. The Persians are successful, and the

the Turks are obliged to purchase a peace by the cession of Soghd, Samarcand, and Bokara. Afrasiab delivers up hostages; and Seeavush writes to his father, informing him of the terms of the pacification. Ky Kaoos, old and uxorious, refuses to ratify the treaty. Seeavush, incensed at his father's folly and imprudence, resolves upon retiring to Afrasiab, and acquaints Ky Kaoos with the reasons for this determination. Seeavush is received in the most handsome manner by Afrasiab, who gives him his daughter in marriage; but, after some time, listens to the insinuations of Kershooz, and at length murders his unfortunate visitor. The metamorphosis of Seeavush into an herb, or of Furhad into an orange-tree, are much inferior to any of Ovid's.

Peeran, whose daughter was also married to Seeavush, intercedes for the pardon of Zeringeez, the wife of Seeavush, and the daughter of Afrasiab. Her pardon is granted; and she is conveyed to the house of Peeran, where she is safely delivered of Ky Khoosro. Ky Kaoos repents too late of his folly, and now determines to revenge the death of his son. An army penetrates into Turkestan under the command of Roostum, who slays in single combat Peel Ism, the champion of the Turks, and wounds Afrasiab. Afrasiab flies, and Roostum rules over Turkestan seven years. At the instigation of his brother, Zuwaru, he desolates the whole country, and then returns into Persia.

"Geo is warned in a dream, of his being the person destined to discover Ky Khoosroo. He commences his journey, and, after seven years, succeeds in discovering the object of his search. He accompanies him into Persia. Ky Khoosroo is proclaimed king by his grandfather at Persepolis, and all the nobles, excepting Toos, promise him obedience. Ky Khoosroo marches against him, and they are mutually reconciled.

"Ky Kaoos urges Ky Khoosroo to revenge his father's murder.—Toos is appointed to the command of the army, and is opposed by Furood, the brother of Ky Khoosroo, who is slain by Peezhun. The Persians are entirely discomfited, and are obliged to retire with the utmost precipitation. Toos and Godoorz meet with the fate of unfortunate generals; they are both confined, but are released at the intercession of Roostum.

"Roostum joins the army, and success always accompanies him.—He endeavours to effect an accommodation, but the presumption of Peeran defeats the moderation of his views. The engagement between Roostum and Polawund is related with much spirit; and I might give it as an excellent specimen of Ferdousee's descriptive powers, had I not already made too many quotations. Roostum's adventures with the Deo Ukwan succeed this conflict; he is made prisoner, is thrown into the sea, and providentially escapes.

"The progress of the war is suspended to relate the adventures of Peezhun and Godoorz. They are sent by the king against some wild boars who destroyed the surrounding country. Goorgeen, filled with envy against Peezhun, proposes that he should visit one of Afrasiab's hunting seats where his daughter resided, and excites him to it by a beautiful description of the luxuries and delights of the place. Peezhun follows this advice, and falls in love with Afrasiab's daughter; she returns

turns it, and conceals him in her private apartments, where he is discovered by Kioshooz.

" It may be worth while to compare this scene of a warrior, sunk into the softest luxury, with the admirable scene in Tasso, between Rinaldo and Armida. It is probable that Ferdousee passed it over in haste; yet we must regret that a poet, who is usually too minute, should have hurried over a scene which admitted of the highest embellishment:

' He approached with hasty steps the house where the stranger was concealed. When he beheld Peezhun, his indignant blood flowed quickly through his veins. He saw three hundred female servants playing upon the harp, singing, or drinking the purest wine. Peezhun was seated in the midst of them, and his lips seemed moist with wine. When Peezhun beheld him at a distance, he trembled at his approaching fate, he felt the utmost vexation at his helpless situation.'

" How greatly superior is the description in Tasso:

'There sat Armida on a flowery bed,
Her wanton lap sustain'd the hero's head:
Her op'ning veil her ev'ry bosom show'd,
Loose to the fanning breeze her tresses flow'd;
A langour seem'd diffus'd o'er all her frame,
And every feature glow'd with am'rous flame.
The pearly moisture on her beauteous face
Improv'd the blush, and heighten'd ev'ry grace;
Her wand'ring eyes confess'd a pleasing fire,
And shot the trembling beams of soft desire.
Now fondly hanging o'er, with head declin'd,
Close to his face her lovely cheek she join'd;
While o'er her charms he taught his looks to rove,
And drank, with eager thirst, new draughts of love.
Now bending down enraptur'd, as he lies,
She kiss'd his vermil lips and swimming eyes;
Till from his inmost heart he heav'd a sigh,
As if to her's the parting soul would fly.
All this, &c. &c.'

HOOLE's Tasso, b. 14, p. 126.

" Goorgeen, upon his return to court, is suspected of having behaved treacherously towards Peezhun. Roostum disguised as a merchant, sets out in search of him; and meeting with Afrasiab's daughter, learns the place of his confinement. Roostum, after vanquishing the son of Ukwan Deo, releases his captive friend.

" The thread of the war is again resumed, and an account is given of the defeat, in single combat, of the twelve champions of Tooran. It ends with the defeat and death of Peeran, who dies like a brave and honourable warrior. In some parts it resembles the fall of Hector or of Turnus; but Peeran refuses to purchase his life with disgrace:

' The commanders of the two armies approached each other in the bloody field. They measure an equal distance from the two armies; their hearts rage with mutual anger. They attack each other with the sword, the poignard, and the noose. Clouds of dust, raised by innumerable cavalry, obscure the sky. The will of heaven now manifested itself; misfortune attended upon the Tooran army. The battle proves unfavourable to the Turks: Fortune shines propitiously on the arms of Persia. When fate lowers, whence are we to expect assistance? Peeran beheld the approaching disasters, and recognized the will of heaven; but

but he persevered undaunted, and combated against fortune. They both resort to the bow: their arrows fly as thick as leaves, driven by the autumnal blast, fall from the bending tree. Godoorz chooses an arrow which would pierce the hardest iron: he drew it with an unerring aim; the arrow flew, and pierced the breast-plate of the horse; he staggered, and fell to the ground. Peeran fell under his charger, and his arm was broken by the fall. He rose; fate now hovered near him; he saw that he could not escape the will of Providence. He fled, before Godoorz towards a hill, but with difficulty and with pain. He reaches the hill, and trusts that Godoorz will relinquish the pursuit.—Godoorz beheld him, and laments his fallen state. He saw that Fortune was to all equally faithless: perpetually on the watch to do harm. He cried out! O illustrious chief! why do you fly on foot? Do you fly from me as the game of the forest? Where is your army, O commander of nobles? No one comes to your assistance, I see not a friend near you. What has become of your strength and bravery; your weapons, your glory, and great gifts? You were the support of Afrasiab, but the son of his glory declines. Fortune has turned from you, do not expect assistance. Beg for quarter, and allow me to carry you before my king. He will receive you graciously; for, like me, you are old, and your hair is silver. Peeran broke out, Do not expect it; do not suppose that I will exchange my character for so much infamy. Do you conceive I could live, and be esteemed a coward? I was born to die, and it is given you to destroy me. Every one tells me, that however rich or happy, we still must die. We cannot escape death; *but I shall not be accounted criminal for being mortal.* Godoorz makes a circuit of the hill, but he returns faint and disappointed. He dismounts and grasps his shield. He climbs the hill, pondering on the will of Heaven. He ascends the hill with a quick pace, advancing the shield before him, and shaking his spear.—Peeran beholds him at a distance, and springs from his stony seat. As he approached, he throws his poignard, which wounds the venerable chief. Godoorz, pained by his wound, gives way to his bursting rage. He launches his spear, which penetrates the armour of Peeran. It preserves its course, and fixes itself in his liver. Peeran utters a groan; his sight becomes obscure; the blood gushes from his mouth, and his soul issues out at the same time.'

"Ferdousee now commences upon the war between Ky Khoosroo and Afrasiab. It has been usual to suppose Ky Khoosroo, the Cyrus of the Greeks; not on account of any great similarity between the two characters, but because they are said to have lived about the same time. I reserve my remarks upon this subject for a future opportunity. I shall only now observe, that the first time we find Khoosroo at the head of his army, his force is composed of levies from Bagdad, Arabia Felix, and Ardbeel; and that instead of waging war in Irak Arabee, he carries his arms across the Arnu, or Oxus, into Turkestan, or independent Tartary.

"Ky Khoosroo, finding that the enemy was nearly subdued, resolves upon enjoying the fame of vanquishing a prostrate rival. He advances towards Tooran, and Afrasiab prepares to oppose him on the banks of the Oxus. He crosses this river, penetrates into Turkestan, and obliges

liges Afrasiab to sue for peace. He rejects all terms of accommodation, slays Shydu, the son of Afrasiab, in single combat, and defeats the Turks in a general engagement. Afrasiab flies, and Ky Khoosroo pursues him. Another action is fought, which proves equally fatal to the Turks; and Afrasiab makes another effort to procure peace. He offers to purchase it by the cession of Cheen and Macheen; but Ky Khoosroo persists in the savage pleasure of prosecuting his revenge. The fort of Gung is taken by assault. Afrasaib makes his escape, and continues to make many gallant efforts to harass the enemy's army. He, at length meets with a complete overthrow, and is obliged to conceal himself in a cavern from the pursuit of the enemy. He is discovered, and brought before Ky Khoosroo. Ky Khoosroo insults the captive monarch with a mockery of his own justice, and gives a memorable example of it, by murdering the helpless king with his own hand. The king might affect to reconcile the savage barbarity of his conduct, by the duty which was imposed upon him, of destroying his father's murderer. Afrasiab was his grandfather; and (although led away by Kurshooz), had behaved to Seeavush in a hospitable and princely manner.

"Ky Khoosroo confers the government of Tooran upon Jihoom, the son of Afrasiab; and after a reign of sixty years, retires from the government and dies. Zal and Roostum still maintain the honour of the Persian arms; Godoorz, Toos, and Pureeboorz and Geo, unfortunately perish in the snow.

"I might be excused noticing any other part of the Shah Namu, as, if it be considered an epic poem, it must be supposed to end upon the destruction of Afrasiab; but I cannot persuade myself to leave the reader in ignorance of the fate of Roostum. After the death of Ky Khoosroo, he continues in the greatest favour with Kishtasp, and destroys Isfundeear, the son of this prince, who had rebelled against his father. This story is related at great length, and with great spirit: but I have already exceeded the limits of my design, and must pass it over in silence. Roostum is driven to the greatest extremity, and is obliged to rely upon the assistance of the Seemoorgh. She furnishes him with one of her feathers, which he fixes upon one of his arrows, and discharges it against Isfundeear. The arrow pieces through both his eyes. This is the last memorable action of this celebrated warrior. His brother, Shughad, conspires against him; and contrives that he shall fall into a pit which he had purposely filled with spears, and other sharp pointed weapons. He falls by the hand of Roostum; but Roostum also becomes the victim of his treachery.

"It would require an elaborate work to give a just criticism of the Shah Namu; my aim is but a faint sketch. The poetry of the Shah Namu is undoubtedly original; no other Persian poet (as far as I know) has attempted this species of composition. The Shah Namu is more remarkable for its strength than its sweetness; although it is in many parts as harmonious as the versification of Jamee. In a work of such great length, there will doubtless be a number of faulty lines, many of them evidently composed for the sake of the verse. In many instances the poet is tedious and uninteresting, particularly in his account of the discovery of Ky Khoosroo. He is often too minute; and, by making description particular, makes it

it ridiculous. An example of this may be given in his description of the son of Ukwan Deo; which, instead of expressing his immense size by some bold figure, gives us his exact measure:

"He was one hundred yards high and twenty broad."

"Notwithstanding this enormous height, Roostum contrives (we do not learn how) to cut of his head with a stroke of his scimitar.

"I am not aware that Ferdousee intends to inculcate any peculiar precept of morality; he seldom, however, omits an opportunity of making many moral reflections on the instability of life, and of human enjoyments:

"As the bright sun around his orbit moves,
And the pale moon within her orbit roves,
So life goes on; then mourn not transient fate,
Five hundred years this monarch rul'd in state,
Yet death his glory clos'd: though high in power,
Though fortune smil'd on each propitious hour,
He died like thee. Let not ambition fire,
Nor the vain trappings of the world desire.
Ah! let not grief, my son, disturb your breast,
Short is our period, ne'er completely blessed!
Feranuk could not know a future king,
A future hero from her loins would spring. CHAMPION.

"If I behold the mirror of the world,
Its wiles, its baubles, playings, are unfurl'd:
And does desire of life the soul pervade?
Think that death soon will lead thee to the shade.
All the world gives, how soon she takes away!
For one short hour she beams with transient ray.

Though coral form'd thy doors, of what avail?
All fall alike in death's surrounding pale.
Though poor, though humble, though a mighty king,
Death makes you equal in his equal wing.
Here joy and sorrow in oblivion sleep,
Ambition glows not! grief forgets to weep!

CHAMPION.

"The poets who have succeeded Ferdousee have borrowed largely of him; but the pure fountain of the Shah Namu has been strangely defiled: nor have his own waters escaped from pollution. Two or three Shah Namus are at least requisite to be able to read his works with any degree of accuracy or satisfaction. The works of Ferdousee, if not snatched from their approaching fate, will be rendered useless by the folly and ignorance of his transcribers. Ferdousee informs us, that the Shah Namu contains 60,000 couplets; but I doubt whether there be a copy which does not contain either more or less than this number of verses. Ferdousee was praised, and patronised by princes; but their protection could only secure him from the vengeance of Mahmood; it remains for the present age to rescue him from the hands of barbarous Katibs, and, by printing an accurate copy of his work, to perpetuate the fame of the sublimest Persian poet.

ON

On Pulpit Eloquence.

(From Dr. Hill's Account of the Life and Writings of Dr. Blair.

"AFTER viewing the senate, the bar, and the pulpit, as fields for the display of eloquence, and marking the difficulties peculiar to each, it may be proper to establish a standard for judging of the preacher's merit, when called to practise his art. There are certain great rules in composition, by which discourses of every kind are regulated, and which those distinguished for rhetorical talents never neglect. There are others which, when duly observed, constitute more immediately the beauty of sermons, and which lead to eminence in that very delicate species of writing. A successful preacher must feel precisely the nature of the duty required of him. This duty, if properly apprehended, will be understood to be both arduous and interesting. It supposes the person undertaking it to combat propensities not easily resisted, and to mortify the pride of man, by holding out to him a just, though an humbling picture. He who flatters the prejudices, or extenuates the vices of his audience, is a traitor to the cause which he espouses. Though the avowed friend of virtue, he is its secret enemy; and he seeks the favour of others, at the expence of every thing valuable to himself.

"But it is the business of the preacher, not only to deter others from the commission of what is evil, but also to persuade them to the practice of what is good. With a view to impress his doctrines upon their hearts, he must appeal to their understandings. Genuine eloquence shews itself by operating upon each, and renders both subservient to one common end. It gives permanence to the emotion, that would be otherwise transient, and energy to the conviction, that must stimulate an agent by influencing his will.

"In order to produce an effect so difficult and momentous, every part of a sermon must be composed with care. Though a man of genius shews himself even in a production that is hasty, yet he wounds the discerning critic, who catches the least defect, and perceives its cause. His audience is often blamed, when the fault is not theirs. Had the rules of his art been observed, he might have summoned the attention which they would have been willing to yield. He might have done so, indeed, by means of which they were unconscious, and exhibited a species of skill the more meritorious, that it was unperceived.

"The ability of the preacher is perhaps never put to a severer test, than when he begins to address his audience. Every ear he finds then open, and every mind unoccupied. He has to court the attention of his hearers, without seeming to obtrude himself upon it. He must appear the friend of those whom he addresses, and less anxious to exhibit skill in his art, than to promote their interest. His subject must be held forth as important, and such, at the same time, as may be easily and shortly discussed. The docility of his hearers must be secured by the removal of every prepossession against the point which he means to establish.

establish. His manner ought to be calm and dispassionate. Far from striking a note at the outset which he cannot afterwards reach, he must conceal and keep in reserve those powers, by which he is to animate his audience. In the introductions of Demosthenes, the orator almost forgets himself, and presses forward to the business with an ardour, which he seems often unable to check.

" In the division of his discourse, the preacher gives a specimen of his talents as a logician. The distribution must be so conducted, that nothing essential is omitted, and nothing superfluous introduced. Each part, of course, stands clear of the rest, however nearly allied to them. The subject must be exhausted by the parts, into which it is divided; and all the points of consequence should appear to have been at once in the speaker's eye. The simplest of these should take place of those that are complex; so that, by the regularity of their arrangement, the whole becomes luminous. A division thus conducted pleases the discerning, and arrests their notice. It is the surest means also of informing the ignorant, who suffer from the confusion of superficial instructors. It rests on those first principles of reasoning which all inherit from nature, though they are improved by few.

" When the preacher is called to relate, which is seldom the case, his narration should be distinct and concise. Men would withhold their attention from what his dulness embarrasses, and would grudge also to have it needlessly prolonged. The same rules, which are his guides when he relates, should be so likewise when he explains. His style should be simple and correct, and void of any ornament that might divert the hearer's attention. The doctrine of his text should be distinctly stated, and the slightest boundary marked by which it is separated from that of other texts, though nearly allied to it.

" Each of the parts of a sermon thus treated holds a distinct place, and presents itself in a train that cannot be altered. Rhetoricians talk also of the argumentative and the pathetic parts. These, however, appear rather to be qualities diffusing themselves over the whole, than the separate constituents of a discourse. From no one part of it can argument be banished; and an orator may see reason to rouse the feelings of his audience at very different times.—Informing and arranging his arguments the preacher gives as clear proofs of the correctness of his conceptions, as in dividing his discourse. Those drawn from topics essentially distinct, should not be blended; and those that are similar, should not be set asunder. By preserving uniformity in this respect, confusion is avoided. Whatever embarrasses the hearer, diminishes the speaker's power: and the general impression is enfeebled, when the means, intended to excite it, are not duly distinguished.

" In the arrangement of arguments, too, much art may be displayed. There are times when the most powerful should take the lead, and the least so should follow.—There are others, when this order should be reversed, and when the speaker should seem to abandon every preliminary argument, and rest upon the last. Above all things, he should beware of multiplying them needlessly. By thus seeming to distrust his cause, he makes others do so; and vain would be the attempt to balance, by the number of his

his arguments, any deficiency in their strength.

" In the due management of the pathetic part of a discourse, more talent is requisite than in that of the argumentative. To excel in the former, delicate sensibility must be united with a sound understanding. This sensibility must be under the controul of reason, and must display itself only in its proper place. An injudicious attempt to rouse the feelings of an audience, disgusts the discerning, and produces on the simple no permanent effect. If the audience anticipates the speaker's intention to move them, they are instantly set upon their guard. Afraid of becoming the dupes, they become the critics, of his eloquence. They will yield to an indirect, when they would resist any studied attempt; and they will behold with coldness that false animation in the speaker, in which they cannot participate.

" As much art is requisite to raise such high emotions, so no less is requisite to preserve them in their native vigour. The style of a pathetic orator will exhibit an artless simplicity. He will feel too strongly the animated conception which he excites in others, to chace those resemblances which present themselves to his fancy when cool. He will sacrifice every thing to the object then before him, which is to touch the heart. A false ornament he will feel to be a studied deformity, and he will keep the emotion, which he has had the art to excite, in the channel in which he wishes it to run. He, who attempts to be pathetic long, can never be so at all. A real orator allows the feelings of his audience to unbend, before they are strained. He leaves the tone of passion gradually, and cautiously avoids the dangers of too hasty a descent.

" When the preacher comes to his peroration, he must be careful to maintain the ground that he has acquired. He must neither end abruptly, nor try the patience of his hearers, by dwelling upon matter that is trivial, or foreign. Every conviction produced upon their understandings, he must fortify, by rousing the feelings of their hearts. He must retire from the pulpit with a good grace, leaving on the minds of his audience an impression, that in his reasoning there was no sophistry, and that the sole object of his exertion was to persuade them to what is good.

" From the general difficulties, then, that attends the eloquence which belongs to the pulpit, and the art that is necessary for composing a single discourse, it must be no easy matter to earn the reputation of a distinguished preacher. He, who stands high in this department of letters, must have suffered and done much. If we examine a few of Dr. Blair's sermons by the rules which we have attempted to establish, we shall be the more disposed, perhaps, to admire what they present as excellent, and to forgive what may seem to deserve censure.

" In the ninth sermon of the third volume, he discourses upon idleness, and views this habit in a light, in which it is not commonly considered, as a violation of religious duty. His text is in Matthew, xx. 6. and the words are, ' Why stand you here all the day idle ?'

" The view taken by Dr. Blair of his subject in this sermon is simple and natural. He proposes to prove, and does so incontrovertibly, that the idle man fails in duty to God, to the world, and to himself. Nothing extraneous appears in the discourse; and though the train of ideas is conducted

ducted with philosophical precision, this seems to be done without effort.

"Father Bourdaloue, in the sixth sermon of his seventh volume, discourses upon idleness also from the same same text:—'*Pourquoi demeurez vous ici tout le jour sans rien faire?*' The French preacher views his subject in a light different from Dr. Blair's, and much less consistent with logical rule. He considers mankind as doomed to labour, in consequence of the curse pronounced upon Adam: so that one text in scripture is made to recommend that as a matter of duty, which another holds out as a matter of necessity. The wealth of his hearers, he tell them, does not relieve them from the obligation to labour:—'*Parceque tous les biens du monde ne peuvent nous soustraire à la malediction du péché;—parceque Dieu en vous donnant ces biens n'a jamais eu intention de deroger à ses droits:—car l'obligation du travail et la necessité de la mort tiennent le méme rang dans les divins décrets.*'

"It does not appear, that the labour entailed upon the human race is at all connected with that active exertion which by implication, is recommended in the text. The former suggests punishment from the severity of the toil denounced against him, who, for his trangression, was in the sweat of his brow to eat his bread. Between zeal in business, and the mean indulgence of the sluggard, there is a wide interval; and as the one suggests the fulfilment, so does the other suggest the violation of duty.

"When the learned father comes to what he calls his second point, he treats his subject with high ability. He had proved, that man might fail in the duty said to be imposed upon him as a sinner, and he goes on to prove, that he might fail in that which is attached to his particular situation in the world. In this last view of the subject, the two preachers coincide. The leading ideas seem to have occurred to both, and they are expressed with equal elegance and ease. By motion and exertion, says Dr. Blair, the system of being is preserved in vigour. By its different parts always acting in subordination one to another, the perfection of the whole is carried on. The heavenly bodies perpetually revolve. Day and night incessantly repeat their appointed course.—'*Ainsi,*' says the father, '*voyons nous les cieux et les astres, qui sont sur nos têtes dans un mouvement perpetuel sans s'arrêter une fois, et sans cesser de répandre leurs influences.*'

"In the following passage, both preachers seem to have laid hold of the same idea, and to present it in expressions of nearly the same import. It holds so natural a place in each of the sermons, that it may have suggested itself to both; so that the charge of plagiarism cannot certainly be brought home upon the latest of the two writers. 'The order and happiness of the world,' says Dr. Blair, 'cannot be maintained without a perpetual circulation of active duties and offices, which men are called upon to perform in their turn. Superiors are no more independent of their inferiors, than these inferiors are of them. It is sometimes supposed, that industry and diligence are duties required of the poor alone; and that riches confer the privilege of being idle. This is so far from being justified by reason, how often soever it may obtain in fact, that the higher one is raised in the world, his obligation to become useful is proportionably increased. The claims upon him from various quarters multiply.

tiply. The sphere of his active duties widens on every hand.'—'*Je pretends,*' says the French preacher, '*qu' à mesure qu'une condition est plus elevée, elle est plus sujette à ces devoirs qu'on ne peut accomplir sans une action assidue et constante; et c'est ici qu'il faut encore une fois que vous detrompiez des fausses idées que vous vous avez des choses et d'une erreur pernicieuse ou le monde vous a peutêtre jusques à présent entretenus. Car la grande erreur du monde est de croire que l'elévation, le rang, la dignité sont autant des droits acquis pour le repos, et pour la douceur de la vie. Mais la foi nous dit tout le contraire, et la raison est, que plus une condition est elevée, plus elle a de grandes obligations à remplir.*'

" Bourdaloue, with the happiest effect, introduces the consequences of occasional idleness upon three distinguished characters in the Old Testament, and bids his hearers beware of the rock upon which they split :—'*Nous ne sommes ni plus saints que David, ni plus eclairés que Salomon, ni plus forts que Samson, et pour vivre dans la retraite nous n'avons pas moins à craindre les desordres de l'oisivité.*'

" The general execution of both sermons discovers great merit upon the part of those who composed them. In consequence of the learned father considering labour, in the first part of his discourse, as the punishment of sin, he deprived himself of the power of enforcing the precept in his text, as agreeable to the active dispositions of man. It was impossible for the preacher to regard the same exertion both as a penance and a pleasure. Dr. Blair, again, by a more just and a fortunate view of his subject, has employed the argument from which Bourdaloue precludes himself, with the happiest effect. He proves, to a demonstration, that the sluggard is his own enemy, and that he generates and feeds the disease under which he pines. 'Rest,' says he, 'is agreeable; but it is only from preceding labours, that rest acquires its true relish. When the mind is suffered to remain in continued inaction, all its powers decay. It soon languishes and sickens; and the pleasures, which it proposed to obtain from rest, end in tediousness and insipidity.'

" One of the most eloquent sermons that Dr. Blair ever composed, is the fifth in the first volume. The subject of it is the death of Christ, and the text is taken from John, xvii. 1. 'Jesus lift up his eyes to heaven, and said, Father, the hour is come.' The object of the preacher is to state those great events which were about to take place during an hour, the most critical which the world has seen, since hours began to be numbered. In the subject there is a native dignity, of which he was aware, and determined to avail himself. For doing so, no pompous or intricate method is adopted by him. He states six points of view in which this hour was interesting to the human race; and each of these is kept distinct, and is beautifully illustrated.

" Father Massillon, in the ninth sermon of his sixth volume, discourses upon the same subject from a different text. His is taken from John, ix. 30. and the words are, '*Tout est accompli.*' This consummation is viewed in three lights; as that of justice upon the part of the Father; and of malice upon that of men; and of love upon that of Christ. Though the method pursued by the two preachers is different, yet each is excellent. In that of both there is a precision which

exhausts the subject, and which, at the same time, permits nothing extraneous to mingle with it. In the pathetic parts of the discourses, it is not easy to say which of the preachers shines most. Those flashes of imagination, which serve to illuminate the subject, are in both frequent and vivid. No attempt is ever made to embellish, that does not succeed; and though the circumstances upon which the ornament rests are sometimes different, they are judiciously chosen.

'The magnanimity of the dying Saviour is a point upon which the powers of the preachers are successfully turned. Every attempt of his enemies to degrade, served only to ennoble his character: and the greatness of the sufferer was made manifest in the greatness of his sufferings. 'The court of Herod,' says Dr. Blair, 'the judgment hall of Pilate, the hill of Calvary, were so many theatres prepared for his displaying all the virtues of a constant and a patient mind. When led forth to suffer, the first voice which we hear from him is a generous lamentation over the fate of his unfortunate, though guilty, country: and to the last moment of his life, we behold him in possession of the same gentle and benevolent spirit. He betrayed no symptom of a weak or a vulgar, of a discomposed or an impatient mind. With all the dignity of a sovereign, he conferred pardon on a penitent fellow sufferer. With a greatness of mind beyond example, he spent his last moments in apologies and prayers for those who were shedding his blood.'

'*En effet,*' says Father Massillon, '*on sait assez que l'attente d'un tourment, qu'on voit présent et inevitable, est toujours plus cruelle que le tourment même; et qu'on meurt d'une manière mille fois plus douloureuse par la crainte, que par la douleur. Or, la justice du Père presente distinctement à l'ame du Sauveur tout l'appareil de la croix; la nuit du Pretoire; les crachats, les soufflets, les fouets, les derisions, le bois fatal; ces images affreuses la crucifient par avance.—Sur le Calvaire, toute la nature en desordre s'intéressera pour lui: ses ennemis mêmes le reconnoitront pour Fils de Dieu: ici, il souffre dans les ténébres et dans le silence; et ses plus chers disciples l'abandonnent.*'

"Passages that are equally pathetic are so extremely numerous in the two sermons, that it is impossible to transcribe them. The sermons resemble each other in the glow and general spirit with which they are written, but not in their particular parts. While the powers of the two preachers may be judged of by the ability with which each has acquitted himself upon the same subject, it does not appear that Dr. Blair has borrowed an idea from his predecessor. The animation with which he has composed this sermon comes nearer that of French sermons in general; but when he chuses to rise above his ordinary level, he needs no foreign aid to support him. Full of his subject, he seems to have had abundance of matter suggested by his own invention. Every striking circumstance is collected to heighten the splendour of the description, and to support the intrinsic dignity of his theme. The unaffected ardour of the speaker does not prevent him from seeing and pursuing the clearest method. In the method itself there are no signs of labour; and its adoption seems natural to those who would themselves have been incapable of forming it. As the best possible arrangement is laid hold of without effort, much

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art is successfully expended in concealing the art that is actually employed.

" In the third sermon of the third volume, Dr. Blair treats of the proper improvement of time. His text is taken from Genesis, xlvii. 8. ' And Pharaoh said unto Jacob, how old art thou ?' He considers this question as suggesting to every person, to whom it may be put, three different portions of his life, the past, the present, and the future. He proposes to consider the manner in which we ought to be affected, by attending to each of these periods ; and, with his usual judgment, arranges his observations with such correctness, as to carry his reader constantly along with him.

" The first observation, under the first head, is so exceedingly obvious, that it seems to have been hardly necessary to make it. ' According to the progress which we have made in the journey of life, the field which past years present to our review will be more or less extensive.' The justice of this remark is seen intuitively, like that of an axiom. It must strike every body to be true that can think at all, yet nothing can be founded upon it as a first principle in science. It does not appear, that, in this part of the discourse, any remark drops from the preacher that is striking or uncommon. No thought seems to have been borrowed ; but few, if any, carry the character of vigour and originality.

" The following use of the word *significant* does not appear to be entirely pure. ' We smile at our former violence, and wonder how such things could have ever appeared so significant and great.' The term denotes, properly the power of suggesting, or betokening, something not expressed, and is, of course, inapplicable to those things said to be the subject of wonder. Dr. Johnson tells us, that the compounded word *insignificant* does not, with the strictest propriety, denote *unimportant*, though good authorities seem to sanction this use of it. He declares the simple term, in a contrary acceptation, to be a low word, and does not produce one instance with a view to support it.

" Father Massillon has a sermon, in his sixth volume, upon the same subject, from Matthew, vii. 33. ' *Je suis encore avec vous un peu de temps.*' The method adopted by the two preachers is different; though in the second head of the two sermons, there is a considerable similarity in the sentiment. Both condemn that restless bustle in which most men spend their lives, and recommend the exclusion of those superfluous avocations which consume it unprofitably. The business of a Christian is held forth to be, not that of filling up every moment with useless engagements, but of regulating the distribution of time as reason and religion direct. A wise man, it is said by both, while he neglects none of his duties, tries to ascertain which are the most important, and to those in particular he bends his attention. By performing every office of life in its due place and season, he suffers no portion of time to escape without profit. By establishing a system to which he rigidly adheres, he multiplies his days by living much in little time.

" Nothing appears in this part of Dr. Blair's sermon which Massillon had not said before him ; and in the execution throughout, it should seem the French preacher has rather the advantage.

" One of the most elaborate sermons that Dr. Blair ever composed, is the fourth in the first volume.—

His text is in First Corinthians, xiii. 12. 'For now we see through a glass darkly.' His object is to justify the divine wisdom and goodness, in giving us but an imperfect knowledge of a future state. The nature of the subject evidently requires a greater reach of thought, than most writers of sermons are capable of; and few men, in any department of literature, perhaps, could unite the depth which is necessary for investigating an abstruse points with the elegance of expression which shone forth in this preacher.

"The introduction is composed with such art, as just to unfold the matter to be traced, without anticipating what might be needed to support the argument when begun.—The preacher commences his inquiry with a becoming solemnity, and seems aware of the difficulties before him. He, in his own language, attempts humbly to trace the reasons why, though permitted to know somewhat of the eternal world, we are permitted to know only in part; and his purpose is announced with sufficient clearness, without adopting any method, or regular division into heads.

"Although the obscurity in which we are involved, as to the future state of man, bears a strict analogy to what prevails in other parts of religion, both natural and revealed, yet upon this analogy no argument is founded. The sceptic is called upon to correct what he feels amiss, and to state the precise measure of information that would remove his complaints. Upon a fuller display of the celestial happiness than that given us in the gospel, it is argued, that the powers of man, as an active being, would cease to be exercised. Earthly concerns would not then engage his attention. No object would kindle the spirit of enterprize, or urge the hand of industry. Man would sojourn upon the earth like a melancholy exile, and languish in a situation, in which the objects around him are viewed with indifference, and deemed unworthy of his notice.

"Such a change as the sceptic is supposed to desire, is, for argument's sake, allowed to take place. The immediate consequence is, however, that man, with the scene in which he is to act his part, would be changed. The conflict between faith and sense, between conscience and desire, between present pleasure and future good, would cease. Were there no difficulties to surmount, it is shewn, there could be no progress towards perfection.—Human life would be no longer that state of discipline which is to meliorate the character of man, and to fit him to become an inhabitant of heaven. The presumptuous wish of the sceptic, if gratified, only changes, without improving, the purposes of his Creator. He proves involuntarily the wisdom of God, who made the world, and the folly of that man who vainly attempts to amend it. As much light, it is said, is let in upon us, as our unripened powers can bear. It is enough to stimulate our desire of a state that is better, and not so much as to make us neglect the concerns of that which is present. Supposed blemishes, then, in our moral constitution, are real perfections; and the defects complained of in the works of God, arise from a disease in the eye that beholds them.

"It is hardly possible to conceive a subtle discussion more correctly stated, or more logically carried on. The composition is as elegant as the subject will bear. Still, however, the great beauty of the sermon lies in the argamentative, which is the predominant part of it. Even if the attempt had been feeble, yet having

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for its object to justify the decree of Providence, it would have been worthy of him who makes it. The uncommon ability displayed, adds infinitely to its merit; and every reader must be pleased to see such talents as the Almighty seldom bestows, vindicating his ways against the cavils of those, by whom they are blamed, because they are not understood.

"There is perhaps no one of Dr. Blair's sermons which is more characteristic of his manner of preaching, than that upon gentleness. For writing on such a subject, indeed, he was particularly fitted. Possessing in an uncommon degree that gentleness which he delineates, he had only to look into his own mind, and to give a transcript of what he saw there. The sermon is the sixth in the first volume, and the words of the text are from James iii. 17. 'The wisdom that is from above is gentle.'

"In the introduction the preacher does nothing more than state the importance of his subject, and the reasons by which he was led to recommend it to the attention of his hearers. The virtue of gentleness, he tells us, does not hold its due place in the estimation of men. Though one which, as christians, we are bound to cultivate, yet it is degraded by many into a mere external accomplishment, and considered as a mask for covering what is offensive in manners. With a view to correct such false notions, Dr. Blair proposes to explain the nature of the virtue, and offers some arguments to recommend, and some directions to facilitate, the practice of it.

"The virtue of gentleness is defined with uncommon precision. It is distinguished from that passive tameness, and unlimited complaisance, which form the character of a sycophant, and which are destructive of every thing like steadiness of principle. It is described as that branch of charity which makes us unwilling to give pain to any of our brethren. There is no particular period at which its exercise is more proper than another. It should diffuse itself habitually over our whole behaviour, and regulate both our speech and our actions.

"After separating gentleness from that meanness of spirit which is unworthy of a man, Dr. Blair distinguishes it from that artifical courtesy which is learned in the school of the world. As this last has not its seat in the heart, it can never render external manners pleasing. It is the snare employed by the artful, when they mean to entrap the unwary, and the cloak of the unfeeling, when they would disguise their intrigues against the innocent and unsuspicious. True gentleness, on the other hand, is said to be a native feeling, heightened and improved by principle. It is as unwilling to inflict, as it is ready to heal, a wound. While it seeks to please, it is unwilling to dazzle, and conceals every ground of superiority which might be oppressive to those beneath it.

"The practice of gentleness is recommended, from considering the duty which we owe to God. That greatness, which is conspicuous in his works, is softened by the view which he has given of himself in his word. In the character of our Saviour, no point is so prominent as his gentleness and condescension. In his access, he was easy; in his manners, simple; in his answers, mild. Do we pretend respect for his religion, while we indulge that harshness and severity which are so contradictory to its genius? If so, we may retain the christian name, but

but we have abandoned the christian character.

"The practice of gentleness is recommended, also, from considering the relation we bear to one another. As society is essential to human happiness, gentleness is the duty which man owes to man. The contemptuous and hard-hearted revolt against their own nature, by foolishly refusing to others those attentions which they may be obliged to solicit in their turn. It is in the ordinary intercourse of life that gentleness shews itself. Great situations call for great virtues; but the virtue recommended is formed and supported, not by unfrequent acts, but by daily exertions.

"Last of all, the practice of gentleness is recommended from the consideration of our own interest. It is the quality which makes a man rise in the world without struggle, and flourish without envy. One of this description enjoys a tranquillity that is never disturbed. Viewing with indulgence the omissions of the careless, the follies of the imprudent, and the levity of the fickle, he retreats as into the calmness of his own spirit, and allows the current of life to hold its course.

"The practice of gentleness is facilitated, by examining our own character, and learning what indulgence we may need. How can we entreat that forbearance from heaven which we deny one another? Can we look for clemency from our judge, when we refuse it to our brethren? We are to reflect, too, on the trivial nature of those objects, which often excite contention. When the cause of animosity is gone, its effects often remain; and had violence been restrained for a moment, these effects had never existed. We are, above all things, to regard this world as but a state of passage, and keep at a due distance from those grating objects which every where surround us. Our minds will then become calm and sedate, and we shall treat with the mildness of a superior nature, what in little minds would call forth the bitterness of passion.

"As the sentiment is more than ordinarily correct in this sermon, so is the language. Both flow with uncommon ease, and mark strongly the author's distinguished talents for the eloquence of the pulpit. At the beginning of his last head he says, 'We are rigorous to offences, and unfeeling to distress.' The purity of the expression, 'rigorous to offences,' may be doubted. The term *offenders* seems the proper correlative to rigorous. The uniformity of the antithesis, besides, might have been equally well preserved by opposing the participle *distressed* to the adjective *unfeeling*, and the whole would have stood thus: 'We are rigorous to offenders, and unfeeling to the distressed.'

"Under the same head there is a simile, in which the resemblance seems to be rather far pursued.—'Easily, and from the smallest chink, the bitter waters of strife are let forth: but with difficulty is their course restrained; and when once they begin to flow, they never fail to poison his cup, who was the first to give them passage.' The purpose of the comparison appears to be served by the two first clauses of this sentence, in which the waters are said to be obeying their natural law. In the third, a new conception is introduced, and, by a motion in these waters not easily understood, they are conceived to punish the person said to have first given them passage, and to be then doomed to drink them.

"Though some objection may be

be brought to this figure, yet others in the sermon will bear the closest examination. The condition of the earth, if gentleness were banished from it, is beautifully described:—'The solitude of the desert were preferable to it. The conflict of jarring elements in chaos; the cave, where subterraneous winds contend and roar; the den, where serpents hiss, and beasts of the forest howl, would be the only proper representations of such assemblies of men.'

"When the preacher is talking of the habitual influence of gentleness, he with great vigour and delicacy of imagination, tells us, 'That its exertions must not be like the blaze of the comet, but regular in its returns, like the light of day; not like the aromatic gale, which sometimes feasts the sense, but like the ordinary breeze, which fans the air, and renders it healthful.' The beauty of these comparisons must strike every reader. A squeamish critic may perhaps find fault with the expression, 'fans the air.' As the air is the fanning substance, it is not easy to see how it is to operate upon itself. That which receives and resists the agitation, however gentle, must be understood to be grosser than the fluid which undergoes it. Take this sermon upon the whole, however, and it may well be regarded as a masterpiece in its way, and as one of the best that ever came from the pen of its elegant author.

"The twelfth sermon of the fifth volume was the last Dr. Blair composed for publication, though not the last in the volume of which it forms a part. Nothing, either in the sentiment or composition, betrays any failure in his powers. The same virtuous sensibility and discernment of the human character, which marked his early, marks also his advanced years. He retained to the last the art of instructing, and even reproving, the thoughtless, and, at the same time, of convincing them that he was really their friend.

"The sermon to which we now refer has its text in Proverbs xiv. 13. 'Even in laughter the heart is sorrowful; and the end of that mirth is heaviness.'

"The intention of the preacher is to prove, that those who propose to themselves the unlimited enjoyment of pleasure, mistake the nature of human life, and the condition upon which it was bestowed; that they vainly attempt to counteract the decree of Providence, and to render their state upon earth what it was never designed to be. For this purpose he considers, in the first place, the obvious consequences of a life of dissipation, upon health, fortune, and character. The first, he tells us, the most valuable of all human blessings, is readily sacrificed at the shrine of pleasure; and hence, if life is not shortened, comes the debilitated body, and the premature old age. No fortune, however affluent, can resist the effects of profusion in those, by whom prudent œconomy is disdained as a mean attention. They become the prey of the crafty, who fatten on their spoils, and see nothing remaining to them but the ruins of a broken fortune. As the character of the dissipated man is necessarily conspicuous, it is marked at once, and rigorously condemned. The respectable and the grave smile at his follies, and avoid his company. He thus either dwindles into insignificance, or shines in those fashionable assemblies only, in which it is a disgrace to be seen.

"If dissipation be thus ruinous to the external condition, it is shewn in the next place, to be no less so to the

the morals of men. The seeds of virtue are soon destroyed by those insidious steps with which the love of pleasure advances. Nothing is regarded but present enjoyment, and plans of improving on that enjoyment in future. Then is the creditor defrauded, the tenant is racked, and friends are plundered. Recourse is had to the gaming table, as the last means of supplying unbounded expence. To how many bad passions, and how many base arts, does this give rise? The wretch that sits down at this fatal table, full of eagerness and hope, rises haggard and forlorn, cursing his fate, and threatening, perhaps, to end that existence, which is odious even to himself.

"Besides, the pleasures of the dissipated are never found to be unmixed. That sense of propriety, which is borne down by passion, though it cannot guide them to what is right, still makes them sensible of their doing wrong. That conscience, which is too feeble to direct, is still able to sting them. In the midst of their riot, spectres haunt their imagination, and poison their joys. The very portraits of their ancestors seem to frown on that licentious waste, which scatters the fortune which their virtues had acquired.

"Last of all, dissipation is shewn to be unsuitable to the condition of man, and injurious to society. The mirth of the licentious forces the widow and the fatherless to weep. To supply their oppressive demands, families are driven from their habitations, and consigned to poverty. The poor murmur when the rich revel in wasteful excess, and issue from their homes, prepared, by those pretended friends who would mislead them, for every evil work.

"Dr. Blair ends his sermon with observing, that his admonitions refer to those in the middle, as much as to those in the highest ranks of life. The modes of amusement enjoyed by the former may not be so refined, and their enjoyments may be grosser. Among them, however, there prevails as much proportionate extravagance, as much rivalry in the competitions of passions, as in the most fashionable circles. To serve God, then, to attend to the serious cares of life, and to discharge faithfully the duties of our station, are the first concerns of every good man; and amusement and pleasure are to be regarded as the relaxation, not as the business, of life.

"Dr. Finlayson, speaking of this sermon, in the very able, though short, Life of Dr. Blair, annexed to the last volume which he published, says, with much justice, that 'it is written with great dignity and eloquence; and should be regarded as his solemn parting admonition to a class of men, whose conduct is highly important to the community, and whose reformation and virtue he had long laboured most zealously to promote.'

"Though this discourse was written when the author was far advanced in life, yet it discovers nothing like a decay either of intellect, or of fancy. The method adopted is as strictly logical, and the compositions as animated as ever. No single conception, from the beginning to the end of the sermon, appears to be improperly introduced; and each holds that exact place which belongs to it as a part of the whole. The comparisons, which are frequent, are just, and elucidate the subject they are meant to explain. When the purpose of explanation is served by them, the author stops, and makes no demand upon the imagination of the reader, which

which is not willingly granted. Even in those metaphors which approach each other in point of subject, there is no mixture: but the chaste elegance of the preacher makes each run in its own tract, however thinly separated from that of the rest. Pleasure, he tells us, not regulated by temperance, is no more than a momentary explosion, a transient gush, a torrent that comes down impetuously, sparkling and foaming in its course, but which soon runs out, and leaves a muddy and polluted channel. The *gush* and the *torrent* agree in referring to the violent emission of water, and to the shortness of its duration; but the former is confined to no channel, and leaves nothing offensive when it is gone.

"The last sermon which Dr. Blair composed and delivered, was that preached before the society for the benefit of the sons of the clergy. It was with some difficulty that his friends prevailed upon him to perform this service to the church. Feeling the infirmities of old age, which had made him retire from the labours of his pulpit, he was afraid that, in this last effort, he might both disappoint the expectations of the public, and be of less use to the society, than other preachers then in the vigour of life.

"In the choice of a text for the occasion he appears to have been fortunate, It is taken from Jeremiah xlix. 11. 'Leave thy fatherless children, I will preserve them alive, and let thy widows trust in me.'

"Some observations upon the goodness of God, form the subject of the introduction. Throughout the world, he says, there is no instance of mere pomp and useless grandeur, but every thing ministers to the general good. The compassion of the Deity, which is the exercise of his goodness towards the distressed, is said to be an attribute upon which the scriptures dwell. The object of the preacher is to enquire, why God is pleased to represent himself so often to us under this view. Such discoveries are said to serve two important purposes; they furnish particular ground of trust in God, amidst all the vicissitudes of human life; and they exhibit the pattern of that disposition which we ought, in our measure, humbly to follow and imitate.

"Compassion, under the first head, is said to be that attribute of the Almighty which gives a softening to what is awful in his nature, and fits him to be the object of our trust. It is in man the most benevolent of his instincts; and the belief of its existence in the Deity, saves us from being oppressed with his greatness. In the exercise of it among men, it is accompanied with painful emotions, which cannot exist in the supreme Being. In him there can be no struggle of feelings, no fluctuation of purpose. His benignity, undisturbed by any violent emotion, ever maintains the same tranquil tenor, like the unruffled serenity of the highest heavens. The same principle which prompts the Almighty to regard our natural and external distresses, extends also to those that are spiritual. It was this which moved him, in the work of our redemption, to feel for the wretchedness of a fallen race.

"Such a discovery of the divine nature not only furnishes ground of confidence, but is, in the second place, said to exhibit a pattern, which we are bound to imitate as far as we can. We are desired to be merciful, as our Father in heaven is merciful. Compassion is said to

to be the character under which the Almighty chuses to be known. He hath taken up the cause of the distressed, and stated himself as the antagonist of those that would bear them down. Without affections of benevolence, and works of mercy, the system established in the universe must cease. Between the high and the low there is a mutual dependence. Each, in one way or other, calls on each for aid. Even among savage and uncultivated nations, the energy of compassion is felt, and its claims are recognized and obeyed.

"After establishing the two points laid down in his method, Dr. Blair comes to address his audience upon the subject of their meeting. In the 54th year of his ministry, when advanced age may be supposed to have corrected the prejudices, and to have cooled the ardour of partiality, he declares his convinction, that there exists no where a more respectable and useful class of men than the clergy of Scotland. Exceptions, he allows, may exist in so numerous a body; but in general, while they edify the lowest, they acquire respect from the higher classes of men. The provision allowed them from the public may raise them above contempt, but is inadequate to the purpose of educating a numerous family, and giving them a footing in the world.

"With a view to stimulate the generosity of those who heard him, Dr. Blair represents an aged clergyman in a situation that is not entirely ideal, but may sometimes exist. He desires them to figure such a man, surrounded with a family of children, to whom his chief care had been devoted, and in whom his heart had been bound up. He is supposed to have cheerfully expended his scanty stores, in giving all the advantage to their education, which his own village, or the nearest county town, could yield. But the time of preparation is finished, and these children have to go forth into a world which to them is unknown. Some of their father's friends have been laid in the dust, and others have become insolent through prosperity. With tears in his eyes, he gives them his blessing as they depart, and commits them to the protection of their father's God. How happy if such a voice reached him: —'Leave thy fatherless children; I will preserve them alive; and let thy widow trust in me.'

"The preacher concludes his sermon with a short account of the society, and mentions the beneficent purposes of its managers when its funds shall have increased. He states the signal success with which the sons of Scots clergymen have filled several important departments of society. He bids his audience observe, that some of the first scholars, lawyers, and judges, who have adorned the country, and of those who rank high in the commercial, the military, and the naval professions, were born and bred under the humble roof of a minister. He tells them, that, by a seasonable generosity, they may be now ripening in secret the seeds of future genius, and giving the virtuous, who need protection, a fair advantage over those in whom opulence supersedes labour, encourages indolence, and perhaps fosters dissipation.

"If we consider, that the author of this sermon was in the 79th year of his age when he composed it, it must strike us to have been, even in him, an extraordinary effort. He discovers in it a correctness of thought, and an order and delicacy of feeling, which few men possess even in the vigour of life. In his introduction,

introduction, he anticipates nothing which should be reserved for the body of his discourse; and thus shews, that his inventive talent was undiminished. In his division of his subject, he is simple and logical; and thus shews, that he could yet view and arrange it with philosophical precision. In the argumentative part, he reasons forcibly; and thus shews, that he knew both the strength of the ground he had seized, and the means of defending it from any attack. In the narrative part, he is concise and perspicuous; and appears free from that tedious verboseness, which embarrasses without elucidating, and is often the concomitant of old age. In his peroration, he is animated and persuasive; and still possesses the art of knowing when and how to take leave of his audience, and what are the precise impressions that should exist when he retreats.

"This last exertion, then, will bear to be compared with some of the best that preceded it. If there is any failure in it at all, it lies in the part that is properly the pathetic. When he was a younger man, he might have perhaps wrought up the description of the aged clergyman taking leave of his children with more art, and painted with a more glowing pencil the feeling of both at this trying interview. In his beautiful sermon upon the character of Joseph, he is pathetic in a higher degree. The feelings of the statesman, and of his brethren, both before and after he was known to them, are drawn by a master who had studied the human heart throughout all its windings. Every the most delicate emotion he traces to its proper source; and we see at once the magnanimity of Joseph, and the terror of his guilty brethren, tempered with admiration of his worth. The interview between the clergyman and his children, as it does not exclude fictitious circumstances, would have admitted a colouring which the facts related of Joseph, as real history, do not. Of course, it presented a subject that might have been more easily embellished, and which made a smaller demand upon the talents of the author, to clothe it in its native tenderness.

"The composition of the sermon is in every way worthy of its author. He is in it, as usual, temperate in the use of figures, and chaste in those which he adopts. His language is elegant and correct; so that nothing is to be found in it, to which the most squeamish critic could object. He is said to have delivered the sermon with uncommon spirit. His audience was one of the most numerous and respectable that the country could furnish. Numbers assembled from all quarters, to witness the last exhibition of this celebrated preacher, and heard that voice with admiration, mixed with regret, which they were sure they should hear no more.

"After considering so many sermons, which, with a few circumstances only excepted, may be deemed excellent in their kind, we may perceive the different ideas formed by French and English preachers, as to the eloquence of the pulpit. The French preacher generally addresses the imagination and passions; rouses his audience by an animated harangue; and is at more pains to embellish a few thoughts thinly spread out, than to exhibit any rich variety of sentiment. The English preacher, on the other hand, who is often of a temper more cold and phlegmatic, tries to accomplish his purpose by very different means. He regards his hearer

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as an intellectual, rather than as a sensitive, being. Feeling his own metaphysical power, he may trust too much to that of his audience; and may suppose them able to follow what, in fact, they do not apprehend. He is more anxious to convince than to persuade them, and looks for a higher and more permanent effect, from influencing the understanding than the heart. The French preachers complain of the English mode of preaching, as ill suited to produce its highest effects. '*Les sermons chez les Anglois, sont des discussions metaphysiques, plus convenable à une academie qu'aux assemblées populaires, qui se forment dans nos temples.*'

"Between the extremes of English accuracy and French animation, the model of a perfect sermon is perhaps to be found. He who can blend these together successfully, and in their due proportions, seems destined for eminence in the line of a preacher. As the emotions which he excites rests not upon feverish sensibility, they do not perish as soon as they exist. They may be laid hold of as instruments of persuasion, that are fitted to leave behind them a lasting effect. The person, too, whose understanding is thus satisfied, does not acquiesce in his conviction, as if it arose from a mathematical proof. It stimulates to action with a well-regulated impulse; and while it adds to the wisdom of the hearer, it imparts to him both the desire and the power of turning that wisdom to the advantage of society.

"One great excellency of Dr. Blair's sermons is, that they discover more animation than those of most of the English preachers, and less than those of most of the French. Bold as his conception and language often are, they seem to be always under his controul. The figures which he employs are seen at once to have a foundation in nature, and rarely is any one of them pushed too far. The most vivid emotions which he ever excites in his hearers, imply no suspension of that reason which is required to temper them. His distribution of the subject is simple and luminous, and each subordinate part is found to hold the place that strictly belongs to it.

Dr. Blair's superior ability as a preacher rests perhaps upon no circumstance so much as upon the knowledge he had acquired of the human heart. This knowledge he earned by reading the writings of those most deeply skilled in the science; not from much intercourse with men in the scenes of active life. He could make his hearers perceive their characters in a light that was new to them. Leaving to others those general descriptions, which, being applicable almost to all, arrest the attention of none, he spoke home to the individual in the language which he understood. He shewed himself to be not only a correct, but a delicate observer of human nature; and by the beauty and the justness of his execution in the picture at large, could reconcile the spectator to what would have otherwise shocked him.

"If in reading a French sermon it appears to us often florid and enthusiastic, it would do so still more if we heard it delivered. That heat of imagination which led the preachers of France to employ figures of the boldest description, would admit of nothing in their manner in the least degree cold. In their general method, they affect a simplicity, by limiting the number of divisions to two, or at most to three. In the sequel of the discourse, however, they sometimes become so minute,

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as to break its unity by a needless correctness. Their affectation of learning is still more striking. Passages are at times selected from the ancient classics, with a view to display the preacher's erudition, rather than to instruct his audience. Large quotations from the Fathers are taken for the same purpose, and a commentary is given upon a sentiment couched in an unknown language, which the hearers often receive with a blind, and an unprofitable respect.

"In the use which French preachers make of passages of scripture, they are often not to be justified. They are indeed cramped in their choice of texts, by the custom of taking them from the lesson of the day. The connection between the text and discourse is thus inconsiderable, and, in spite of the preacher's ingenuity, it is sometimes impossible to reconcile them. From this fault even the great Massillon is not exempted. He tells us, that the spirit of God cannot become stationary in our hearts, on account of their mutability; and that, in respect to us, it is a rapid and fleeting spirit; '*un esprit rapide et passager.*' In support of this conceit, he quotes that passage in the Psalms, in which the wind is said to pass over the flower of the field, and it is gone. '*Spiritus pertransibit in illo, et non consistet,*' Ps. ciii. 16. One should suppose, that the preacher was here aiming at a species of wit very much out of place. Though the Latin *spiritus* may denote both the spirit of God and the wind, yet this will never justify the absurd transferring of the text, from the blast in the desert to the divine influence upon the human mind. It is no wonder, then, that the French critics complain of their preachers for so childish a practice; and that they cry out, '*que les textes de l'écriture employés par les prédicateurs doivent être presentés sous leur vrai sens, et non pas tirés par force au sujet, par des interprétations louches, et des allusions arbitraires.*'

"Though such scriptural allusions are more common among the French than any other set of preachers, yet, even in England they were sometimes found to disgrace the dignity of the pulpit. They give to a sermon an affected smartness, which is not its proper character; and to a preacher, also, an air of foppishness, that does not become him. An analogy that is so unnatural and forced, weakens the argument in place of supporting it. A judicious hearer listens with impatience to an attempt, by which he understands it is meant to mislead him, and, because disgusted with one part of the discourse, he is apt to withhold his approbation from others that may really deserve it.

"In the respect now mentioned, Dr. Seed fails more frequently than the other English preachers, and pursues many allusions to scripture that are fanciful and strained. Thus having, in his thirteenth sermon, said, that the universities have justly been called the eyes of the nation, he adds, that if the eyes of the nation be evil, the whole body of it must be full of darkness.

"But although the French preachers sometimes fail in these respects, they must be allowed to possess uncommon merit. In the management of the bolder figures of rhetoric, to the use of which passion only and strong feeling lead, they discover much art. Their speakers have been at times disconcerted by the effects which their sermons produced. Voltaire records this fact, in regard to Massillon, and considers the discourse which made the audience

audience start from their seats, and emit acclamations, as equal to any thing of which ancient or modern times could boast. To the high powers of Massillon, indeed, the French critics in general bear ample testimony. He excels in that quality for which we have found Dr. Blair distinguished; a deep knowledge of the world, and of the human heart. This talent he could turn to its most important use. When he wished to be pathetic, he could touch the precise string by which the feelings of his audience were to be roused, and he knew the very point at which those feelings should stop. In his composition, besides, there is much ease; and, while he is pleasing every reader with the elegance of his language, it seems to be without effort.

"In spite of the high accomplishments which Massillon must be allowed to possess as a preacher, some of the French critics have given Bourdaloue the preference. To the latter they ascribe more depth, and a greater talent for solid and acute reasoning. It would be difficult, however, to shew instances in which Massillon has failed in the talent mentioned; and, supposing any defect in intellectual discernment to exist, it would be more than compensated by the superior brilliancy of his fancy. Bourdaloue indeed reasons well; but the subtlety of his argument is often hurt by verbose expression. He is always disposed to dilate, and never to condense his reasoning; and exhibits every prejudice of a catholic in the most striking colours. He quotes the Fathers in a degree approaching to pedantry; and is at all times less disposed to instruct his audience than to set off his learning. Massillon and Bourdaloue may well be allowed to have been the ornament of the French pulpit, and to have carried the art of preaching an uncommon length. Of the two, however, we hold the first to have been the greater performer, and regard him as a model which may be more safely imitated.

Saurin holds the same place among the French Protestant divines, which the two now mentioned do among the Roman catholics. He, too, is abundantly ostentatious of his learning, and refers, not only to the works of the Fathers, but to those of the ancient classics, both Greek and Latin. Though copious, he is less apt to fatigue his hearers than Bourdaloue. He writes with the ease of a man who thinks for himself, and feels no need of assistance. In several of his sermons, particularly in the second of the second volume, '*Sur l'Immensité de Dieu*,' he shews much talent for discrimination. Of this superiority, however, he seems rather too conscious, and courts occasions of making a display better suited to excite the admiration than to promote the improvement of his hearers.

"The eloquence of Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, is inferior to that of none of the preachers already mentioned. His "*Oraisons Funèbres*," from the solemnity of their subject, lead him to use personifications, apostrophes, and such rhetorical figures as require both a bold and delicate hand. His general execution is so masterly, that he seems incapable of attempting what he is unable to effect. The ardour and vivacity of his genius is fitted for the animated kinds of oratory, which the more correct, but phlegmatic genius of the British seldom leads them to attempt.

"When Bossuet chuses to be pathetic, he employs, with unerring dexterity, the means that fit him to be

be so. Every circumstance in respect to time, to place, to character, is touched as it should be; and upon no one of these does he dwell longer than its importance deserves. In his funeral oration upon the death of the Duchess of Orleans, which is justly considered as the most highly finished, he breaks out in the following pathetic terms: ' *J'étois donc encore destiné à rendre ce devoir funèbre à la très haute et très puissante Princesse Henriette Anne d'Angleterre, Duchesse d'Orléans. Elle, que j'avois vûe si attentive pendant que je rendois le même devoir à la Reine sa mère, devoit être sitôt après le sujet d'un discours semblable; et ma triste voix étoit réservée à ce déplorable ministère.—O vanité! O néant! O mortels ignorans de leurs destinées! L'eut-elle crû il y a dix mois? Et vous, Messieurs, eussiez-vous pensés, pendant qu'elle versoit tant de larmes en ce lieu, qu'elle dû sitôt vous y rassembler pour la pleurer elle-même? Princesse, le digne objet de l'admiration de deux grands royaumes, n'étoit-ce pas assez que l'Angleterre pleurât votre absence sans être encore réduite á pleurer votre mort? Et la France, qui vous revit avec tant de joie environnée d'un nouvel eclát, n'avoit-elle plus d'autres pompes et d'autres triomphes pour vous au retour de ce voyage fameux, d'où vous aviez remporté tant de gloire, et de si belles espérances? Vanité des vanités! et tout est vanité! C'est la seule parole qui me reste: c'est la seule réflexion que me permet dans un accident si étrange, une si juste, et si sensible douleur.*"

"At the conclusion of his oration upon the death of the prince of Condé, Bossuet gives a specimen of pathetic eloquence, which is indeed a masterpiece; and his apostrophe to the deceased prince, at the end, has the happiest effect. The passage is too long for insertion, but it deserves to be examined. Our English preachers rarely attempt any thing so bold, and seldom bring their hearers to that state of high animation in which they could easily bear it.

Bishop Sherlock, at the conclusion of the ninth sermon of his first volume, gives a beautiful instance of personification, and carries the figure as far as could with propriety be done. The passage is as follows: ' Go to your natural religion: Lay before her Mahomet and his disciples, arrayed in armour and in blood, riding in triumph over the spoils of thousands and tens of thousands, who fell by his victorious sword: Shew her the cities which he set in flames, the countries which he ravished and destroyed, and the miserable distress of the inhabitants of the earth. When she has viewed him in this scene, carry her into his retirements; shew her the prophet's chamber, his concubines and wives; let her see his adultery, and hear him allege revelation and his divine commission, to justify his lust and his oppression. When she is tired with this prospect, then shew her the blessed Jesus, humble and meek, doing good to all the sons of men, patiently instructing both the ignorant and the perverse. Let her see him in his most retired privacies; let her follow him to the mount, and hear his devotions and supplications to God. Carry her to his table, to view his poor fare, and hear his heavenly discourse. Let her see him injured, but not provoked: let her attend him to the tribunal, and consider the patience with which he endured the scoffs and reproaches of his enemies. Lead her to his cross, and let her view him in the agony of death, and hear his last prayer for his persecutors, ' Father, forgive them, for they know not what

what they do.' When natural religion has heard both, ask, which is the prophet of God? But her answer we have already had; when she saw part of this scene through the eyes of the centurion who attended at the cross, by him she spoke and said, truly this man was the Son of God.'

"The high taste with which this figure is conducted, could hardly have been looked for, from the general strain of the reverend prelate's composition. In point of solidity of matter, of acuteness of reasoning, and of a manly and forcible expression, few, if any, of his cotemporaries could rival him. The highest elegance of composition, however, does not present itself; and yet we occasionally meet with a figure introduced and supported with such taste, as would adorn any piece of eloquence whatsoever.

"The eloquence of Flechier is of a more temperate kind than that of Bossuet. Though possessing great powers as an orator, he appears to be more disposed, and better able, to restrain them, and must have carried his hearers more generally along with him. His '*Panegyriques*,' like the '*Oraisons Funèbres*" of Bossuet, record the virtues of men of eminence after their death. In these there is to be found little of that extravagant flattery of which Cicero complains in the Roman '*Laudationes*.' He draws his characters with a very masterly hand. In the '*Panegyrique de Saint Louis*,' you see as clearly the qualities that give eminence to an illustrious monarch, as in that, '*De Saint Thomas Archevêque de Canterberry*,' you see those that distinguish a persecuted churchman. His sermons upon ordinary subjects are rich in matter, which is clearly his own. He exhibits a mind that has no need of any resource without itself. Though Dr. Blair's manner approaches nearer to that of Flechier than to that of any of the other French preachers, yet it does not appear that the Doctor has borrowed any thing from him. In his sermon upon the use of afflictions, you see a preacher deeply interested in the truths which he is enforcing; but, in the midst of his ardour, treating his subject with a simplicity not commonly exhibited in the French pulpit.

'*Les Oeuvres Spirituelles*' of Fenelon, archbishop of Cambray, contain rather loose hints upon a number of religious subjects, than regular sermons upon any one. From these hints, however, owing to the manner in which they are thrown together, succeeding preachers may have availed themselves; and the plagiarism, at the same time, may not have been easily detected. In his dialogues upon eloquence, the archbishop shews himself a great enemy to the division of sermons into heads. Dr. Blair differs from him upon this point, both in opinion and in practice. Among English preachers, the practice of dividing their discourses is almost constantly maintained; and, among the French, the laying it aside would be productive of the worst of consequences. The latter, from the luxuriance of their imagination, are more apt to deviate from their text; and each head serves as a kind of landmark, to guide the attention of the hearer, and shews him how each part bears upon the general doctrine which it is meant to establish. In these essays of Fenelon's, apostrophes, and quotations from the classics, are as frequent as in the regular discourses of the French. They are, on that account, not adopted as subjects of imitation by preachers

preachers in this country, who have less constitutional liveliness, and are less disposed to make a shew of their learning.

"It is certain, that about the same period, that is, during the reign of Louis XIV., when the most distinguished preachers in France flourished, and before the restoration of Charles II. in England, there was a greater similarity between the sermons of the two countries than afterwards. The English preachers encumbered their discourses with scholastic theology, and classical quotations; but, in certain parts of them, they roused the feelings of their hearers by pathetic addresses. This mode of preaching became unfashionable; and both the pedantry and the animation were laid aside, as unbecoming the dignity of the pulpit. English preaching became dry and argumentative. A sermon was no longer a persuasive popular oration, but approached to a cold metaphysical essay, in which man is treated as a being of pure intellect, and as devoid of imagination and passion. Had the hearer of such a sermon been ignorant of his duty, he would have been ably instructed in it; but were he, as most hearers are, only unwilling to perform it, no means of persuasion were so much as tried. The sermon did not interest the heart; and the audience retired from it, as little disposed to renounce old vices, and to practise new virtues, as before it was delivered.

"In the powers of abstract thought and acute reasoning, Dr. Clark, Dr. Barrow, and Bishop Butler, have perhaps no superiors. Respectable as these powers are, however, they will not of themselves form accomplished preachers. Though a false conception is screened by none of the embellishments of language, yet by some means only, one that is just and profound gains admission to the heart, and influences the conduct. Those great divines, who have been now mentioned, shew even a superabundance of logical powers; and, to those who can follow their reasoning, they impart both instruction and delight. In trying to follow their discussions, however, the herd of readers are lost in a maze, from which they can never extricate themselves. By sentiments not accommodated to their apprehension, they gain nothing in point either of intellectual or of moral improvement. The great end of preaching fails, when admission to the heart is not courted by those avenues which lead to it; and the conduct of man can be successfully regulated by those only, who know his compound nature, and who know him as he is.

"The sermons of archbishop Tillotson cannot be held forth as a model, though there is much in them that deserves approbation. He is wise enough not to address men as if they were philosophers merely; but to employ in a certain degree the insinuation of a popular speaker. His piety is sincere, and is regulated by good sense. It is to be regretted, however, that his manner is often uninteresting, and but ill fitted to keep up his hearers' attention. His language, at times, wants nerve; and he seems either disposed to grudge the pains needful to polish it, or to have been mistaken in thinking that those pains would have been mispent.

"Bishop Atterbury has perhaps come as near the standard, by which a good preacher is to be judged of, as any English preacher whatever. In his sentiment he is always rational, and often acute; and though the sentiment is not the most profound, yet it is far from being flimsy.

His style, though occasionally careless, exhibits much elegance and purity. In a critical examination of his sermon upon "thanksgiving," Dr. Blair does him ample justice, and shews nothing of the jealousy of a rival. Other sermons of his seem to deserve equal commendation, particularly that concerning the miraculous propagation of the gospel.

"Such are the outlines of the character of those distinguished preachers, both in Great Britain and France, with whom Dr. Blair is entitled to be compared. Each preacher, in each country, exhibits, in a certain degree, the merits and the defects of its style of preaching, as well as those that belong to himself. We might be accused of partiality to the country to which Dr. Blair long did honour, were we to affirm, that he had surpassed the splendid beauties of Massillon, Bossuet, and Flechier, or the clear and ingenious reasoning of Clark, Barrow, and Butler. In the medium between the extremes to which each set may have leant, he seems to have been desirous to find a place. He wished to temper the glow of passion with the coolness of reason, and to give such scope only to the imagination of his audience, as would leave the exercise of their judgment unimpaired. He tried to accommodate his discussions to the apprehension of those whom he addressed; and, when called to elucidate the mysteries that bear to be inquired into, he enlivened the dark research by the brilliancy of a well-regulated fancy. The reception which his sermons have met with throughout Europe, after being translated into different languages, proves equally the merit of the preacher, and the candour of his judges. Even those in this country who envy his fame, hold it prudent to be silent, and to seem to set every thing like jealousy asleep. They are afraid to encounter that tide of public opinion, by which they are sure they would be borne down. In France, his sermons were never said to be inanimate; nor were they, in Britain, by good judges, said to be superficial. In both countries they have, at once, given pleasure to the gay, and consolation to the serious. By such a mixture of beauty and usefulness, as the world never before witnessed in their line, they have given fashion to a kind of reading that had long been discarded. They have stopped even the voluptuary in his career, and made him leave the haunts of dissipation, that he might listen to the preacher's reproof."

Account of the University of St. Andrews.

(From Mr. Hall's Travels in Scotland.)

"ST. ANDREWS, once the seat of the metropolitan bishop of Scotland, and even since the abolition of episcopacy, still famous for its university, exhibits at a distance, by its large extent, and its remaining steeples, turrets, and spires, an appearance of magnificence and grandeur. But, on a near approach, the general aspect of

of the shore, the priory, and other antient monasteries, the cathedral church, the castle, the residence of the archbishops, and not unfrequently of the kings, the city in every quarter, in some of which the streets are grown over with grass and solid turf, and one whole and very long street levelled with the ground; and, I am sorry to say, even of the colleges, suggests nothing but the melancholy idea of former magnificence and grandeur now in ruins. There was nothing in all this at all surprising to me, as I had been more than twenty years ago for many years a student, both at the Philosophy and Divinity College of St. Andrews, except the present state of the university, which has now assumed an air and tone, completely in unison with the general dreary, desolate, and decayed condition, of that antient, large, and once flourishing city. On inquiring into the number of students, and the changes that had taken place in the different chairs, the reflection that first occurred was the marked contrast between the state of the university, under the inspection of the late chancellor, Thomas earl of Kinnoull, and under the present chancellor, the lord viscount Melville. During the subsistence of episcopacy in Scotland, the archbishop was the over-lord of the university, and held visitations of the university once in every two or three years, and also of the different colleges. For though all the colleges, forming the university, were, and are still, in many respects, most intimately connected in patronage and jurisdiction, they enjoyed. as they do now, powers or prerogatives peculiar to each. Upon the abolition of episcopacy, the crown came in place of the archbishop, and they exercise the same powers as he did, as often as may be judged proper. I believe there has not been any visitation of the university here, since the establishment of presbytery in Scotland. Visitors would find it here just as it was in 'the days of Noe—men, eating and drinking, and marrying, and giving in marriage.'

"Among the professors who flourished before what may be called the present dynasty of St. Andrews, were, principal Tulideph; Dr. Simson, brother to the celebrated professor of Glasgow, and as nearly related by genius as by blood; Mr. David Gregory, professor of mathematics; Dr. Robert Watson, professor of logic and rhetoric; Dr. Wilkie, professor of natural philosophy, author of the Epigoniad; and some other professors, who were both admirably well qualified to fill their stations, and distinguished by a professional zeal, or what was called by the celebrated principal Robertson, the historian, in allusion to them, an academical ardour.

"William, duke of Cumberland, chancellor of the university of St. Andrews, died in 1767. Several persons in high political situations were proposed, by different members of the university, for his successor: but a considerable majority of voices declared in favour of 'Thomas, earl of Kinnoull, *after* he had retired from an important and honourable political life; for no other reason than that he was an eminent patron and pattern of religion, and private as well as public virtue; that he inherited all that love and respect for learning, which distinguished his father, one of the most accomplished noblemen of the court of George II. and his maternal grandfather, the illustrious Robert, earl of Oxford; and, that he was

the worthy representative of one of the noblest races in Europe.' This excellent nobleman instituted prizes for every class of students in the colleges—paid them an annual visit—distributed the prizes with his own hands—took great notice of the most distinguished scholars, and, where patronage was needed, used all the means in his power for promoting their fortune. The ancient celebrity of the university of St. Andrews was, in a great measure, revived. The number of students amounted to one hundred and fifty, and upwards. Not a few families of distinction came to reside in St. Andrews, for the laudable purpose of having their sons educated at the university; thus uniting the advantages of a public and a private education.

"While the professors discharged their duty with equal ability, skill, and alacrity, there was an excellent public library; for the maintenance and increase of which there was ample provision. The books that had been placed in different libraries were brought together, and properly disposed in one spacious and elegant hall, which was built, or rebuilt, with improvements, for the purpose. The books were not chained, as some books are in the English universities, to benches or stalls; nor was it necessary to consult or peruse them on the spot. The students were permitted to carry them to their own chambers. The professors did not confine themselves to the reading of lectures once or twice a week; they taught every day, and some of them twice: and the students were called on to give an account of the lectures or lessons they had received on the day preceding the meeting, as in common schools. This is the custom in all the Scotch universities. It is certainly a very good one. The youth are thus incited to study by a principle of emulation, and the shame of appearing dull or stupid. In all the classes, the mathematical and natural philosophy classes excepted, the lectures commenced with prayer.

"At the same time, the strictest discipline was maintained. To this, the earl of Kinnoull, the chancellor, was particularly attentive. In an excellent speech, which he made in answer to an inaugural oration, by the reverend professor Brown, at that time the rector, when he was first received as chancellor, he declared, among other particulars, that he conceived it to be his duty to enforce the strictest discipline and observance of morality and religion. For gross offences against morality, several young men of distinguished and opulent families were expelled, or, as the phrase was, extruded from the university.

"The colleges in the university of St. Andrews, the oldest in Scotland, were originally three; namely, St. Salvator's, founded by James Kennedy, archbishop of St. Andrews, in the year 1458; St. Leonard's College, founded by prior Hepburn, in 1512; and St. Mary's, founded by bishop John Hamilton, in the year 1552. In each of these colleges, lectures were given in theology, as well as in philosophy and languages; but in the reign of James VI. 1579, under the direction of the celebrated George Buchannan, who was at the time, or certainly had been, himself, one of the professors, or regents, as they were then called, of St. Leonard's, the university was new modelled. St. Mary's College was appropriated to the study of theology. It is, therefore, distinguished by the name of the Divinity College, and otherwise the New College. In the year 1747,

1747, on a petition from the principals or provosts of St. Salvator's and St. Leonard's, the British parliament united these two into one society, under the designation of the United College, but commonly called the Philosophy College.

"These two colleges, the Divinity College and the United College, are wholly independent of each other in their revenue and discipline, though there be certain points, as in certain acts of patronage, the election of a rector, and of a chancellor of the university, the conferring of degrees, correspondence with foreign academies, and on occasion, with princes who have sometimes sent them presents, &c. in which the university acts as one body. On such occasions, they hold what they call university meetings.

"St. Salvator's College is a spacious square, but of which one side has fallen to ruin, and not been rebuilt, with a garden on the north side; the wall on which side is stretched in a parallel line, and within about two hundred feet of a precipitous rock, lashed by the waves of the German Ocean; the spray or foam of which is often wafted by the north wind, and falls like snow on this college and the whole town of St. Andrews, where it will lie for some time, even in summer. A colder and bleaker situation can scarcely be imagined. In the college garden some vegetables are raised for the use of the kitchen; but not a tree, and scarcely a shrub, will grow so near and so much under the influence of the sea-breezes in that part of this island.

"St. Leonard's College, of which the greater part of the buildings are still standing, though mostly in a ruinous condition, was pleasantly situated in the south-east quarter of the town, in a sheltered, warm, and pleasing aspect, where there are some planes, ashes, and elms, of a very large size; and through the college garden there runs a copious stream of water. Yet at the union of the colleges the bleakness of St. Salvator's was preferred to the amenity of St. Leonard's. St. Salvator's was repaired and somewhat extended: St. Leonard's was abandoned, and suffered to go to ruin. This astonishing preference was owing to no better cause than trifling interests and prejudices of a local nature. Principal Tulideph, and some of the professors of St. Salvator's, whose houses were near it, had gained an ascendency over those of St. Leonard's, and took the lead in the whole measure of the union of the colleges, of which they were the movers. Principal Tulidelph, who, in the earlier part of his life, had served as an officer in the Swedish army, was the great leader of the moderate party, as Dr. Robertson became afterwards in the general assembly of the Church of Scotland, and maintained the legal connection between the church and state, and the subordination of the former in matters of external order to the latter; which the zealots controverted and attempted to destroy, maintaining the tenets that prevailed on that subject in the times of John Knox and the Lords of the Congregation. This, at that time, was an important service to government.

"It happened also at the time of the union of the colleges, that several of the regents, or professors, of St. Leonard's, were superannuated, and one or two of them in a state of dotage. There was nothing in which St. Salvator's possessed any superiority over St. Leonard's but a very fine chapel of beautiful Saracenic architecture, and a very lofty steeple, with a finely-toned bell. About 1760, this

this chapel underwent a repair. The style of architecture was very properly preserved, though it was such as to occasion a very audible echo, insomuch that every word was repeated. It was proposed, for the prevention of this, to make some alterations in the structure of the chapel; but Dr. Simson, who was a man of great wit, as well as in many things quite a humourist, observed, that 'a good tale was not the worse for being twice told:' some means were applied, though with little effect, for deadening the echo, but the form or architecture of the chapel was preserved entire.

"In all the colleges, the gates were shut at ten o'clock at night; so that none of the students, without special permission from the principal, could go out after that hour, or be admitted till six o'clock next morning. The porters had it in strict charge to make a report to the principals of such students as, in defiance of the laws, which were read at the commencement of every session, to stay out all night. The greater part, or nearly the whole of the students, were then lodged in chambers, which they had gratis within the walls of the college. For the preservation of discipline and good order, other means were used besides those just mentioned. The masters, in their turns, weekly exercised the office of what was called *Hebdomader*. His business was to preside and say grace at the college table, and to go round and call at every different chamber at six o'clock in the morning, to see if the students had got up from bed, and between eight and nine at night to see if they were at home and properly employed. These morning and evening visits, or calls, were called Perlustrations, and the Hebdomader, in reference to this part of his office, the *Perlustrator*. At first, and till the union of the colleges, and some little time after, the morning were performed as regularly as the evening visits; but, in the progress of time and luxury, they were made very irregularly, at longer and shorter intervals, and at last wholly given up: but the evening perlustrations, while the earl of Kinnoull lived, were continued regularly.

"Originally, the hour of dining was twelve o'clock, and that of supper six; these hours were changed, for first one, and then two, for dinner; and first seven, and then eight, for supper. In the different colleges there were, as there are still, not fewer than fifty scholarships, or, as they are called, bursaries. By some of these, according to the original establishment, the scholar was entitled not only to his board at the college table, but also to admission to the lectures or instructions of all the different masters without expence, though the masters at last demanded fees. By others, they had, besides these advantages, a sum of money, which was understood to defray other expences, as books, clothes, washing, &c. There were others of the bursaries that consisted wholly in an annual sum of money, paid to the bearer by instalments at the beginning and the end of the sessions, and solely at his own disposal.

"Besides the bursars, others were admitted to the college tables as boarders, at a rate so low, that it may appear in England, and in the present time, incredible. It was, for seven months in the year, only from nine to ten pounds, so lately as 1774. It was afterwards raised to twelve pounds.

"On the whole, it appears that the colleges of St. Andrews must have a revenue more than four times greater than their expenditure. To

suppose

suppose that this large overplus sum has been impropriated or embezzled would be equally inconsistent with the integrity of the professional character of public instructors, and to known facts. So careful have they been of the management of that surplus fund, that when public requisitions were made, which would have fully justified extraordinary measures, they made the library fund answerable for this contribution of two hundred pounds to government. The hitherto useless overplus of the rents must, therefore, as some think, be in a very advanced state of accumulation, and more than sufficient, if not to double the number of the professorships, bursaries, and tables, yet fully adequate to the addition of competent teachers of the French and other modern languages, additional branches of practical mathematics, a chemical apparatus and professor, and the endowment of a military academy, and at the same time afford a very liberal supply to government, without touching the funds appointed for the purchase of books.

" Upon the death of principal Maccormick, uncle to the Hills, renowned for telling pleasant stories of a certain kind, when a clergyman in the vicinity of Edinburgh, to the lord president Dundas, Mr. Henry and other branches and friends of the Arniston family, Mr. Dundas, the new chancellor, referred the nomination of his successor to the professors of the United College, provided that they should be unanimous in their choice; but reserving the nomination of a principal to himself if they should not. The opposite parties, who were then scrambling for the superiority, could not agree, and Dr. Playfair, the compiler of an extended edition of Blair's Chronology, and minister of Meigle, the parish of Belmont, the usual residence of the late lord privy seal, the honourable Mr. Stuart Mackenzie, brother to the earl of Bute, was appointed by the crown to the vacant office.

" On the death of Dr. Rotheram, an Englishman, professor of natural philosophy, the intriguing policy of the professors was again displayed, and Mr. Macdonald, minister of Kemboc, who had the merit of having married a sister of the professor Hills, was appointed by their party, which was also considered to be that of the chancellor, to the vacant office. Mr. Leslie, the professor of mathematics at Edinburgh, was among the candidates rejected. The number of students at the university of St. Andrews, which, about twenty years ago, was one hundred and sixty and upwards, and of which about one hundred and forty were students of philosophy, has been reduced to an amazing degree; insomuch, that from the one hundred and forty at the United College, the number of students there, notwithstanding the great number of bursaries, which must operate as premiums in drawing students to this famous seminary of learning, for the last year 1805, was only fifty-six, of whom there were only seven that attended Mr. Macdonald's class of natural philosophy.

" Pluralities of bursaries have begun to take place in the university of St. Andrews, as well as of benefices. A student, some years ago, held two bursaries, amounting together to twenty-five pounds per annum. He also held one of those called table bursaries at St. Mary's College. Another student had been soliciting a table bursary for years. He hoped for the first that should become vacant; but this was given to him already in possession of two.— The common schools above described, for the maintenance of order and

and discipline, and the visitations and exhortations of the principal of the United College, have for many years been discontinued.

"A great part of the wing forming the west side of the quadrangle in which the college fabric consists, or was intended to consist, is in a very decayed state, and going fast to ruin.

"The apartments in St. Mary's, or the Divinity College, for the reception of students, are few of them at all inhabitable. In both colleges, every thing in the shape of repair and expence is carefully avoided.

"If the students should be discouraged and driven away, and even the bursaries not claimed, the saving of the necessary repairs, and the funds for the bursaries, would swell the surplus fund already so great to an enormous amount. The factor for the United College used formerly to be some man of business. It has, of late years, been thought proper and expedient that the college factor should be one of their own number. The college factor is now Mr. Henry Hill.

"It is certainly to be expected that the professors, who are all very respectable and honourable gentlemen, will be both able and willing, nay, desirous, to give an account of their stewardship, of the superabundant college funds, which must be fully adequate to the endowment of many new professorships, and other improvements for the advancement of learning. The noted decay of the colleges has long been manifest. Even the bursaries (whose funds, as already observed, are at the disposal of the colleges) are not always completely filled up; and that scrambling of the two parties among the professors for the patronage of so many offices, and particularly the disposal of the last vacant professorship, as a sort of marriage portion to the husband of a sister, has had such an effect on the university, and particularly on the natural philosophy class, that it cannot escape the observation of any traveller; it being the common talk of St. Andrews, and of every company in which St. Andrews is mentioned. This intriguing policy has certainly a direct tendency to convert the patronage of the university into the patrimonial interest of one or a few families.

"Amidst this contest for patronage, so great an indifference to the interests of learning and the university has taken place, that they do not even take the trouble of proposing subjects for prizes. Some years ago, Dr. John Grey, of Somerset-Place, who was educated and received his degree of LL.D. from St. Andrews, founded two prizes of five guineas each, for the encouragement of the younger students of that seminary; but last year the university neither adjudged these prizes, nor even proposed the necessary questions and trials.

"When the rapid increase in the price of all the necessaries of life, or, in other words, the rapid depreciation of the value of money, is considered, the inattention of the professors of St. Andrews to the interests of the university, and their own, is truly astonishing. Instead of relaxing in that diligence, order, and that beautiful and wise economy, which formerly drew so considerable a number of students to their schools, and consequently fees, one would think, that they should rather use their utmost endeavours to maintain, and, if possible, improve them.—That they would encourage the lodging in the college, and boarding at the college table; that they would keep the apartments in excellent repair, add any conveniences that might

might be wanted, and even that extension, elegance, and grandeur, to the fabric of the college, which were intended, and for which their funds are so abundantly competent; and, above all, that they would invite to their vacant chairs men of learning, talents, character, and celebrity. As to the idea of bettering their circumstances by thinning the college table, and drawing boarders to their own houses, if such an idea to any great extent be after all entertained, as is said, it is wholly unworthy of even the calculating powers of professors; for, if the university lose its reputation, and sink into insignificance and oblivion, where are they to find boarders?

"But, in consideration of the change of circumstances above-mentioned, it would not be reasonable to make that means of living dependent entirely on their own exertions, in addition to the salaries at the union of the colleges. They should be at least doubled; nor would there be any hesitation in this on the part of the crown, if they would only present a petition for that purpose. Their indefinite accumulation of the overplus fund is not to be commended. They have, probably, some grand designs in view, with which they intend to astonish the world, when once that fund shall be thought fully adequate to their execution. But there are some things that appear necessary to be done now, and which might be done at no great expence; and, the superabundant fund, without being very greatly diminished, might spare the addition to their salaries just mentioned. Nay, the barons of the exchequer, though not applied to, should generously interfere, and request the professors, amidst their solicitude for the augmentation of the superabundant fund, to have some mercy on themselves, and appropriate out of this, one hundred and fifty pounds annually each to their own use, which, with the class fees, if the college should return to the spirit and regimen that prevailed from 1760 to 1790, and to which they should be powerfully exhorted, would form a very comfortable and genteel livelihood.

"The streets of the city of St. Andrews, still inhabited, are three, running nearly parallel from west to east, but not quite parallel, as they all terminate within about a hundred yards of the cathedral at the east end. These streets are intersected at right angles by narrower streets, called Wynds. In a line nearly parallel to these, there was once a street called Swallow-Street, running beyond their utmost extent on both the east and west, between them and the great ledge of rocks on the north, that secures the town from the raging billows of the ocean, when agitated by the north and east winds—where this ridge of rock ceased to interpose, Swallow-Street was undermined, and fell into the sea. It was a full mile in extent. Vestiges of it are every where still to be seen. It is now, though the ancient name be still familiar, and frequently mentioned in written deeds, as well as in some printed publications, called commonly, for what reason I know not, by the whimsical name of the *Scores*. On the south side of the south street, and nearer the west end than the east, is a much admired ruin of a chapel, belonging to a convent of Gray Friars.

"The remains of the cathedral, demolished by the reformers, are grand and sublime. Both towers at the east end are still standing. One only of the western towers now remains; and a part of the west end

of

of the outermost south wall. Near the east end of the ruined cathedral are the remains of a chapel and tower, constructed in the elegant simplicity of Grecian architecture, of hewn stone, of an exceedingly hard and durable texture, which, instead of mouldering away, through the corrosive influence of the atmosphere, appears to gain solidity by time. It is as hard as granite, or whinstone, and must have been fetched from a distance; as the quarries in the neighbourhood are all of free-stone. The tower, called now the square steeple, is a beautiful, massy, and lofty pile, seen with admiration at a great distance. The wooden fabric, running from the bottom to the top, and consolidating this fine piece of architecture, on the inside, having fallen, through the lapse of ages, into decay, was lately properly repaired, by order of the barons, at the expence of the exchequer. This chapel and tower, which, it is evident, was built before the introduction of the Gothic or the Saxon style, is said, by all the ecclesiastical historians who have mentioned it, to have been built by St. Regulus, or St. Rule, a Greek monk, who came to convert the Picts, towards the close of the fourth century. St. Andrews was from hence, for some time, called St. Rule; and by the Highlanders it is still called Kilrule, and Kilraymont. It was called by its present name when the Picts were driven out of Strathern, Fife, and other counties, to the south of the Grampians, by the Scots.

"At this time the metropolitan church, which under the Picts had been at Abernethy, was translated to St. Andrews; and the town was new peopled by a colony of Scots, particularly those under the command of Fiffus Duffus, whose great services to king Duffus were rewarded with all the lands of that shire, formerly called Peight Landia, and which Fiffus, from his own name, called Fifland, now Fife.

"The wall surrounding the priory, which, with buildings, gardens, and fields, was of vast extent, is still almost entire. It is fortified with bastions, in its whole extent; some round, some square. Part of the priors' and sub-priors' houses are yet standing. The whole extent of the inclosure or fortification was more than a mile in circumference. On the north side of the town, on the brink of a perpendicular rock, washed on two sides by the sea, are seen the ruins of the episcopal palace, which has obtained in St. Andrews, the name of cardinal Beton's castle. It was a very spacious quadrangle, including a large area; and fortified, on the two land sides, or faces, by turrets, and a very deep and wide moat; which, on the west side, is now almost wholly filled up—not so on the south side. From the ruins it appears that the walls, which were amazingly thick, consisted of two parallel walls, with a strong cement of some stuff, in a fluid state, poured in between them, and consolidating them into one mass. In this quarter of the town the sea has made great encroachments on the land. It has undermined, on the south-east angle, part of the wall of the castle, which is seen lying within the water-work in enormous masses.

"The prosperity and opulence of St. Andrews, before the Reformation, may be commenced from this single circumstance, that there was an annual fair here, commencing in the beginning of April, which lasted for some weeks, and to which there resorted from two hundred to three hundred vessels, from all parts of the commercial world.

"When we think of the number of religious

religious houses formerly established at St. Andrews, and the magnificence and grandeur of the cathedral and priory; on the ruins of the same kind at Melross, Arbroath, Elgin, and many other places; and on the whole, that the remote, mountainous, and poor kingdom of Scotland, should have possessed a much greater number of religious edifices and foundations, than some other countries in christendom of equal extent, and much greater wealth and natural fertility, one is lost for a time in wonder and amazement. But such is the intricacy of human affairs, that many circumstances involve consequences the very reverse of what we should naturally have expected. The poverty, and the barbarous state of Scotland, and the adjacent isles, awakened the religious charity and zeal of the catholic church. Missionaries were sent from Rome for the conversion and instruction of the natives, and contributions were made for the establishment of religious houses. Even Ireland experienced the happy effects of that christian spirit, with which the patriarchs of the church of Rome embraced every corner of the christian fold. Artists were sent into the seats of barbarism for the constitution of cathedrals, chapels, monasteries, and nunneries; and sums of money were remitted annually for their support. It is to the monks, more than to any other set of men, that the nations of Europe remote from Italy, the centre of the sciences and the arts, owe their best lessons and examples in both agriculture and mechanics.

"Archbishop Sharp's monument, the fabrication of which was a work of some years, erected in St. Nicholas's, or the town church of St. Andrews, is of the finest marble, and has a grand appearance: though having been barbarously daubed over with white paint, by way of cleaning and improving it, by some one of the bishop's descendants or relations, the beauty of it is considerably lessened. Archbishop Kennedy's tomb, in the college chapel, or church of St. Salvator, is greatly and justly admired as a fine piece of sculpture.

"Archbishop Sharp, as above observed, had been minister of Crail, and been sent by the covenanters to London, to procure some respite for their real or supposed oppression. Mr. Sharp, though active while in Scotland, in opposing the measures of government, and not less zealous in pleading the cause of the covenanters, yet, while at London, (as the cardinal who was chosen pope saw things in a different point of view after his elevation to the popedom) after he was offered the archbishoprick of St. Andrews, saw things differently; and, contrary to what St. Paul was, from a preacher, became a persecutor. However, some years after, while he was returning from Edinburgh with his daughter, who was about to be married, he was surrounded in his coach, by nine or ten people, in disguise, on horseback, who dragged him from his coach, bade him prepare for death, and then shot at him, and left him, thinking that he was dead, which he pretended to be; but lifting up his head, and whispering to his disconsolate daughter, that he was not hurt, they, observing this, not being far off, returned, and soon dispatched him. And, what is remarkable, though it was known who it was that murdered him, yet none of them suffered for it. The whole country favouring them, they all, in one way or other, escaped.

"The bay of St. Andrews is sometimes tossed by the north-easterly winds into waves almost as tremendous

mendous as those of the Bay of Biscay. Not many years ago one of these, in a moment, laid flat a pier that had cost two thousand pounds. Ships labouring in this bay, in the utmost distress, are often seen from the windows of the United College, while the student sits comfortably at his fire-side, reading or musing, perhaps, on the famous passage of Lucretius.

'Suave mari magno turbantibus æquora ventis
E terra magnum alterius spectare laborem,
Non quia vexari quemquam jucunda voluptas,
Sed quibus ipse malis careas, quia cernere suave est.' *Lucret, lib.* ii.

Thus admirably well translated by Mr. Mason Good.

'How sweet to stand, when tempests tear the main,
On the firm cliff, and mark the seaman's toil;
Not that another's danger soothes the soul,
But from such toil, how sweet, to feel secure!'

"It is astonishing to see how many empty houses are in St. Andrews; and there is, perhaps, some propriety in applying to St. Andrews the sarcasm, that, instead of a board on every house, intimating that it is to *let* or *sell*, they had better intimate at the entrance, a city to let, or be sold.

"The charter of the city, here, is a small bit of parchment, not bigger than one's hand, and signed Malcolm III. The city keys are of silver.

"The spot in Magus Muir, a few miles west from St. Andrews, where archbishop Sharp was murdered, has lately, by general Melville, been inclosed and planted; and a suitable monument, with an appropriate inscription, erected on the spot."

On Saxon, Norman, and Gothic Architecture.

[From Mr. Dallaway's Observations on English Architecture.]

"THE Goths had no share either in the invention or perfection of that peculiar style of architecture which bears their name. It is not worth the dispute, whether the Gothic power was ever annihilated in Europe, or whether they subsisted in the conquered countries as a separate people. By the Goths no individual nation is alluded to, but the northern conquerors in general, before they were incorporated with the people they had subdued. Gothic, therefore, should be considered merely as a vituperative term, adopted and applied by those who had introduced the restored Grecian. In Italy it had its origin as appropriated to architecture, in the school of Palladio; and with us it was unknown in the present sense, before the days of Jones and Wren. A total decay of the arts had even preceded the dissolution of the Roman empire; and the establishment of christianity, with its privilege of building churches, was contemporary with the Gothic incursions. In this coincidence has originated a popular notion, that the barbarians annihilated the Grecian architecture in order to introduce a style peculiar to their own country, and that their edifices are called "Gothic," merely

merely because they are as widely discriminated, by their proportions and ornaments, from the classical monuments of Athens, as the Goths were from the Greeks in their talents and national manners. At the beginning of the eighth century, all Europe formed but one Gothic kingdom. Is there in any nation a church which can make a just pretension to so early a date? In France and Italy there are none really Gothic remaining, anterior to 800, the celebrated æra of Charlemagne.

"Upon no subject of antiquity have so many discordant opinions been maintained, as upon the origin of what is called Gothic architecture. It has given birth to bold conjecture and wide disquisition; and where so many are ready to teach, few are satisfied with what they learn. Bentham (or rather Gray), and T. Warton, were long held as the ablest discriminators of this question, and considered as having given the clearest idea of the regular progress of the Gothic, from barbarism to perfection. Many idle cavils have been made about the time when the Goths ceased to exist as a nation. They probably introduced their own manner of building into every country of which they had gained the possession; a circumstance evident in the peculiar styles of Italy, Germany, Spain, France, and England. In each of these there is an ostensible analogy without an exact resemblance. Leaving this question undecided, we may find no great difficulty in ascertaining the æra of its first introduction into this country, when the manner of building was changed or improved, when it reached perfection, and when a love of exuberance finally effected its decline.

"It is not very improbable that mere novelty led to the invention of the architecture we call Gothic, and that the irregularity so decidedly and universally attributed to the Goths, may have originated in the caprice of the Italians, who were either really ignorant or fancifully negligent of pure style.

"The Saxon style is equally recognized by its seeming want of harmony of parts, as by its massive columns, semicircular arches, and diagonal mouldings. The base, mouldings, and capitals, though of exact dimensions and similar forms in the mass, abound in variations in the minuter parts. The arches usually spring from the capitals, without an architrave. Perhaps it would be difficult, at this time, to describe any entire building, which can be referred, with certainty, to the Saxon æra, but its characteristic ornaments may be frequently traced. The nave of St. Frideswide's (now the cathedral at Oxford) is asserted to have been built by king Ethelred, in 1004. Parts of St. Alban's and Durham cathedral claim to be anterior to the Norman conquest, as does the whole of the east end of Tickencote church, near Stamford, in Lincolnshire. Prominent instances of enrichment peculiar to this style, are those of door-cases and windows, as at Barfreston near Canterbury, Durham cathedral and palace, Tutbury, in Staffordshire, Romsey, Hants, and Rochester, not to mention others. But the doorway of the east end of the church of Kenilworth, in Warwickshire, exhibits the caput bovis, fret moulding and paterae in the spandrils, ornaments more essentially peculiar to the Roman manner. Indeed there is scarcely a county in England in which there will not be found individual churches, still exhibiting Saxon, or, at least, Anglo-Norman, remains.

Of

Of the Saxon, Gloucestershire boasts of two very perfect specimens at Elkstone and Quenington, both of which are engraven. Doorways of the early Normans are not unfrequently discoverable in monastic ruins. Those at Glastonbury, Malmsbury, and Castle Acre priory, Norfolk, are particularly fine.

"The rudely carved scriptural figures, which often occur in basreliefs, placed under the arches of door-cases, where the head of the door itself is square, indicate a Roman original, and are mostly referable to an æra immediately preceding the Conquest; but the very curious representation of the deluge, over the great doorway of the cathedal at Lincoln, seems to have been subsequent to it. These sculptures appear likewise upon fonts. That at Winchester cathedral, which Mr. Milner has discovered to mean the story of St. Nicholas, bishop of Myra, in Lycia, is cited among the most worthy of remark.

"The Saxon large churches were divided into three tiers or stories, consisting of the arcade, galleries, and windows. Such was the solidity of the walls and bulkiness of the pillars, that buttresses were neither necessary nor in usage.

"After the Norman conquest, that style, called by the monks "Opus Romanum," because an imitation of the debased architecture of Italy, was still continued in England. The extent and dimensions of churches were greatly increased, the ornamental carvings on the circular arches and the capitals of pillars and pilasters became more frequent and elaborately finished. Of the more remarkable specimens of what is confounded under the general term of Saxon architecture, the true æra will be found to be immediately subsequent to the Saxons themselves, and to have extended not more than a century and a half below the Norman conquest. The two churches at Caen in Normandy, built by William and his queen, are the archetypes of many now remaining in England; but the most magnificent work of this kind was the nave of old St. Paul's, London. The vaults were void of tracery, and the towers without pinnacles, but ornamented with arcades, in tiers, of small intersected arches, on the outside walls.

"The Norman æra may be stated to be from 1066 to 1154, that is, from the Conquest to the death of Stephen. In a general comparison with the other nations of Europe, in that dark age, historians consent, that the Normans were eminent, if not superior, with respect to civilization and the arts. In architectural science, as promoted by their religious zeal, they had made a great proficiency, and many grand structures had been raised to embellish their own province, before they had gained an absolute establishment in England.

"Many discordant opinions have been advanced, concerning what really constitutes Norman architecture; and it has been confounded with the Saxon by several able antiquaries. But a still greater confusion occurs when the pointed style, first practised in this kingdom in the reign of Henry II. is called Norman. The principal discrimination between the Saxon and the Norman, appears to be that of much larger dimensions, in every part; plain, but more lofty vaulting; circular pillars of greater diameter; round arches and capitals having ornamented carvings much more elaborate and various, adapted to them; but a total absence of pediments or pinnacles, which are decidedly peculiar

culiar to the pointed or Gothic style. Among the prelates in the early Norman reigns, were found men of consummate skill in architecture; which, aided by their munificence, was applied to the rebuilding of their cathedral churches, and those of the greater abbies. No less than fifteen of the twenty-two English cathedrals still retain considerable parts, which are undoubtedly of Norman erection, the several dates of which are ascertained. We have the following enumeration of Norman bishops, who were either architects themselves, or under whose auspices architecture flourished: Gundulf of Rochester (1077-1107), whose works are seen at Rochester, Canterbury, and Peterborough. Mauritius of London (1086-1108) built old St. Paul's cathedral. Roger of Salisbury (1107-1140), the cathedral at Old Sarum. Ernulf of Rochester (1115-1125) completed bishop Gundulf's work there. They were both monks of Bec in Normandy. Alexander of Lincoln (1123-1147) rebuilt his cathedral. Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester (1129-1169), a most celebrated architect, built the conventual churches of St. Cross and Rumsey in Hampshire; and lastly, Roger, archbishop of York (1154-1181), where none of his work remains. By these architects the Norman manner was progressively brought to perfection in England; and it will be easily supposed, that the improvements made by any of them were adopted in succession.

"With equal extent and magnificence many of the churches belonging to the greater abbies were constructed in this æra. Few indeed have escaped their general demolition at the Reformation. The Conqueror's abbey, at Battel in Sussex, and those founded by Henry I. at Reading and Cirencester, doubtless very sumptuous edifices, have scarcely left "a wreck (rack) behind"—etiam periêre ruinæ.—Some still exhibit their dilapidated fronts, and excite our admiration. Malmsbury in Wiltshire, Dunstable in Bedfordshire, Castle Acre in Norfolk, Wenlock in Salop, and St. Botolph's, Colchester, are still majestic in decay, and will be mentioned with pride, and visited with veneration, by the lover of Norman antiquities, as conspicuous examples.

"The first transition from this Anglo-Norman style appears to have taken place towards the close of the reign of Stephen (1135). It discovers itself in the arch, which had hitherto been round, becoming slightly pointed, and the heavy single pillar being formed into a cluster. This decoration had not long been adopted before instances occur, in which we may trace the arch as growing more and more pointed; and the clusters which were at first clumsy and ill-formed, acquiring a greater lightness and justness of proportion. Yet the facings of the arches still retain many of the ornaments peculiar to the earlier æra. This taste gradually prevailing, led, towards the close of the thirteenth century, to the formation of the slender pillar supporting the sharply pointed arch, which, from a certain resemblance, has been called 'the lancet.'

"In the reign of Henry III. this beautiful architecture had gained its perfect completion. Salisbury and Ely cathedrals, and Westminster abbey, have been generally adduced as the most perfect examples. It may be supposed, that the two last mentioned were constructed upon the same plan, as there is a singular accordance in their chief proportions. Whether this early Gothic originated

nated in Palestine, or was borrowed from the Moors in Spain, has given rise to conjecture; but a more bold deviation from the established style could have been scarcely made. The Gothic or pointed arch (as it has been well observed) took its rise from the variations attendant upon all scientific pursuits. The principal feature of the first style was a combination of the circular with the pointed, an intermixture of ornaments, and a kind of contention between the two styles, which should prevail. To the enormous round pillar succeeded the slender shaft, insulated, or clustered into a single column, with narrow lancet windows, and roofs upon simple cross-springers. The arches were now sharply pointed, the window increased to three lights instead of one, and with small columns as mullions; and all the pillars, when of disproportionate length, broken into parts by fillets placed at certain distances, as observable in Worcester cathedral, the nave of which is very fine.

"It will be contended by the French antiquaries, that this new mode was not exclusively our own, but that it appeared, if not earlier, at least in the same century, in the magnificent cathedrals I have noticed, as then recently erected in France. If the buildings in the Holy Land suggested ideas of this novel architecture, the French croisaders had the same opportunities of introducing it into France as ours into England, for they were associated in the same expedition. It has been said, that in the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem no pointed arch was seen, but that in Moorish structures equally obvious to those adventurers it is frequent; for which reason it may be more correctly described as "Saracenic" than as Gothic.

"This particular style, whether allowed to be Saracenic or Gothic, was the parent of several others, in successive centuries, the progress of which was confirmed by certain discrimination; but the Anglo-Norman, having been once relinquished, was never again adopted either simply or with analogy. Until the close of the reign of the first Edward its prevalence was decided; and all previous confusion of the Anglo-Norman and the pointed styles had ceased, and was universally abandoned about this time. With incredible lightness, it exhibited elegance of decoration and beauty of proportions in the multiplicity of the arcades and pillars, the latter being usually of Purbeck marble, each a distinct shaft; but the whole collected under one capital, composed of the luxuriant leaves of the palm tree, indigenous in Palestine and Arabia. A very favourable specimen of the manner which distinguishes the early part of the fourteenth century (1320), both as applied to roofs and arcades, is seen at Bristol, in the conventual church of St. Augustine, now the cathedral. But previously to another style of known peculiarities, the capitals became more complicated, the vaults were studded with knots of foliage at the interlacing of the ribs, the western front was enriched with numerous statues, and the flying buttresses, formed of segments of circles in order to give them lightness, were rendered ornamental by elaborate finials. This exuberance tended to the abolition of the first manner; and at the beginning of the reign of Richard II. under the auspices of Wykeham, we have the boldest instance of that second manner, which in its eventual perfection attained to what is now distinguished as the pure Gothic.

"The equally clustered pillar with a low sharp arch prevailed in the first part of the reign of Edward III. over which was usually placed a row of open galleries, originally introduced in the Saxon churches, and adopted, as far as the idea only, from them. Of the beauties which characterize the style of this æra in particular, a complete specimen offers itself in the octangular louvre at Ely, which, and the chapel of our lady attached to the cathedral, were the sole architecture of Alan de Walsingham, a monk, between the years 1322 and 1349. It is certain, that architecture was both studied and practised by ecclesiastics of all ranks in that age; and it is pleasing to rescue from oblivion the name of a single architect of such extraordinary merit. It is not improbable, that Becket's crown, in the cathedral at Canterbury, communicated the original idea to the architects of the louvres, both at Ely and Peterborough. Contemporary with Wykeham lived Rede bishop of Chichester, an adept in the science and practice of architecture: and many others of the prelates and abbots of that time prided themselves in exhibiting proofs of their architectural skill in rebuilding their churches, or very frequently adding to them, and giving them a pervading symmetry of style. The stupendous fabric of York cathedral, in its nave and choir, is of this æra, and its chief boast. Those of Winchester and Exeter were likewise partly rebuilt or reduced to a sameness of manner by the alteration of arches and windows, in so great a degree, as to obtain an apparently contemporaneous construction, in their relative parts. In the western fronts of Litchfield, York, and Peterborough, but particularly in the additions to that of Lincoln, which was preferred by lord Burlington to any in England, and in the interior of each of these cathedrals, we are so well satisfied with the proportions and the propriety of ornament, that we could readily dispense with the luxuriance of the successive æra and manner. To form some criterion of this pure Gothic, let me observe, that the pillars became more tall and slender, forming a very lofty arch, and that the columns which composed the cluster, were of unequal circumference. A more beautiful instance than the nave of the cathedral of Canterbury cannot be adduced. The general form of the arches became more open, and those attached to windows and niches were universally adorned with crockets tied at the top in a rich knot of flowers, resembling the blossoms of the euphorbium. The windows, especially those at the east and west, were widely expanded, and their heads ramified into infinite intersections with quatrefoils or rosettes, which bear on the points of the arching mullions. The roof hitherto had not exceeded a certain simplicity of ornament, and no tracery was spread over the groins of the vault, which rested on brackets or corbels, carved into grotesque heads of kings and bishops.

"In this and the immediately subsequent reigns, the large and lofty central tower (for the more ancient belfries were usually detached) and the cloisters richly pannelled, having a most delicately fretted roof, were added to many of the cathedrals and conventual churches then existing. Within side, the canopies of tabernacle work over saints or sepulchral effigies, the shrines of exquisite finishing, repeating in miniature the bolder ornaments by which the building was

decorated on a large scale, in the high altars and skreens of indescribable richness, continue to fascinate every eye by their richness, beauty, and sublimity. Even on the outside of these magnificent works, as the western fronts of Wells and Litchfield, and on bishop Grandison's skreen so placed at Exeter, there are embellishments of equal merit. The façade of the cathedral of Salisbury, although of the preceding age, in which the pointed style was frequently mixed with the round, and the ornaments of either indiscriminately used, is one of the most ancient, simple, and regular now remaining. The eye dwells with more satisfaction on a broad surface, relieved only, and not distracted, by ornament. Abbot Whetehamstede's skreen at St. Alban's, and that by bishop Fox in Winchester cathedral, exceed in richness or correct proportions, any specimen I could adduce of the first description.

"To the crosses erected by Edward I. in honour of his beloved consort (evidently neither the work of Cavallini nor of abbot Ware) we may attribute the universal, if not the original, introduction of the elaborate canopies and minute ornaments used in tombs, sepulchral chapels, and the shrines of saints, commonly called "tabernacle work."

"During the first æra of this style of Gothic, internal grandeur was produced, solely by vast proportions contrasted by the multiplication of small parts, such as clustered pilasters and the mullions of windows; but about the period I have described, from the general introduction of this species of architectural refinement, the high altars, shrines, and sepulchral monuments, were combined to increase the richness of the whole interior to an eventual excess. The earliest instance of this minute workmanship, which has been termed "filligraine," is the choir of the cathedral at York, about the close of the fourteenth century. From this period no remarkable variety occurs. The grander members of the buildings continued their original dimensions and form, and the ornamental parts only became distinguished by greater richness and exuberance.

"About the middle of the fifteenth century, an ambition of novelty still invented a multiplicity of embellishment, and among many others which were capricious and without specific import, we may observe the perpetual recurrence of the armorial ensigns of honour upon roofs and the spandrils of internal arcades. From this fashion the antiquary collects decisive information, and is gratified by the certain appropriation of the building to its founder or restorer.

"These ensigns of honour were more commonly appendant on market-crosses and the great gateways of abbeys. Of the former the most remarkable, not only in point of the priority of erection, are the three which still remain, at Northampton, Geddington, and Waltham, built by Edward I. in memory of his royal consort. In imitation of these, few considerable towns were without a cross, which answered the double purpose of devotion and commerce. The more celebrated were at Abingdon, Coventry, Gloucester, Bristol, Winchester, and Chichester; the two last mentioned of which only are at this time entire, or unremoved. Upon all these were lavishly employed the arts of architecture, sculpture, and blazonry, after the richest Gothic model.

"Of the abbey gates, there are several grand specimens still to be seen,

seen. St. Augustine's at Canterbury, Edmonsbury, St. Augustine's at Bristol, Battel Abbey, Sussex, and Thornton abbey in Lincolnshire, are admirable in their several styles; and doubtless, many of the dilapidated monasteries could once boast similar appendages, and those of equal magnificence. The escocheon of the founder always held a conspicuous place among other architectural embellishments.

On the Excellence and Antiquity of the Caledonian Harp.

[From Mr. Gunn's Historical Inquiry respecting the Performance on the Harp.]

"SUCH was the state of our instrumental music in the Highlands, in the reign of William, surnamed the Lyon. From our own historical annals of those times, we receive but few, and these very imperfect notices, respecting the state of the arts; yet there is every reason to believe, that poetry and music continued to be cultivated and encouraged in the Highlands, for several centuries after this period. The first coronation of the kings of Scotland, of which we have any particular account, is that of Alexander the Third, in the year 1249. On this occasion, a Highland bard, dressed in a scarlet tunic, or robe, repeated on his knees, in the Gaelic language, the genealogy of Alexander, and his ancestors, up to Fergus, the first king of Scotland; and this, together with what will be more particularly mentioned concerning the state of music, and the Highland Harpers, in the reign of king James the First of Scotland, proves, that these orders were still held in considerable estimation; and we shall even see, that the superior excellence of the Highland Harpers was proverbial, as far down as the beginning of the sixteenth century.

"This accomplished monarch, who, during the whole of his reign, was chiefly occupied in reforming the abuses which had pervaded every department of the state, was also a zealous promoter of the liberal arts. He introduced organs into his chapels, and founded an institution for the instruction of the Scottish clergy in the science of music. Our old historian, John Major, in his Annals of Scotland, which were published in the year 1521, when enumerating the talents of king James, says, that "he was a skilful musician; in the management of his voice in singing, inferior to no one; on the Harp, he was another Orpheus; he excelled the Irish or the Highland Scots, who are esteemed the best performers on that instrument." The same historian, in another part of his work, says of the Highlanders, that, 'for instrumental music, and the accompaniment of the voice, they make use of the Harp, which, instead of strings made of the intestines of animals, they strung with brass wire, and on which they perform most sweetly.'

"In less than fifty years after this time, our celebrated historian George Buchannan, who himself was born at the foot of Ben Lomond, in the Highlands, when treating, in

the first, or introductory book, of his History of Scotland, of the manners and customs of the western islands, has the following passage:—'Instead of the trumpet, they use the great bagpipe. They delight very much in music, especially in Harps of their own sort, of which some are strung with brass wire, others with intestines of animals; they play on them either with their nails grown long, or with a plectrum. Their only ambition seems to be, to ornament their Harps with silver and precious stones: the lower ranks, instead of gems, deck theirs with crystal. They sing poetical compositions, not inartificially made, celebrating the exploits of their valiant men; nor do their bards, for the most part, treat of another subject. Their language is that of the ancient Gauls, a little altered.'

"Buchannan's History was first published in the year 1565. The anonymous writer of 'Certain Matters concerning the Realme of Scotland as they were A. D. 1597, under his title of the Yles of Scotland in general,' follows Buchannan's account, in the following words, with the remarkable variation of the Gaelic term for the Harp, together with the English, as if there had been two distinct species of Harps:—'They delight much in musicke, but chiefly in Harpes and Clairschoes of their own fashion. The strings of their Clairschoes are made of brasse wyar, and the strings of the Harpes of sinews; which strings they stryke either with their nayles growing long, or else with an instrument appointed for that use. They take great pleasure to deck their Harpes and Clairschoes with silver and precious stones; and poor ones, that cannot attain hereunto, decke them with christall. They sing verses prettily compounded, containing, for the most part, prayses of valiant men. There is not almost any other argument whereof their rymes entreat. They speak the ancient French language, altered a little.'

"The Harp is also frequently mentioned by other Scottish writers, when incidentally, or professedly, alluding to the musical performances of those times, by its Gaelic name of *Clarsach;* of which many instances could be produced, which would of themselves prove the general notoriety in Scotland, that the Harp was an instrument well known in the Highlands; but the more particular evidence which has been already given on this subject, must henceforth remove every possibility of doubt on that point.

"Having thus incontestibly proved the Harp to have been, from the earliest times, down to the end of the sixteenth century, in general use in the Highlands of Scotland; the two ancient instruments, which have been so long preserved in that country, are now to be considered as authentic documents, not only connected with, and proving and illustrating, the manners of the country, but may themselves be henceforth produced, and referred to, as historical monuments, to illustrate any obscure point of antiquity, however remote, to which their form and structure may apply.

"The Caledonian Harp was brought, as has been mentioned in its description, by Miss Lamont, from her father's residence in Argyleshire, to a very distant part of the Highlands, and has, ever since the time of her arrival at Lude, about the year 1460, been kept at that house, in a proper state for performance; having been occasionally played upon, in that family, until within these last eighty or ninety years.

years, and distinguished by the appellation of *Clarsach Lumanach*, or the Lamont Harp. From these circumstances, we must infer the lady to have been a performer on the Harp; and as she could not have learnt the difficult process of tuning, or the intricate art of playing upon it, of herself, she must have had a master, most probably in Argyleshire, who not only taught her, but others also, in that district of the Highlands, about the middle of the fifteenth century. In the same manner it must be inferred, from Queen's Mary's having, in about a hundred years afterwards, presented the other lady with her own Harp, that she was also a performer on that instrument, and had been taught by a master, who had probably taught her, as well as others, in a very different part of Scotland, her father's residence being at no great distance from Aberdeen; and from both instances we must necessarily conclude, that the Harp was taught and performed upon, in different parts of the Highlands of Scotland, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; and that playing on, or singing to, the Harp, was an accomplishment of the ladies of the Highlands at this period.

"If we look back into more remote ages, we shall still find this to have been the immemorial custom of the upper ranks in that society; and that the art of playing on the Harp down to this period, in Scotland, as well as in Ireland and Wales, proceeded from the same original source; which, to distinguish it from the musical science that had, by this time, made great progress on the continent, in England, and, to a certain degree, in Scotland, may be aptly called the music, or system, of the Celtic school.

"But Queen Mary, as we shall afterwards see more particularly, highly accomplished as she was in musical science, which was not of the Celtic, but of the Italian school, although the Harp, described in this work, was made and procured for her, does not appear to me to have been a performer upon that instrument, for reasons which shall be given in their proper place; but, having met with a performer upon the Scottish Harp, of eminent abilities, in the lady now alluded to, the queen may be supposed to have been so much pleased with her performance, and so much delighted with the simplicity and beauty of her native Caledonian music, on a national instrument, played with a degree of skill, which she had little reason to expect, that she may have been induced to give the lady an honourable proof of the pleasure she had received, and of her esteem, by presenting her with her own Harp. That this was pretty nearly the manner in which this lady became possessed of this regal Harp, must appear highly probable from the following circumstances.

"The tradition in the family of Lude, which has always accompanied this Harp, is, that it was presented to their ancestor, Beatrix Gardyn, by Queen Mary, when she was on a hunting excursion in Athol. That lady was at this time resident in that neighbourhood, having been married to Mr. Farquharson of Invercald. The account of this magnificent hunting party will be read with interest, and I shall give it in the words of an eye-witness. "I had a sight of a very extraordinary sport: In the year 1563, the Earl of Athol, a prince of the blood-royal, had, with much trouble, and vast expence, provided a hunting-match for the entertainment of our most illustrious and most gracious Queen.

Queen. Our people call this a royal hunting. I was then a young man, and was present on that occasion. Two thousand Highlanders were employed to drive to the hunting-ground all the deer from the woods and hills of Athol, Badenoch, Marr, Murray, and the countries about. As these Highlanders use a light dress, and are very swift of foot, they went up and down so nimbly, that, in less than two months time, they brought together two thousand red deer, besides roes and fallow deer. The Queen, the great men, and a number of others, were in a glen, or narrow valley, when all these deers were brought before them; believe me, the whole body moved forward in something like battle order. This sight still strikes me, and ever will strike me; for they had a leader whom they followed close wherever he moved. This leader was a very fine stag, with a very high head. The sight delighted the Queen very much, but she soon had cause for fear, upon the Earl's (who had been from his early days accustomed to such sights) addressing her thus: 'Do you observe that stag who is foremost of the herd?—There is danger from that stag; for if either fear or rage should force him from the ridge of that hill, let every one look to himself, for none of us will be out of the way of harm, as the rest will all follow this one: and having thrown us under foot, they will open a passage to the hill behind us.' What happened a moment after soon confirmed this opinion; for the Queen ordered one of the best dogs to be let loose upon a wolf;—this the dog pursues—the leading stag was frighted—he flies by the same way he had come there—the rest rush after him, and break out where the thickest body of the Highlanders was. They had nothing for it now but to throw themselves flat on the heath, and to allow the deer to pass over them. It was told the Queen, that several of the Highlanders had been wounded, and that two or three had been killed outright; and the whole body of deer had got off, had not the Highlanders, by their skill in hunting, fallen upon a stratagem, to cut off the rear from the main body. It was of those that had been separated, that the Queen's dogs, and those of the nobility, made slaughter. There was killed that day three hundred and sixty deer, with five wolves, and some roes.'

"This hunt, truly Caledonian, so nearly resembled those of the ancient Highland heroes described in the old Gaelic poetry, that a Highlander would naturally expect the account to terminate in that of the subsequent feast, 'in which the shell went round, the bards sung, and the soft hand of virgins trembled on the strings of the Harp.' That the Earl of Athol did actually conclude this magnificent fête, by entertaining his royal guest and relation in the most princely style of the times, and with every variety that could be procured, cannot admit of a doubt; and it may, with great reason, be supposed, that the tradition handed down in the family of Lude, does expressly refer to this very festival, to which some of the best performers on the Caledonian Harp may have been invited, in order to display their musical powers before the Queen; and that Beatrix Gardyn had the distinguished honour, on this occasion, of being presented with the royal Harp, still preserved by her descendants, of which the description, illustrated by a most accurate engraving, has been given above.

"That this Harp was of Scottish manufacture,

manufacture, appears to be extremely probable, as well as that it had been an established custom, for many preceding reigns, to have a Harp provided for the royal palace. It has been seen, that Queen Mary's illustrious ancestor, King James the First, was celebrated for his performance on the Harp; and the arms of Scotland, in gold, together with Queen Mary's portrait, show, that this Harp had been provided for her, in consequence of such an established custom; and that it is constructed on the principles of the Celtic school, appears from its perfect resemblance, in size, and number of strings, to the Harp of Brian Boromh of the year 1014; each of these regal Harps having twenty-eight strings;— Brian Boromh's Harp is thirty-two inches high; that of Queen Mary is thirty-one inches.

"It cannot possibly be supposed that this Harp came from France. At this period the Harp appears to have been entirely laid aside in that country, at least by the higher ranks of society. Their favourite instrument was the lute, in shape not unlike a guitar, but improved by an additional number of strings, and those of much finer powers. Besides lutes of the smaller size, used mostly to accompany the voice, others were made on a much larger scale, called the theorbo, and archlute, six feet in length, and sometimes longer, on which *thorough bass* was played. So much was the lute the leading instrument in France, that, at this day, the name of a musical instrument-maker, of whatever kind, even of one that can only make flutes, is, *un Luthier*, or lute-maker; and to such a length had they proceeded, with their favourite instrument, in Paris, not many years after Queen Mary left it, that lutes were constructed in such a manner, that their backs opened like the doors of a chamber, so as to 'admit young pages, who, being thus rendered invisible, sung the treble part, while the lutanist both *sung* the tenor, and *played* the bass on the lute;' and we have this from no less authority than that of their most celebrated mathematician, Mersennus, who adds, 'that it was in that manner that Granier performed concerts, in three parts, before the Queen-dowager, Margaret of Valois.'

"It was on a lute of the smaller size that Queen Mary used, for the most part, to accompany her songs. The accomplished ladies, and even gentlemen, of that period, could sing a part of madrigals, and other vocal compositions, of four parts, *at sight;* insomuch, that Castiglione, in his Cortegiano, or Perfect Courtier, published 1587, enumerates that talent, as one of the requisites for the accomplished gentleman; and many of the excellent vocal compositions, in three and four parts, of that period, are still sung with pleasure in England, and are among the most difficult and intricate music, of that description, that is sung at this day. Queen Mary's private concert consisted chiefly of music of this kind. Sir James Melville, one of the most accomplished men of that age, possessing all the refinement and address of Castiglione's perfect courtier, informs us, that 'Queen Mary had three valets, who sung three parts, and that she wanted a person to sing a bass, or fourth part. David Rizzio, who had come to France, with the ambassador of Savoy, was recommended as one fit to make the fourth in concert, and thus he was drawn in to sing sometimes with the rest; and afterwards, when her French

French secretary retired himself to France, this David obtained the said office.'

"Besides Queen Mary's knowledge of vocal music, on these scientific principles, and her accompanying herself on the lute, she appears to have been a very great performer on the *virginals*, which was a keyed instrument, having touches, and fingering, similar to those of the spinet, harpsichord, or piano-forte, which were its successive improvements. The music that was played on the virginals by Queen Elizabeth is still extant. It is written in a musical stave of *six* lines, which certainly much increases the difficulty of reading it; yet, even when this difficulty is overcome, I have been assured by a first-rate performer in London, who had this music given him to play, that he found it very difficult to execute; and the specimens of music played by Bull, a professor of that time, which are published in Dr. Burney's History of Music, will convince any one, that there was music played on keyed instruments, at that period, that may be called, even at this day, extremely difficult. Now, if we are inclined to draw the inference from Sir James Melville's statement of the comparison of the accomplishments of these rival Queens, that he evidently intended his reader to draw from it, whatever idea it may have been calculated to convey to Queen Elizabeth, we must conclude, that, in playing on the virginals, as well as in the other talents she displayed before him, Queen Mary must, in his opinion, have far surpassed her.

"If we, moreover, add to the great length of time, which the study of these accomplishments necessarily requires, those still larger portions of time, which her other various studies demanded;—when we consider, that she attained to so great a proficiency in the Latin tongue, that she declaimed publicly in the hall of the Louvre, in presence of the whole court of France, an oration, of her own composition, in that language, maintaining, against the common opinion, that a proficiency in learning, and in the liberal arts, was not unbecoming the female character; that in the French, the Italian, and the Spanish languages, her progress was still greater; that she employed two hours every day in study and reading; that she had also made a great proficiency in painting;—when to all these is added, the time taken up in needle work, tapestry, dancing, and riding; and that all these branches of education were acquired in the nine years which elapsed from her sixth to her fifteenth year, when she was married to the Dauphin of France;—when all this is considered, we are fully warranted to suppose, that her musical studies consisted only of the extensive branches mentioned above; among which there could not have been found a vacant space for the study of the Harp. It is not at all likely she could have found any time for it, after her return to Scotland, so as to have made any progress on so difficult an instrument, and which, at the same time, could not gratify that desire of variety of modulation, or temporary change of key, which one accustomed to the system of the Italian school could not fail of feeling, almost at every instant. This can only be done on the modern Welsh Harp, of three rows of strings, and on the Pedal Harp. The Harpers of the old Celtic school had, however, by long use, and knowledge of the combinations which their more simple

simple system could furnish, the power of pleasing themselves and others, on their instrument, in a very high degree. Whether Queen Mary was a performer on the Harp, or not, does not affect, in any way, the history of its progress in the Highlands, which is the object of the present enquiry; but it must be allowed, that her not being able to play upon it, was a good reason for her giving away this Harp of state.

"Queen Mary's Harp, together with the more ancient Caledonian Harp, have been occasionally played upon, in the family of Lude, as has been already observed, until within the last seventy or eighty years. Roderick Morison, one of the last native Highland Harpers, who was regularly bred and professionally instructed, accompanied the Marquis of Huntley on a visit to Lude, about the year 1650. This Bard and Harper, who will be more particularly mentioned afterwards, composed a *port*, or air, on this occasion, which was called *Suipar Chiurn na Leod*, or Lude's Supper. The last of this family who played on Queen Mary's Harp, before it was despoiled of its valuable ornaments by the soldiery in the year 1745, was the great-grand-father of General Robertson. The music which he played upon it consisted chiefly of the airs which had been composed by the Highland bards on some remarkable occasion; *Laments*, in commemoration of deceased persons of eminence; of the airs called *Ports*, and of marches of the Highland clans. None of these have been preserved in the family excepting that of *Lude's Supper*. The father of the present Mr. Robertson of Strowan, however, who had been constantly in the practice of hearing General Robertson's great-grand-father play this music on Queen Mary's Harp, used to play a great number of them on the violin. From him his son, Colonel Colgear Robertson, learned, by the ear, to play a number of them on the violin, which General Robertson has heard him play, and some of them were taken down in writing from his performance, by Bowie, a music-seller in Perth, and were published, about twelve years ago, at the end of his collection of reels, &c.

"The establishments of the Highland Chieftains, with respect to their Bard, Harper, &c. had, for several centuries, from political causes, and from a variety of other changes in their condition, been gradually diminishing, and given up. There never does appear to have been, independent of these establishments, any set of men in the Highlands who had been taught to play upon the Harp, in order to gain their subsistence by it, from the public at large; nor do the nature, and circumstances, peculiar to the situation, of the Highlands, hold out any encouragement for such a profession, after these establishments had been discontinued; at least we do not find any accounts, or traces, of itinerant native Harpers in the Highlands, such as are still to be found in Ireland and in Wales; or if such were bred there, they probably went to the Lowlands to exercise their profession. The last regularly bred Highland Harpers appear to be the two following, with the account of whom, and the establishments to which they respectively belonged, I shall conclude the present enquiry.

"In the seventeenth century, the Laird of Macleod, named John *Breck*, from his having been much marked by the small-pox, was one of the last Highland Chieftains who had an established Bard, Harper, Piper,

Piper, &c. at his residence of Dunvegan Castle, in the island of Skye, all of them excellent, and liberally provided for. The offices of Bard and Harper were filled by Roderick Morison, who, being blind, was called *Ruarie Dall;* but he was born a gentleman, and lived on that footing in the family of this chieftain. He was the last person in this country who possessed the talents of Bard and Harper, of Poet and Composer of Music, in an eminent degree. After the death of John Breck, Dunvegan Castle, and its establishments, was abandoned by his son; a measure which the poor neglected bard lamented, in an excellent elegy on his patron, which was printed in a late collection of Gaelic poems. I have not been able to procure any further accounts of him; but he appears to have been, after this, still held in great estimation, and to have been taken notice of by persons of the first rank in this country. His accompanying the Marquis of Huntley to Ludehouse has been already taken notice of. Some of his compositions for the Harp are still extant; I remember to have seen one of them in an old collection of engraved Scottish music.

"The family of Maclean of Coll was one of those who maintained a Harper. John Garve Maclean of Coll, who lived in the latter end of the reign of King James the Sixth, and during that of Charles the First, was esteemed an excellent performer on the Harp, and a good composer of music. Two of his compositions have been handed down, one called *Toum Muran,* the other, *Caoineadh Rioghail,* or the Royal Lament, probably composed in memory of the latter unfortunate monarch. An anecdote has been handed down in the family, of an English vessel having been wrecked on the island, the captain of which went to the castle of Coll, and on seeing this venerable gentleman, with a Bible in his hand, and a Harp placed by his side, exclaimed, in the enthusiastic language of that time, that he beheld 'King David restored again to the earth!' Murdoch Macdonald, brought up by the family of Coll, appears to have been the last native Harper of the Highlands of Scotland. He was first sent to the island of Skye, to receive instructions from Rory Dall, and afterwards into Ireland, for the same purpose. He remained in the family of Coll, in quality of Harper, until the year 1734, as appears from an account of payments made in that year, in the hand-writing of Hector Maclean of Coll, uncle to the present Colonel Maclean. How long he continued afterwards in the family does not appear; but he retired to Quinish, in the island of Mull, where he remained until his death. He was always called, and is still remembered in the island of Coll, by the name of Murdoch *Clarsair,* or Murdoch the Harper. His son, who acted occasionally as a servant to the present Colonel Maclean of Coll, was distinguished by the name of *Eoin Mac Mhurchaidh Clairsair,* or John, son of Murdoch the Harper; and the grandson of Murdoch is, at this time, in the service of Colonel Maclean."

On the Originality and Genuineness of the Poems of Ossian.

[From Sir John Sinclair's Dissertation prefixed to the Poems in the Original Gaelic.]

§ 1.—*The circumstances which have hitherto prevented the publication of Ossian in the original.*

"ABOVE forty years having now elapsed, since the poems of Ossian, as translated by Mr. Macpherson, were printed; and as, ever since their first appearance, the publication of the original Gaelic has been promised, the reader will naturally expect some account of the circumstances which have occasioned so long a delay.

"It appears from an advertisement prefixed to the first edition of Macpherson's translation, that he had published proposals for printing, by subscription, the whole originals, which some men of genius, whom he numbered among his friends, advised him, was a better way of satisfying the public, concerning the authenticity of the poems, than another plan which had been thought of, that of depositing manuscript copies in a public library. He asserts in that preface, that no subscribers had appeared, and hence infers, that in the judgment of the public, neither the one plan nor the other was necessary. He intimates however a design to print the originals, as soon as he (the translator) shall have had time to transcribe them for the press. If such a publication should not take place, he then pledges himself, that copies shall be deposited in one of the public libraries, to prevent *so ancient a monument of genius from being lost.*

"Soon after this publication, Macpherson was led to give up poetical pursuits, and actually accompanied the late Governor George Johnstone to Florida. After remaining about three years abroad, he returned to England in the year 1766.

"It would appear, by an extract from Mr. John Mackenzie's diary, to be afterwards inserted, that Mr. Macpherson took with him to Florida, the Gaelic originals of Ossian; by means of which, some of the smaller poems, either in whole, or in part, were lost.

"From the connection he had formed with political men, he seems to have abandoned for some time any important literary employment, till the year 1771, when he published a work, entitled, 'An Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland.'

"In consequence of the fame he had acquired by his translation of Ossian, however, he was prevailed upon to undertake a translation of the Iliad, in the same style of measured prose. This attempt was so extremely unsuccessful, that it seems greatly to have estranged him from poetry, and it is a singular circumstance, that the same author, whose literary fame had been founded on his translation of Ossian, should have so completely failed, when he exercised the same talents on the Grecian bard.

"From the year 1773, till his death in February 1796, his time was much occupied, either in political discussions, or in managing the interests of the Nabob of Arcot, who had appointed him his agent in England, and in whose service he acquired a considerable fortune. In the interim, he was not totally inattentive to the Gaelic original of Ossian's

Ossian's poems. His pride was roused by the severe sarcasms of Johnson; and any apprehensions, regarding the expense of printing the Gaelic original, were entirely removed, by a very liberal subscription made for that purpose in India, by a respectable body of Scotch gentlemen, who were anxious to see those poems, which they had so often heard recited in their youth, printed in the language of their ancestors.

"Between the years 1780 and 1790, the author of this Dissertation was frequently in company with Mr. Macpherson, both in his house in London, and at his villa in the neighbourhood, and he embraced various opportunities of urging him strongly to complete the publication. But though some progress was made in preparing the work for the press, nothing complete or effectual was accomplished. With the assistance of Captain Morison, who was a much better Gaelic scholar than himself, a copy of the poems, in the original Gaelic, had been written out. He had also procured a translation of part of the poem of Ossian into Latin, by the late Mr. Macfarlan, a scholar perfectly skilled in both languages. Mr. Macpherson still, however, declined sending any considerable part of the original to the press. During the latter part of his life, he had become (as is usually the case when age advances) less active than formerly; and he had taken a conceit, that it would be better to print the Gaelic originals, in the Grecian, rather than the Roman characters. A specimen in Greek was actually printed, and though that plan might certainly have been carried on, yet the difficulty of converting above ten thousand lines into the Greek character, joined to the circumstance, that in that state the work would be intelligible only to scholars, rendered the Roman character preferable.

"It was about this time that a circumstance took place, which tends strongly to prove the authenticity of the Gaelic originals.

"The late Mr. John Mackenzie, was accustomed to keep a regular diary of any important occurrences, and on the 22d of July, there is the following entry in that diary:

"'Went at one o'clock to Putney Common, to Mr. Macpherson; he said he had been searching in an old trunk up stairs, which he had with him in East Florida, for the original of Berrathon. That he feared it was in an imperfect condition, and that part of it was wanting, as of Carthon; that he had only put together a few lines of it, and those not to his own liking; that he had tired of it after a short sitting.

"'He took notice of the fine simile, which is a separate fragment, and not a part of any poem, and which is in my possession, where he thinks there is a proof contained of the existence of the aurora borealis, in the days of Ossian. In fact, however, the simile contains no such proof. I concluded from thence, that the simile was not of his composition, because he would hardly introduce in it a striking circumstance, that every one knows could not apply to those early times, as every one knows the aurora borealis has appeared in the sky in latter times only.

"'I made the same conclusion, from his ascribing the same striking circumstance to the simile, which circumstance in truth, does in fact exist in it. Mr. Macpherson has on several occasions, in the most careless off-hand manner, in the course of conversation, thought the knowledge of navigation among the Gael,

Gael, in those early days, was evidently proved, by the names they had given to certain stars, as appears in a poem of Temora.

"'Came to town in Mr. Macpherson's carriage in the evening.'"

"The circumstances above detailed, are interesting in various points of view, but more especially as they account for the loss of some of the Gaelic originals, which have never since been discovered.

"Mr. Macpherson died in February 1796, leaving John Mackenzie, Esq. of the Temple, one of his executors, together with a legacy of a thousand pounds, to defray the expense of preparing for the press, and publishing the original poems. Mr. Mackenzie was an excellent scholar, and a worthy man; but was so scrupulously anxious to execute the trust reposed in him, in such a manner as to do credit to so valuable a work, that he was led to put off, from time to time, determining on the plan to be adopted. After such poems were collected as could be discovered in Mr. Macpherson's repositories, it was found necessary to have the translation into Latin by Mr. Macfarlan completed, and the Gaelic orthography settled. For the latter purpose, the Rev. Mr. Thomas Ross of Edinburgh was employed to transcribe the whole work over again, agreeably to the orthography of the Gaelic Bible, with which the generality of Gaelic readers are necessarily best acquainted. Next, the character was to be determined upon; and it was thought advisable to have printed specimens in the Roman and Greek characters, as well as in the simplified orthography attempted by Mr. Macpherson, circulated, in order to procure the remarks of persons intelligent in Gaelic literature. It became also necessary to get paper manufactured of a proper quality for such a work, and to settle with a respectable printer and publisher. All these operations, however, which occupied a very considerable portion of the time which had elapsed, after the poems had come into the possession of Mr. Mackenzie, were completed; he had made the necessary arrangements with Messrs. Nicol and Bulmer, and a proof of the first sixteen pages was actually printed, and sent to him when he unfortunately died.

"Mr. Mackenzie left several executors to his will, of whom Mr. George Mackenzie, assistant surgeon to the 42d regiment of foot, alone administered. As the publication of such a work was not consistent with his professional avocations, he resolved to put the manuscripts into the hands of the secretary of the Highland Society at London, for the purpose of their being published under the patronage of that Society; and at a general meeting held on the 17th day of May 1804, the following gentlemen were appointed a committee to superintend the execution of the work; namely, Sir John Sinclair, bart. M. P. Sir John Macpherson, bart. Sir John Macgregor Murray, bart. John M'Arthur, esq. of York Place, Portman Square; Alexander Fraser, esq. of Lincoln's Inn, the secretary; and Mr. Colin Macrae of the Temple, the deputy secretary.

"As soon as circumstances would admit of it, the committee met to consider what measures could be pursued, for carrying on the publication with as much dispatch as possible. They examined the manuscripts, and found that though some of the smaller poems were wanting, yet that the principal ones were extant. They resolved, therefore, to print those which were in their

their possession, and to endeavour, by every means in their power, to recover such as were missing. They next proceeded to make a new arrangement with Messrs. Nicol and Bulmer, for the printing and publication of the work; but still, all the difficulties attending this undertaking were not surmounted. It was necessary, in consequence of Mr. Mackenzie's death, to get the proofs revised by as eminent a Gaelic scholar as he was considered to be; and after some deliberation, the Rev. Mr. Stewart, of Moulin, in Perthshire, was preferred, on account of the excellence of his Gaelic Grammar. Transmitting the proofs to such a distance occasioned much delay, which was increased when that respectable clergyman was removed to the living of Dingwall in Rossshire. In the interim, Mr. Macfarlan, the Latin translator, was accidentally killed, leaving many of the arguments prefixed to each book or poem untranslated, the want of which it was absolutely necessary to supply. This occasioned some additional delay. In short, the committee were resolved to spare no personal trouble, and to run any risk of responsibility, for the expence attending such a publication, in order to prevent (in the words of Mr. Macpherson) *so ancient a monument of genius from being lost.*

"It is hoped that this plain narration will account for the delay that has taken place in printing the original Gaelic. Let us next consider, what new evidence can be adduced in favour of the authenticity of these poems, in consequence of that publication.

§ 2.—*Whether Mr. Macpherson, in his Translation, did justice to the original Gaelic.*

"It is ingeniously observed in the Report of the Highland Society, (p. 137.) 'that the publication of the original Gaelic, will afford an opportunity to those who question its authenticity, to examine narrowly the intrinsic evidence arising from the nature and construction of the language. This is a point of the first importance in the dispute: for not an instance can be recollected of a fabrication in a foreign language, or in a language supposed to be that of an ancient period, where, upon an accurate examination, internal proofs of the forgery have not been discovered, in the very language alone in which the forgery was attempted to be conveyed.'

"It is decidedly the opinion of such Gaelic scholars as have hitherto had an opportunity of examining the whole, or any part of the original, that the language in which Ossian's poems are written, is of great antiquity, and could not be imitated in modern times. They assert, that it would be as difficult for any modern scholar, to pass his compositions in Greek or Latin, for those of Homer or Virgil, as it would be for Macpherson to have composed Gaelic poems, which could not at once be distinguished from those of so ancient a date. It is hardly possible for those who are not conversant in the Gaelic language, to judge of the validity of this argument; but the unanimous, or even the general testimony, of respectable and intelligent Gaelic scholars, to that fact, must necessarily have great weight in such a controversy.

"There is another mode, however, by which the publication of the Gaelic, will furnish the most satisfactory evidence of its own originality; namely, by comparing it, or a new and literal translation of it, with Macpherson's translation, in order

order to ascertain the following particulars:—1. Whether Macpherson did not in many instances misconceive the meaning of the original, and consequently gave an erroneous translation? 2. Whether he did not freqently add many words or expressions not to be found in the original, which additions have been adduced as plagiarisms from other authors; and consequently as arguments against the authenticity of the poems? 3. Whether he did not leave out many beautiful words and passages to be found in the original? 4. Whether he did not pass over any words or phrases which he found it difficult to translate? and 5. Whether on the whole, he did sufficient justice to the nervous simplicity and genuine beauties of the Celtic bard? All these circumstances will appear beyond question, by a fair comparison between Macpherson's and a new translation."

ARTS AND SCIENCES.

On the Cultivation of Gum Lac.

[From Dr. Buchanan's Journal through Mysore, Canara, and Malabar.]

"I TOOK an opportunity, in company with this Amildar, of examining into the management of the Lac insect; and for this purpose we collected all the people who follow that employment. I have always found, that the more of any class of people were assembled, the more likely I was to get just information: not that all of them spoke; some one or two men generally answered my questions; but they did it without fear of reflections from those who might otherwise have been absent; as every one, if he chose, had an opportunity of speaking. The Hindus of all descriptions, so far as I have observed, are indeed very desirous of having every kind of business discussed in public assemblies.

"The people who manage the Lac insect, in the hills near Nandidurga, are of the cast called Woddaru; and for the exclusive use of the trees they pay a rent to government. The tree on which the insect feeds is the Jala, which is nearly related to the Saul of Bengal, or the Shorea of Gærtner, and perhaps the Vatica Chinesis of Linnæus. All the trees that I saw here were small, not exceeding eight or ten feet in height; and their growth was kept down by the insect and its managers; for this size answers best. The tree, left to itself, grows to a large size, and is good timber. For feeding the insect, it thrives very well in a dry barren soil; and is not planted, but allowed to spring up spontaneously as nature directs. It is often choaked by other trees, and destroyed by bamboos, which, by rubbing one against another, in this arid region, frequently take fire, and lay waste the neighbouring woods. By removing all other trees from the places where the Jala naturally grows, and perhaps by planting a few trees on some other hills, and protecting them from being choked as they gradually propagate themselves, the Lac insect might be raised to any extent on lands now totally useless, and never capable of being rendered arable. In Kartika, or from about the middle of October to the middle of November, the Lac is ripe. At that time it surrounds almost every small branch of the tree, and destroys almost every leaf. The branches intended for sale are then cut off, spread out on mats, and dried in the shade. A tree or two, that are fullest of the insect,

insect, are preserved to propagate the breed; and of those a small branch is tied to every tree in the month Chaitra, or from about the middle of March to the middle of April; at which time the trees again shoot out young branches and leaves. The Lac dried on the sticks is sold to the merchants of Balahari, Gutti, Bangalore, &c.; and according to the quantity raised, and to the demand, varies in price, from 5 to 20 fanams a maund.

Productive Method of Feeding Cows during the Winter.

(From Transactions of the Society for the Promotion of Arts, Commerce, and Manufactures.)

"EVERY attempt to ameliorate the condition of the labouring classes of the community, is an object not unworthy of public attention; and has, on all occasions, been zealously patronized by the Society of Arts. Under this impression, I hope for the indulgence of the society in calling their attention to an experiment, which I flatter myself will, in its consequence, prove not only highly beneficial to the lower orders of society, but tend likewise to the advancement of agriculture.

"There is not any thing, I humbly conceive, which would conduce more essentially to the comfort and health of the labouring community and their families, than being able to procure, especially in winter, a constant and plentiful supply of good and nutritious milk. Under this conviction, much pains have been taken to induce the landed proprietors to assign ground to their cottagers, to enable them to keep a milch cow. The plan is humane, and highly meritorious; but unfortunately its beneficial influence can reach but a few. Could farmers in general be induced from humanity, or bound by their landlords to furnish milk to those, at least, whom they employ, it would be more generally serviceable. Even those who have the comfort of a milch cow, would find this a better and cheaper supply, as they can seldom furnish themselves with milk through the winter. The farmer can keep his milch cows cheaper and better; for, besides having green food, his refuse corn and chaff, of little value, are highly serviceable in feeding milch cows.

"My object is to combat the prevailing opinion, that dairies in summer are more profitable than in winter. I confidently hope to establish a contrary fact. The experiment I am about to submit to the society, is to prove, that by adopting a different method of feeding milch cows in winter, to what is in general practised, a very ample profit is to be made, equal, if not superior, to that made in any other season.

"I believe the principle will hold good equally in all situations: my experience is confined to the neighbourhood of a large and populous town.

"The price of milk is one-fifth higher in winter than in summer. By wine measure the price is 2*d.* per quart new milk, 1*d.* skimmed.

"My local situation afforded me

ample means of knowing how greatly the lower orders suffered from being unable to procure a supply of milk; and I am fully persuaded of the correctness of the statement, that the labouring poor lose a number of their children from the want of a food so pre-eminently adapted to their support.

"Stimulated by the desire of making my farming pursuits contribute to the comfort of the public, and of those by whose means my farm has been made productive, I determined to try the experiment of feeding milch cows after a method very different to what was in general practice. I hoped to be enabled thereby to furnish a plentiful supply of good and palatable milk, with a prospect of its affording a fair return of profit, so as to induce others to follow my example.

"The supply of milk, during the greatest part of the year, in all the places in which I have any local knowledge, is scanty and precarious, and rather a matter of favour than of open traffic.

"Consonant with the views I entertained of feeding milch cows, I made a provision of cabbages, common and Swedish turnips, kholrabi, and cole seed. I made use also of chaff, boiled, and mixed with refuse grain and oil cake. I used straw instead of hay for their fodder at night.

"The greatest difficulty which I have had to contend with, has been to prevent any decayed leaves being given. The ball only of the turnip was used. When these precautions were attended to, the milk and butter have been excellent.

"Having had no previous knowledge of the management of a dairy, my first experiment was not conducted with that frugality requisite to produce much profit.

"I sold the first season, between October 1804, and the 10th of May 1805, upwards of 20,000 quarts of new milk. Though my return was not great, I felt a thorough conviction that it proceeded from errors in the conduct of the undertaking; and that, under more judicious management, it would not fail of making an ample return, which the subsequent experiment will prove. In the mean time, I had the satisfaction of knowing that it had contributed essentially to the comfort of numbers.

"In October 1805, my dairy recommenced with a stock of 30 milch cows; a large proportion of these were heifers; and in general the stock was not well selected for giving milk; for they were purchased with a view of their being again sold as soon as the green crop should be exhausted. If the plan be found to answer under such unfavourable circumstances, what may not more experienced farmers expect?

"By the end of this present month, I shall have sold upwards of 40,000 quarts of milk.

"The quality of food, and its cost, are as follow. The produce of milk from each cow upon 200 days, the period of the experiment, is calculated at no more than 6 wine quarts in the 24 hours: this is to allow for the risk and failure in milk of some of the heifers. A good stock, I have no doubt, would exceed 8 quarts in the two meals, which would add 100*l.* to the profit.

Daily cost of feeding one milch cow.

"Two stone of green food (supposing 30 tons of green crop on an acre, at $\frac{1}{4}d.$ per stone would pay 5*l.* per acre)

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
acre) at $\frac{1}{4}d$ per stone of 14*lb.* - -	0	0	$0\frac{1}{2}$
Two stone of chaff boiled, at 1*d.* per stone -	0	0	2
Two *lbs.* of oil cake, at 1*d.* per *lb.* costing from 8*l.* to 9*l.* per ton -	0	0	2
Eight *lbs.* of straw at 2*d.* per stone - -	0	0	1
	0	0	$5\frac{1}{2}$

" The chaff, beyond the expence of boiling, may be considered as entirely profit to the farmer; 2*d.* per stone for straw, likewise leaves a great profit. Turnips also pay the farmer very well at $\frac{1}{4}d.$ per stone.

" Expence of feeding one milch cow for 200 days, the period upon which the experiment is made:

200 days keep of one milch cow, at the rate of $5\frac{1}{2}d.$ per day - -	4	11	8
Attendance -	2	0	0
Supposed loss on re-sale	2	0	0
	8	11	8

Return made of one milch cow in 200 *days milking.*

6 quarts per day, at 2*d.* per quart, for 200 days	10	0	0
Calf - - -	2	0	0
Profit on 20 carts of manure, at 1*s.* 6*d.* each	1	10	0
	13	10	0
Clear gain upon each milch cow - -	4	18	4

" This gives a profit upon the whole stock of 147*l.* 10*s.* The profit of another month may be added before a supply of milk can be had from grass, which will make the balance of profit 167*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* This profit, though not as large as it ought to have been, had the stock been favourable for the experiment, far exceeds what could be made of the same quantity of food by fattening cattle. Were the two quarts to be added, which on a moderate computation might be expected, the gain would then be 267*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.* The trifling quantity of land from which the cattle were supported, is a most important consideration. One half of their food is applicable to no other purpose, and is equally employed in carrying on the system of a corn farm. I have found oil cake of the utmost advantage to my dairy, promoting milk, and contributing greatly to keep the milch cows in condition. The best method of using it, is to grind it to a powder, and to mix it in layers and boil it with the chaff: half the quantity in this way answers better than as much more given in the cake, besides the saving of 2*d.* a day on each beast. This I was not aware of on my first trial. The oil cake adds considerably to the quantity and richness of the milk without affecting its flavour. The refuse corn was likewise ground and boiled: it is charged also at 1*d.* per pound. I make use of inferior barley to great advantage. A change of food is much to the advantage of the dairy. Potatoes steamed would answer admirably; but near towns they are too expensive.

" By repeated trials it was found that seven quarts of strippings, wine measure, gave a pound of butter, while eight quarts of a mixture of the whole milk was required to produce the same weight. Contrast this with milk produced from the feeding of grains, 20 quarts of which will scarcely afford a pound of butter.

" The Agricultural Report of Lancashire, treating on the milk in the neighbourhood of Liverpool and

Manchester, states 18 quarts with a hand churn, and 14 or 15 with a horse churn. In a paper published by the Bath Society, 12 quarts are said to give a pound of butter: but whether ale or wine measure is not specified. A friend of mine, who feeds his milch cows principally on hay, finds 16 wine quarts will not yield more than 17 ounces of butter, and this upon repeated trials.

"The milch cows treated according to my new plan, have been in excellent order both seasons, and are allowed to be superior to any in the neighbourhood.

"Cole seed I have found to be the most profitable of all green crops for milk; and it possesses the further advantage of standing till other green food is ready to supply its place.

"To ascertain the benefit and utility of a supply of milk, both to the consumer and the public will be best done by comparison.

"To prove this, let us contrast the price of milk with other articles of prime necessity, and consider how far it affords a greater produce from a less consumption of food.

"I cannot here omit observing, at a moment when Great Britain can hope for no further supply of grain from the continent, and must look for and depend on her own resources for feeding her population, every mean by which the quantity of victuals can be augmented, is an object of great public concern.

"Each milch cow, yielding 6 quarts of milk per day, furnishes, in the period of 200 days, 2,400 pounds of milk, or 171 stone of 14 pounds, equal to twice her weight, supposing her in a state fit for killing, with a third less food, and at one half less expence. The milk costs 10*l.* whilst the same weight of butchers' meat at 6*d.* per lb. would amount to 50*l.* Taking the scale of comparison with bread, we shall find a Winchester bushel of wheat of the usual weight of 4 stone and 4½*lb.* when manufactured into flour of three sorts, yields:

Of first flour - .	2st.	9lb.
Of second - '	0	7
Of third - -	0	7
	3	9

Lost by bran, &c. 0 9½lb.

"The present cost is 10*s.* 3*d.* 2,400*lb.* of the three sorts of flour will cost 23*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.* To make it into bread, allow 1*s.* per bushel, which makes the cost of bread 26*l.* 10*s.* 9*d.* or something more than 2½*d.* per *lb.* exceeding twice the price of the same weight of milk. To furnish 2,400*lbs.* of bread, requires 47 bushels, or the average produce of two acres of wheat.

"Three acres of green food supplied 30 milch cows with 2 stone each of green food for 200 days. Two stone of hay each for the same period would have required 75 acres of hay. Chaff can scarcely be considered as of any value beyond the manure it would make, which shews the profit of keeping milch cows in all corn farms.

"Certificates of the quantities of milk sold and money received accompany this.

"If the Society of Arts, &c. think the experiment worthy of their notice and approbation, I shall be highly flattered. At all events, I trust they will accept it as a small tribute of respect and gratitude for the many favours conferred upon their

Obedient and very humble servant,

J. C. CURWEN.

Workington-hall, April 18, 1806.

To Dr. C. Taylor, Sec.

On

On the Cultivation of the Sea Kale.

(From a Communication of Mr. J. Maher, in the Transactions of the London Horticultural Society.)

"If the man who makes two blades of grass grow where only one grew before, is to be esteemed an important benefactor to his country; he who teaches us how to improve a palatable and nutritious vegetable, hitherto often neglected, upon the barren cliffs of our sea-girt isle, has surely no small claims to our gratitude; as such, I must ever regard those of the late Mr. Curtis, from whose pamphlet upon the Crambe Maritima, or Sea Kale, I first learnt how to grow this early esculent; but as his useful directions are yet in the hands of comparatively few of my brother gardeners, and as the young shoots have been obtained at Edmonton of a size and delicacy greatly superior to what generally appears at the table, I venture to offer a particular account of the method of cultivating it there to the Horticultural Society.

"The particular places on record where this plant grows wild, are below Maryport; also between Ravenglass and Bootle, in Cumberland; at Roosebeck, in Low Furness, Lancashire; near Conway, plentifully, but in the most inaccessible rocks: promontory of Llyn, and near Cruccaeth, in Caernarvonshire; between Rhuddgaer and Llandwyn, in the isle of Anglesea; about Port Inon, in Glamorganshire; near Megavissey, in Cornwall; marly cliffs, near Teignmouth, and Sidmouth, in Devonshire; on Chesil Bank, chalk cliffs at Weymouth, Lulworth Cove, and about Poole, in Dorsetshire; at Western Court, in Hampshire; near Worthing and Shoreham cliffs at Beachy Head, and near Hastings, in Sussex; between Folkstone and Dover, and St. Margaret's and Langdon Bays, between Whitestable and the Isle of Thanet, at Lidde, in Kent; near Harwich, in Essex; on the north coast of Norfolk, abundantly; near Fast-castle, Berwickshire. According to Dr. Smith, sandy shores are its natural soil, but by what I can learn from others, as well as my own personal observation, it prefers loamy cliffs, mixed with gravel. I found it near Dover, also in Sussex, in stiff loam: to the extensive beach of pure sand, both above and below Scarborough, in Yorkshire, it is, I believe, quite a stranger.

"The whole plant is smooth, of a beautiful glaucous hue, covered with a very fine meal; occasionally, however, it varies like the wall-flower-leaved ten weeks stock, with quite green leaves. Root dark brown, perennial, running deep into the ground, divided into numerous wide spreading branches, but not creeping. Radical leaves very large; and spreading wide upon the ground, waved, more or less sinuated, and indented, containing a bud, or rudiment of the next year's stem at the bottom of the leafstalk, dying away in the autumn. Stems several, from one foot and a half to two feet high, erect, branching alternately, and terminating in large panicles of spiked flowers, which smell somewhat like honey. Peduncles, as the fruit swells, considerably

derably elongated. Calyx often tinged with purple, its leaflets nearly equal. Petals cream coloured, with purple claws, larger than in many genera of this natural order. Filaments purple. Anthers pale yellow. Glands of the receptacle between the longer filaments yellowish green. Stigma pale yellow. Pouch, as the accurate Mr. Woodward describes it in Withering's Works, at first egg-shaped, afterwards nearly globular, fleshy, falling off when ripe, about August, with the seed in it, which is large, and of a pale brown colour.

"The Crambe Maritima was known, and sent from this kingdom to the continent more than two hundred years ago, by l'Obel, and Turner; but our immortal countryman, Philip Miller, has the honour of being the first who wrote upon it professionally, as an esculent, telling us, in the first edition of his Gardener's Dictionary, published in 1731, that the inhabitants of Sussex gather the wild plant to eat in spring, soon after the heads are thrust out of the ground, otherwise it will be tough and rank. Professor Martyn, next, in the last edition of the same work, has printed some valuable additional instructions, how to cultivate this plant, from the MS. of the Rev. Mr. Laurent. Lastly, the late celebrated Mr. Curtis has done more to recommend it, and diffuse the knowledge of it, in the dissertation above quoted, than any of his predecessors.

"To grow this vegetable in the highest perfection prepare the ground in December or January, by trenching it two feet and a half deep; if not that depth naturally, and light, it must be made so artificially, by adding a due proportion of fine white sand, and very rotten vegetable mould. If your ground is wet in winter, it must be effectually drained, so that no water may stand within a foot at least of the bottom: for the strength of your plants depends on the dryness of the bottom, and richness of your soil. Then divide the ground into beds, four feet wide, with alleys of eighteeen inches, after which, at the distance of every two feet each way, sow five or six seeds two inches deep, in a circle of about four inches diameter; this operation must be performed with strict care and regularity, as the plants are afterwards to be covered with the blanching pots, and both the health and beauty of the crop depends upon their standing at equal distances. In the months of May and June, if the seeds are sound, the young plants will appear. When they have made three or four leaves, take away all but three of the best plants from each circle, planting out those you pull up (which by a careful hand may be drawn with all their tap root) in a spare bed for extraforcing, or to repair accidents. The turnip fly and wire worm are great enemies to the whole class of tetradynamia plants. I know no remedy for the latter, but picking them out of the ground by the hand; the former may be prevented from doing much damage, by a circle of quick lime strewed round the young plants. If the months of June and July prove dry, water the whole beds plentifully. In the following November, as soon as the leaves are decayed, clear them away, and cover the beds an inch thick with fresh light earth and sand, that has laid in a heap and been turned over at least three times the preceding summer; this, and indeed all composts, should be kept scrupulously free from weeds many of which nourish insects, and the compost is too often filled with their eggs and grubs. Upon this dressing

dressing of sandy loam, throw about six inches in depth of light stable litter, which finishes every thing to be done the first year.

"In the spring of the second year, when the plants are beginning to push, rake off the stable litter, digging a little of the most rotten into the alleys, and add another inch in depth of fresh loam and sand. Abstain from cutting this year, though some of the plants will probably rise very strong, treating the beds the succeeding winter exactly as before.

"The third season, a little before the plants begin to stir, rake off the winter covering, laying on now an inch in depth of pure dry sand, or fine gravel. Then cover each parcel with one of the blanching pots, pressing it very firmly into the ground, so as to exclude all light and air; for the colour and flavour of the sea kale is greatly injured by being exposed to either. If the beds are twenty-six feet long, and four wide, they will hold twenty-four blanching pots, with three plants under each, making seventy-two plants in a bed. Examine them from time to time, cutting the young stems, when about three inches above ground, carefully, so as not to injure any of the remaining buds below, some of which will immediately begin to swell; in this method a succession of gatherings may be continued for the space of six weeks, after which period the plants should be uncovered, and their leaves suffered to grow, that they may acquire and return nutriment to the root for the next year's buds. The flowers, when seeds are not wanted, ought to be nipped off with the finger and thumb, as long as they appear. If a gentleman does not choose to be at the expence of the blanching pots, the beds must be covered with a larger portion of loose gravel, and mats; but the time and trouble of taking away the gravel from about the plants to cut the crop, and replacing it, is so great, that there is no real economy in it. In this way Sea Kale has been cut in Mr. Beale's garden, which measured ten, eleven, and even twelve inches in circumference; and upon an average, each blanching pot affords a dish twice in a season.

"No vegetable can be so easily forced as this, or with so little expense and trouble; for the dung is in the finest possible order for spring hot-beds, after the Sea Kale is gathered. The only thing necessary, is to be very particular in guarding against too much heat, keeping the temperature under the blanching pots as near to fifty-five degrees of Fahrenheit's thermometer as may be, but never higher than sixty. For this purpose, in November and December, according as you want your sea kale, prepare a sufficient quantity of fresh stable dung, to cover both the beds and alleys, from two to three feet high; for in the quantity to be laid on, a great deal must always be left to the good sense of the gardener, and the mildness or severity of the season. It should be closely pressed down between the blanching pots, placing heat-sticks at proper intervals, which by being examined occasionally will indicate the heat below. After the dung has remained four or five days, examine the pots. Worms often spring above the surface, and spoil the delicacy of the young shoots: the best remedy against which is to cover with dry sea-coal ashes, sifted neither very small nor very large; salt also effectually destroys them, and will not injure the sea kale. The crop will be ready to gather in three weeks or a month from first applying the heat

heat, but so much mischief ensues when this is violent, that I would advise every one to begin time enough, and force slowly, rather than quickly. It is also necessary to cut the leaves off a fortnight or three weeks before they decay, from such plants as you intend to force very early."

On the Superior Advantages of Wooden Matches for Artillery.

[From a Communication of Mr. C. L. Cadet, inserted in the Annales de Chimie.]

"FOR several centuries rope match only was used for firing great guns, mortars, howitzers, and other pieces of artillery. This match, as is well known, is a rope of supple hemp, of a middling size, boiled for two hours in a bath of saltpetre, ashes, quicklime, and horse-dung. This rope, when dried, burns slowly to the end, in the manner of touchwood, and communicates its fire like red-hot coal. For use it is twisted round a staff called a port-match, and left to project near five inches beyond its end, this length burning an hour.

"This match has several inconveniences. It requires constant attendance, since it must be unrolled from the staff every hour, or oftener; a tolerably heavy rain puts it out; it gives the artilleryman no light by night; and the end beyond the staff is not always steady, so that the gunner is slow in firing his pieces. On these accounts its use is now confined to garrisons, except for carrying fire in the field, where for other purposes port-fires are employed.

"These port-fires are paper tubes, filled with a mixture of sulphur, saltpetre, and a very little meat-powder. This composition, the greater part of which is saltpetre, burns and melts with great activity, giving a vivid and bright flame, which quickly sets fire to the priming. In this respect they are far preferable to match, since they give light to the gunner, their fire is more vivid, and they are more easily guided; but these advantages are counterbalanced by dangers and defects. The saltpetre in these port-fires is never entirely burnt, but part runs out of the tube. When the materials are not well powdered, they are subject to split, or throw out pieces of burning saltpetre to the distance of three or four feet, which may occasion serious accidents, particularly on board ships. I myself had my hair set on fire, and a hole burnt through both my coats, by a spark of this kind. In ships they are obliged to be kept in the middle of a tub of water on this account.

"These were the only means employed to fire pieces of artillery, when one of my correspondents at Madrid acquainted me, that Messrs. Borda and Proust had proposed to the Spanish government, to substitute instead of the cotton match, wooden rods impregnated with nitrate of copper. He added, that these rods burnt like touchwood, forming a pointed red coal; and that the trials with them succeeded perfectly, though they had not been adopted.

adopted. I informed his excellency, the minister at war, of this new method; and he requested me to make the necessary experiments for ascertaining its utility, directing Mr. Lespagnol, a captain in the artillery, to assist me in the inquiry.

"My first idea was, that all kinds of wood could not be equally fit for the purpose; and that the difference in their porosity would occasion a difference in their combustibility. Before I tried the metallic nitrats, I took common saltpetre, and boiled several kinds of wood in a strong solution of it, which they imbibed in different proportions. This attempt did not succeed: the only wood that burnt quickly was the common cane, used for dusting clothes, or *rotang*; but its coal had no substance, the least blow breaking it off, and extinguishing it. I then got a joiner to make me some square rods, half a yard long, of oak, elm, ash, elder, birch, poplar, lime, and fir. I took two parcels of these, and boiled one in a solution of nitrat of copper, the other in a solution of nitrat of lead. In each, the oak, elm, ash, and elder, were not saturated, and burnt in the usual manner: the others afforded me very good matches. But before I enter at large on their properties, I shall observe, that I conceive the nitrate of copper should be rejected, because it is too dear, it quickly corrodes the boilers, and its vapour is noxious. Accordingly I confined myself to the nitrate of lead; and I found, after several trials, that it answered the purpose completely.

"The wood that did best was that of the lime, birch, or poplar. To compare their properties, I weighed some rods both before and after boiling; I ascertained how much their weight was increased, and how long they continued burning; and I calculated how much of each a pound of nitrat of lead would saturate. The following table gives the proportions.

Name of the wood.	Weight of a yard before the experiment.	Weight after.	Gained in weight.
	Grains.	Grains.	Grains.
Birch	888	1416	528
Poplar	516	936	420
Lime	888	1728	840

Name of the wood.	Length saturated by a pound of nitrat of lead.			Time each continued burning.
	Yards.	Ft.	Inches.	Hours.
Birch	17	1		3
Poplar	21	2	8	2
Lime	10	2	9	3

"From this comparative trial it follows, that the lime tree affords the best wood for matches for artillery; and with it I made the experiments desired by the minister, in presence of Mr. Lespagnol.

"There are circumstances in which the service of the artillery requires light. Rods impregnated merely with nitrat of lead, produce a coal sufficient to discharge a cannon, but no light is afforded by them. I conceived, that, if they were impregnated with oil of turpentine, they might yield flame, without detriment to the action of the nitrate; and my hopes were realised, for rods thus prepared furnished both light and fire at pleasure. In this addition I found two other advantages: one, that of rendering the wooden match impervious to water; the other, that of facilitating the reduction of the lead, part of which I was apprehensive might be carried off in vapour, and injure the health of those who respired it.

"The theory of the process I adopted is simple; and it is easy to explain,

explain, why metallic nitrats succeed better than nitrat of potash. However dry the wood may be, it always retains a little of its water of vegetation or of composition, which is an obstacle to its proper combustion. By boiling the rods in a solution of nitrate of lead or of copper, which on account of its specific gravity requires a high temperature; this fluid dilates, softens, and penetrates the fibres of the wood, and expels their water of vegetation, which is replaced by that of crystallization. The nitrat then comes into immediate contact with the carbon of the wood, whence the rapidity of its combustion. The nitrate of potash does not answer so well, because, retaining much water of crystallization, its solution does not acquire so high a temperature: and, supposing it able to penetrate the wood as intimately, it carries into it too much water, for its combustion to be progressive and continual. A prooof of this reasoning may be found in the composition of the two salts: nitrate of lead contains .75 of its base, that of potash but .49.

"The rapid combustion of the wooden match is owing also to the facility with which the salts of lead are reduced, when in contact with burning charcoal. If a hempen rope be boiled in a solution of acetate of lead, and afterward dried, it may be used as a match. It burns slowly like touchwood, and has a very bright coal. The oxyd of lead, as the metal is reduced, gives out its oxygen to the carbon, and accelerates the combustion.

"On comparing the specific gravity of wood with its saturation by salts, we find, that the lighter the wood, the more saline matter it absorbs into its pores, or the interstices of its fibres. Hence it appears to me we may infer, that it contains less carbon than a heavier wood in a given bulk; and that its combustion will evolve less caloric, since the caloric emitted is in the ratio of the quantity of oxygen combined with the combustible. It seems to me, that we might class different kinds of wood, as to their combustibility, by their absorption of salts; and thus find which would be most advantageous to burn for domestic purposes, whether we would have a rapid combustion, or a stronger and more continued heat. These researches will form the subject of a particular work, which I purpose, on all our forest trees.

"The wooden matches, compared with port-fires, have the following advantages.

The port-fire lasts but three or four minutes.

A match a yard long will burn three hours.

The port-fire is liable to break in the boxes.

The match is strong, and easily carried about.

The port-fire throws out dangerous sparks.

The match confines its fire to itself.

The port-fire costs from three pence to four pence halfpenny.

The match costs but three halfpence or two pence.

"The last consideration is of great importance, since, from calculations made in the war-office, what would cost the state in the one case a thousand pounds, in the other would not come to more than seventy-five.

"As it was necessary to ascertain, whether these new matches would resist the rain, I had several burnt during long and heavy rains, and they were not extinguished till they were totally consumed; their combustion being a little retarded only.

As

"As the fabrication of these matches requires some care and precaution, I shall conclude this paper with a minute description of the process, agreeably to the request of his excellency the minister at war, for the instruction of the artificers employed in our arsenals.

Method of preparing the combustible wooden Matches for Artillery.—Shape of the Matches and Choice of Wood.

"The matches should be parallelipipedons, half a yard long, and half an inch square. The best wood for them is that of the lime tree, or birch; but for want of these, poplar or fir may be used. Any white and soft wood might be taken, if necessary; but those above mentioned are to be preferred.

"The shape might be supposed of no consequence: yet experience proves, that round matches do not furnish so good a fire as the square. The angles of the latter keep the coal in the centre burning vividly, and the match always terminates in a burning cone two inches long.

Drying the Wood.

"Before the matches are saturated with nitrat of lead, the wood must be perfectly dry. For this purpose the wood should have been cut and stored at least a twelvemonth; and the matches, after they are shaped, be exposed for half a day to the heat of a stove at 30° (by what thermometer is not mentioned; probably 90°, or perhaps 100° Fh.) For want of a stove they may be put into a baker's oven, when the bread is drawn.

Furnaces and Boilers.

"The fabrication of the matches requires two furnaces and two boilers. The shape of the boilers should be that of a fish-kettle, narrow, and three quarters of a yard long. Their size should be proportional to the quantity to be made at a time. The furnaces should be constructed so that the heat may act uniformly on every part of the bottom of the boiler. The first boiler must be of copper, well tinned, and provided with a plate of the same metal, to press down the matches, and keep them immersed in the boiling solution. The second boiler may be either of copper or of cast iron, placed on a sand bath, and having no direct communication with the fire. It should have a lid fitted to it very closely; and handles to lift it up when necessary.

Preparation of the Nitrat of Lead.

"To make this salt, nitric acid, or aqua fortis, must be saturated with red oxyd of lead, or with litharge: but as it is necessary that the salt should be neutral, and have no excess either of acid or of base, some precautions in this operation are necessary. If the acid be too much concentrated, the salt will unite in a mass, crystallize confusedly, and contain a great deal of uncombined oxyd. If too little oxyd be used, the salt will be acidulous, and soon destroy the boilers. To obtain the mean term, 500 parts of litharge should be put into a vessel of glass or earthen ware, and on this should be poured 416 parts of nitric acid at 40°, (specific gravity we believe 1.380) diluted with 128 parts of water; heat the mixture till the oxyd is dissolved, filter, and evaporate to dryness. These proportions ought to produce 640 parts of nitrat of lead.

Bath

Bath of Nitrat of Lead.

"The nitrat of lead is very soluble in water, and the least possible quantity of liquid should be employed, that the bath, fully loaded, may acquire a temperature far beyond that of boiling water, and thus insinuate itself easily into the pores of the dilated wood. Accordingly, for every pound of nitrat, only a wine quart of water should be put into the boiler, or thereabout: but as different kinds of wood do not saturate themselves equally with the salt, their proportions must be studied. Experiment has shown, that to absorb a pound of nitrat of lead, requires near eleven yards of lime wood, 17⅓ of birch, and near 22 of poplar. The lime therefore, when saturated, is the most combustible.

"To render the saturation of the wood complete, six hours boiling are necessary, and hot water must be added, when the bath sinks so low as to let the salt fall to the bottom.

Second drying of the Matches.

"When the matches are taken out of the boiler, they must be carried to the stove, and made thoroughly dry, before they are put into the following bath.

Turpentine Bath.

"Into the second boiler is to be put as much oil of turpentine, as will cover the matches to the depth of about an inch; and this is to be heated gently, till it begins to boil. But the moment it grows white and rises, the boiler must be covered, and quickly lifted off the sand bath, lest the oil should take fire. This boiling should be repeated two or three times, which will take about half an hour: the bath then is to be left to cool; the matches are to be taken out and wiped; and lastly, they are to be dried in the stove, when they will be ready for use.

"This paper was approved by the Institute, at its meeting on the 5th of May, on the report of Messrs. Carnot, Deyeux, and Guyton de Morveau."

Method of Weaving Cloth of a surprisingly fine Quality.

[From a Comunication of Mr. W. Neven, inserted in the Transactions of the Society for the Promotion of Arts, Commerce, and Manufactures.]

"THE inventor acquaints the secretary, that he has discovered an improvement in the art of weaving, which certainly will turn out a great national advantage.

"By this improvement, cotton, linen, and silk goods, can be made much sooner and finer, than by any method yet discovered. Upon this principle he has made a small piece of plain silk cloth, from hard thrown silk in the gum, that contains the amazing quantity of 65,536 meshes in one square inch, or 256 threads in the inch of the side, which is double the number in any cloth before made.

"It is impossible for any reed-maker to made a reed half so fine as to weave such cloth upon the present principles of weaving; and even if that could be done, no weaver could make use of it: but by this method, he may weave as fine cloth

cloth in a twelve hundred reed as by the present method in one of twenty-four hundred, and with rather less than more trouble.

" He sent specimens of both silk and cotton cloth, woven upon this principle, and material advantage may be derived from this plan, in making cambrics, muslins, &c.

" The method, as it was explained to a committee of the society, consists in adding more thread of the warp within each dent or split of the reed than in the common way; for instance, that where in the common mode, there are only two threads in the reed, there are upon this plan three or four.

" The weft or shoot is thrown in the common way, with a single thread.

" When the cloth is woven and taken out of the loom, it has the appearance of being barred or striped; the cane of the reed occasioning that part of the cloth struck with it to look thinner, owing to the threads of the warp being further apart.

" The cloth is then to be wet in water, and in that state to be repeatedly stretched across by the hands backwards and forwards corner ways; by this means the threads, which apparently formed the stripe, or close part of the cloth, separate from each other, and become diffused at equal distances. The appearance of stripes being entirely removed, the cloth becomes of unexampled fineness, and extremely regular in its texture. This operation must, in cotton fabrics, be performed before the cloth goes to the bleach-ground.

" Silk goods, on being taken out of the loom, must be wet and well rubbed, as in the common mode of washing, and then stretched backwards and forwards, as in the manner above directed for cotton goods.

" In silk goods, the warp and weft may be both alike; in cotton goods the weft may be softer, but of the same fineness.

" Mr. Neven stated, that fine linen cambrics may be made much superior to any hitherto made in France; and that though there are three threads within each dent, or split of the reed, whilst the cloth is weaving, yet the headles or yields lift up the threads alternately throughout the whole breadth of the cloth, and that there are about 250 shoots in an inch."

POETRY.

POETRY.

ODE FOR THE NEW YEAR.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, Esq. POET LAUREAT.

WHEN loud and drear the tempests roar,
When high the billowy mountains rise,
And headlong 'gainst the rocky shore,
Driven by the blast, the giddy vessel flies;
Unguided, by the wild waves borne,
Her rudder broke, her tackling torne;
Say, does the seaman's daring mind
Shrink from the angry frown of fate?
Does he, to abject fear resign'd,
Th' impending stroke in silence wait?
No—while he pours the fervent pray'r
To Him whose will can punish or can spare,
Cool and intrepid 'mid the sound
Of winds and waves that rage around,
The powers that skill and strength impart,
The nervous arm, th' undaunted heart,
Collecting—firm he fronts the threat'ning storm,
And braves, with fearless breast, fell Death's terrific form.

So, though around our sea-encircled reign,
The dreadful tempest seems to lower,
Dismay'd do Britain's hardy train
Await in doubt the threat'ning hour?
Lo! to his sons, with cheering voice,
Albion's bold Genius calls aloud;
Around him valiant myriads crowd,
Or death or victory their choice:
From ev'ry port, astonish'd Europe sees
Britannia's white sails swelling with the breeze;
Not her imperial barks alone
Awe the proud foe on ev'ry side,
Commerce her vessels launches on the tide,
And her indignant sons awhile
Seceding from their wonted toil,
Turn from the arts of peace their care,
Hurl from each deck the bolts of war,
To sweep the injurious boasters from the main,
Who dare to circumscribe Britannia's naval reign.

And

And see, with emulative zeal,
Our hosts congenial ardour feel;
The ardent spirit, that of yore
Flam'd high on Gallia's vanquish'd shore;
Or burn'd by Danube's distant flood,
When flow'd his current ting'd with Gallic blood;
Or shone on Lincelles' later fight;
Or fir'd by Acre's tow'rs the Christian's Knight;
Or taught on Maida's fields the Gaul to feel,
Urg'd by the Briton's arm, the British steel;
Now in each breast with heat redoubled glows,
And gleams dismay and death on Europe's ruthless foes.

Not to Ambition's specious charm,
Not to th' ensanguin'd Despot's hand,
Is conquest bound—a mightier arm
Than Earth's proud tyrants can withstand,
The balance holds of human fate,
Raises the low and sinks the great.
Exerting then in Europe's cause
Each energy of arm and mind,
All that from force or skill the warrior draws,
Yet to the Almighty Power resign'd,
Whose high behest all Nature's movements guides,
Controls the battle's and the ocean's tides;
Britain still hopes that Heav'n her vows will hear,
While Mercy rears her shield and Justice points her spear.

ODE FOR THE KING'S BIRTH-DAY.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, Esq. POET LAUREAT.

STILL does the trumpet's brazen throat
Pour forth a martial sound;
Still do the notes of battle float
In warlike clangour round!
Nor rural pipe, nor past'ral lay,
In peaceful descant hail the day
To grateful Britain ever dear;
The thunder of embattled plains,
And shouting conquest's choral strains,
Burst on the listening ear.

Yet

Yet while Bellona's iron car
Whirls o'er th' ensanguin'd plains,
'Mid Hyperborean climes afar
Stern war terrific reigns ;
While, with colossal power endow'd,
The ruthless minister of blood
Calls to his scatter'd naval host,
Go forth, and bids the bolt of fate
On Britain's trembling harbours wait,
Shut commerce from her coast :

Behold! the sovereign Queen of Isles,
The Empress of the Waves,
Meeting the vaunt with scornful smiles,
The empty menace braves !
And see on Plata's sea-broad stream
Her banners wave, her bright arms gleam ;
While ploughing seas of classic fame
Nile yields once more to Albion's powers,
And Alexandria vails her towers
To GEORGE's mightier name.

Firm are the sons that Britain leads
To combat on the main,
And firm her hardy race that treads
In steady march the plain :
And proudly may her bards record
The victor arm, the victor sword,
That drives the foe from Ocean's tide ;
And loudly too, with fond acclaim,
Chant trophied Maida's deathless fame
With military pride.

Be hush'd awhile each ruder sound,
While Britain's grateful voice
Bids all her echoing vales resound
The Monarch of her choice.
Though round the tyrant's hated throne
Arm'd legions form an iron zone,
They cannot blunt guilt's scorpion sting,
While Virtue's sacred shield is spread
O'er GEORGE's heav'n-protected head,
The Parent and the King.

APOSTROPHE TO BRITAIN.

[From Mr. SOTHEBY'S SAUL.]

SING I of rescued realms, and high renown
In victory won, and that heroic Chief,
Who, in the strength of Heav'n, resistless, drave
Asunder, as wing'd lightnings cleave the clouds,
The storm of battle? Rings the strain of war
Sonorous on my lyre; and shall the song
Be mute, high-honour'd Albion, of thy fame,
My native country? Thou, that midst the wreck
Of states, earth's ancient empires, towr'st alone,
By other than the might of mortal pow'r
Upheld. They fell, they vanish'd as a sound,
The sovereignties, that, trusting in their strength,
Stood on the rampir'd height, and o'er the foe,
From fort and iron citadel, wav'd wide
The banner of defiance. Their proud base,
War-rais'd, has bow'd beneath them. But the base,
Outstretch'd from east to west, that bears aloft
The column of thy empire, rests its strength
On Liberty. The pow'rs, that guard thy realm,
Appalling from thy shores the gather'd host,
Valour and Unanimity. Thy sway
Is Justice, sooth'd by Mercy. In the East,
Emporium of the world, on whose far bound
Young Ammon, in his race of glory curb'd,
Dropt the unsated tear: Thou, in the sway
Of victory, self-restrain'd, hast hung the scales,
Poising the fate of empires, and thron'd chiefs,
Fixt on the shrine of peace. The West awaits
The long-suspended sentence. Its decree
Goes forth. The sentence shall efface the spot
That stain'd thy ermine robes. Man shall not tempt
The mercy of his Maker on vext seas
That bear him on to blood. Man shall not yoke
His brother: shall not goad his kindred flesh,
Till the big sweat falls, tainted with the drop
That nurtur'd life. Man trades no more in man.
And if the groan of Afric yet mount up
To the tribunal of the God of Love,
Accusing human kind, it shall not draw
On Britain condemnation. Then expand,
Albion, thy sails, exultant; and diffuse,
Throughout the race and brotherhood of man,
The birth-right thou hast purchas'd with thy blood,
The heritage of freedom. Freight each sea
With burden of thy fleets: from clime to clime
Pour forth on each the gift of all, and link
The world in bonds of love. Diffuse the light

Of science: teach the Savage arts unknown;
And o'er the nations and lone isles, that sit
In darkness, and the shades of death, bring down
The day-spring of salvation. Never, then,
Shall fail thee, as the God of battle wills
To execute his vengeance, or maintain
Thy sov'reignty, thron'd Empress of the isles!
Some mighty Chief, selected: sent like him,
Whose arm Heav'n's thunder wielded. Nelson, thine
Resistless! Thou art fall'n! fall'n, in the lap
Of Victory. To thy country thou cam'st back,
Thou, Conqueror, to triumphant Albion, cam'st
A corse! I saw before thy hearse pass on
The comrades of thy perils and renown.
The frequent tear upon their dauntless breasts
Fell. I beheld the pomp thick gather'd round
The trophy'd car that bore thy grac'd remains
Thro' arm'd ranks, and a nation gazing on.
Bright glow'd the sun, and not a cloud distain'd
Heav'n's arch of gold, but all was gloom beneath.
A holy and unutterable pang
Thrill'd on the soul. Awe and mute anguish fell
On all.—Yet high the public bosom throbb'd
With triumph. And if one, 'mid that vast pomp,
If but the voice of one had shouted forth
The name of Nelson: Thou hadst past along,
Thou in thy hearse to burial past, as oft
Before the van of battle, proudly rode
Thy prow, down Britain's line, shout after shout
Rending the air with triumph, ere thy hand
Had lanc'd the bolt of victory.
Ever thus,
Long as the billows guard our Isle, thy name,
Prelude of conquest, shall confound the foe,
Ere Britain's light'ning strow with wreck the deep.

FESTIVAL OF MOLOCH.

[From the same.]

'TWAS now the hallow'd eve: her feast ordain'd,
The lunar deity, heav'n's empress, hight
Astarte, or horn'd Ashtaroth, far-fam'd
Of heathen worshippers. There Moloch's priests
Led Israel's chief. Mid oaks of antique growth,
In the close circuit of a myrtle grove,
That o'er the lawn a lighter shade diffus'd,
Her temple rose. It crown'd the smooth ascent

Of

Of a green hill, and cast, at hour of eve,
Its shadow o'er the sleepy water wide
Of a clear lake: the consecrated haunt
Of fowls and finny multitudes. Beneath
The myrtle grove, bow'rs of inwoven shade
Bloom'd, odoriferous foliage. There the rose,
The jasmine, and the lily, flourish'd fair:
And vines, and wanton eglantines, entwin'd
Their wedded tendrils. Nor the perfum'd breath
Of orange bloom, or Gilead's fragrance fail'd:
Nor ought in leaf or painted flow'r, whose hues
Embroider earth. At every arbour, serv'd
Boys and fair girls, that round an altar, heap'd,
Not without hymn of youth, and joy and love,
The treasures of the Orient, spice and gum,
And nard delicious: so that every gale
Fann'd odours, and the general air, around,
Seem'd burden'd with voluptuous languor sweet.
The birds there sweetly sang; and murmuring doves,
That round the sculptur'd frieze their cradles hung,
Coo'd on the temple's golden brow. Before
Its porch a curtain fell, embroider'd web
Of Tyre. In midst, a mystic orb, inwrought,
Half-sun, half-moon. Its broad circumference hung
Pois'd, where a wavy shadow ran athwart,
Severing the veil in twain. The upper limb,
And all above, as by its light illum'd,
Blaz'd in the radiance bright of burnish'd gold.
All forms of life there gather'd, and each form
Glow'd, full of life. The eagle soar'd aloft
On balanc'd wing: the steed, in stretch of race:
The kid danc'd wanton on fresh-springing flow'rs:
The green tree budded, and the bright rill flow'd.
Midst these, in bloom of beauty, from the shades
Thammuz ascendant. In his hand, a spear
Pois'd, ere yet lanc'd. O'er him, in air, suspense,
A goddess hung, and in his lips inbreath'd
The spirit of life and love. Above, appear'd
Gods, gay at feast. The lower limb, and all
Beneath its influence, seem'd with night o'ercast:
If night that may be nam'd, wherein each form
In silver wrought, shone plainly vision'd forth:
But pale in the comparison of gold.
All shone: but 'twas the shining of the moon,
Faint image of the sun. Each figure bore
Similitude of languor and decay.
There, Humankind sinks down in senseless swoon,
Half-life, half-death. On th' herbless plain, the steed
Lay panting. There, the kid, in act, to fall,
Hung o'er the sere flow'r, withering 'neath his foot.
The eagle clos'd his eye, and folded in

Each feather smooth: low cow'r'd his crest, and gleams
Soft flow'd along his glossy back, uprais'd
In heave of slumber. There, the leafless tree
Droop'd; and what water seem'd, stood icy still.
In midst of these, Sidonian skill had wrought
The form of Thammuz, bending o'er his wound,
Whence the large life-drops struggled. At his feet
A bow was broken, and its shaft in twain.
Near him a boar his blood-stain'd tusk uprais'd.
There bent the form of Thammuz: but, below,
His spirit, like a shadow, gliding on
In guidance of a minister of death,
With ringlets shorn, and torch extinct, sank down
To Hades, and the unembodied shades.
Such was the mystic veil, that hid from view
Astarte, and her rites. Without, in choirs,
Fair youths, of either sex, in light robes loose,
Cerulean dye, with golden stars bedropt,
Their brows with myrtle garlanded, came on
In dance to dulcet flutes: or, where the bow'rs
Woo'd them, withdrew. Some on the mystic web
Intently gaz'd: ere clang of cymbals spake
Heav'n's empress radiant on her zenith throne.
What time the veil uplifted should expose
In full illumination, amid blaze
Of lamps, and flame of torches, sparkling wide,
And fires, like suns, irradiate round her shrine,
Making the mid-night brighter than noon-day,
The secret mysteries of Astarte's rites
In act of celebration. On, thro' these,
Perforce, the Hebrew past. Oft, to his gaze,
Idolatrous Gath, in mockery of God,
Had lifted up her deities: horn'd front
Of bull, or ram, beakt bird, and scaly coat:
And many a monst'rous image, mixture vile
Of uncongenial natures: Dagon foul,
Derceto, and Atargatis: and some
Of loathsome birth, that to their shapes abhorr'd
Challeng'd the glory of th' eternal God
Th' invisible: the kind that crept, or crawl'd,
And the wing'd generation of the sun,
Breath'd up in pestilence from marsh and fen:
And the webb'd foot that haunts both land and flood,
Terror alike of both. To each, its shrine
And worshipper: to creatures of all kinds
Rites, pray'r, and praise. To thee, Creator! none.
But in this grove no idol met his gaze:
Sight fouler far, the living image of God,
In man abus'd.

Th' expected morn arose:
'Twas Moloch's yearly festival. It rose,

Wide

Wide usher'd in with yells, and barbarous noise
Of music dissonant: shrill blast of conch,
And intonations deep of drum, and gong,
Whose echo fell like thunder on the ear;
Fit prelude for fiend sacrifice. At sound,
Th' idolaters rush'd tumultuous on, to gaze,
Permitted, on that fane, (for many his),
Which, save at yearly festival, no foot
But Moloch's priesthood, enter'd. Nigh that spot,
Tree none, nor herb: the genial pow'r exhaust
And waste with flame, that ever and anon
Burst up mid baleful exhalations. Clouds
Low'r'd o'er it. Nor aught living there approach'd,
Save, at due time of festival, fell birds,
And beasts of the far wilderness, allur'd
By scent of recent slaughter. The huge fane
Tow'r'd like a mountain, darkly compast round
With fragments of bold rocks, in days unknown
Hurl'd from their base by elemental rage.
Its portal, structure huge, of stones unhewn
Immense. On either side an image tow'r'd,
By dint of labour from the rock shap'd out,
And of the rock still part: of many heads;
Stern each; and many-handed; and each hand
Wielding a weapon of death, spear, or barb'd shaft,
Huge axe, or two-edg'd falchion. Thro' this gate
The city rush'd. Its sanctuary within,
Of depth and circuit vast, where many a cell
Wound here and there. The whole thick-labour'd o'er,
Its roof, and rugged sides, rock-sculpture all,
With monstrous forms gigantic. These, aloft,
Stood arm'd in menacing posture. One, more vast,
At rest, in peaceful attitude reclin'd:
His loins a sculptur'd dragon had enring'd
With folds voluminous, and round his brow
Coil'd, guarding, triple-crested; and did seem
To lick with those its fork'd and fiery tongues,
The eyelid of the god, in slumber clos'd.
No beam of day there enter'd: central fires,
Tho' fierce, scarce broke the gloom: so thickly rose
Throughout, like trunks of antique oaks, the bulk
Of massive columns, and mis-shapen forms
Of the gigantic images, that cast
Deep shade, like mid-night, resting on the cave.
And ever, as the wavering flames, by fits
Gleam'd transient, other shapes, and other shades
Shot forth confus'dly; that the eye ne'er found
Repose, nor wonder ceas'd, with fear immixt.
'Twas now the hour of noon: on either side
Rang'd in the cave, the nation stood: awe there,

And shuddering expectation. From without,
Like break of billows, as the flood rolls on,
The sound of the procession, more and more
Swell'd. The shrill conch blew loud, and loud the gong
Flung wide its thunder: and fierce yellings heard
Of the stern priesthood: and the deep lament
Of women wailing, and incessant cry
Of those, the innocent and helpless babes,
Devote to Moloch.—Thus the gather'd pomp
Drew nigh, where fierce the torches cast their glare
At entrance, as the long array wound in.
Foremost advanc'd, scarce habited, a throng,
That at the altar fed: infuriate men
They seem'd, who tore their hair, and beat their breasts,
Fierce yelling. Then, the captives: chosen chiefs
From battle-slaughter sav'd. Their limbs were chain'd.
By these, the Gathite warriors, in bright mail
Proudly accout'red. Each, in triumph, led
A slow and sullen victim. Next, the priests,
A multitude, who, panting, dragg'd along
With labour, heavily, an iron car,
Lofty, and large, and long. There Moloch's form
Tow'r'd up, in the similitude of man,
A molten statue; but of height and bulk
Vast beyond Anac's brotherhood. The god,
Like warrior mail'd, seem'd stepping forth for fight.
His right hand grasp'd a battle-axe: his left
A shield advanc'd: and where the warrior's helm
Circled his brow, a golden diadem shone,
With rays like mimic sun-beams. Grim the god
With blood of ancient sacrifice, and foul
With fire, that, as the car roll'd slowly on,
From time to time shot largely from within,
Thro' either nostril, flames; and from each point
Of that its sun-like diadem. Around
The god, writh'd shrieking infants, doom'd to feed
The sacrificial fire. Alone, in front,
Stood David: whom before, with hymn and shout,
Selected ministers, in mystic dance,
Mov'd, circling, like the planets in their course.
Some, giddily in mazes, as they whirl'd,
Deep gash'd with frequent stab their flesh, and drank
The dark blood as it spouted from the wound.
Some, in their grasp, large bulk of writhing snakes
Held, front to front, and fearless of their fang,
Ceas'd not devouring piecemeal. Moloch, thus,
O'er limbs of mangled victims, self-devote,
Prone-writhing underneath the ponderous wheels,
Past thro' the porch. At once one shout burst up
Of adoration. Silence deep ensu'd.

The

The Son of Jesse, then, with other mien
Than one of reason reft, and prophet voice
Terrific, cry'd aloud, "Jehovah! hear!
"Thou, living God! Sole Lord of heav'n and earth,
"Hear, and avenge!" In thunder, God reply'd.
The mountain bow'd, the rent rocks burst, the cave
Beneath the staggering throng reel'd to and fro:
The sacrificial fires were darken'd all:
The idol, dash'd in pieces, on the flint
Fell, thundering. Madness seiz'd the minist'ring priests;
And, as the cave with yell of demons rang,
Frenzy and death, throughout, the Hebrew past,
Lone, and unhurt, from Gath's devoted walls.

Contest of Michael and Satan for the Body of Moses.

[From the Exodiad of Mr. Cumberland and Sir J. B. Burgess.]

"NOW learn this also. Ere the hours shall pass,
That serve to measure out a day to men,
On Pisgah's summit Moses shall expire.
Greater than him there hath not liv'd on earth,
Since the first man had being. Sure I am,
God will send down his angel high in trust
To rescue his corruption from the grave:
There I and Michael once again shall meet;
For that encounter I must now prepare."
He said, and as the pillar'd sand, caught up
By eddying whirlwind from the Libyan waste,
Mounts to the clouds, so Satan, as he rear'd
His arch-angelic stature, tow'ring swell'd,
Till with expanded wings, as Atlas tall,
In adamantine panoply he stood
Terrific! hell rebellow'd with the shout
Of his applauding satellites; the lake,
That roll'd its sulph'rous billows round his throne,
Burst into flames, that bright'ning as he soar'd
Emergent, gave his mighty form to view.
Michael the whilst, alighting on the top
Of Pisgah, there by God's supreme command
Kept his appointed ward; thence, as his eye
Rang'd the horizon, floating in the north
A speck, to none but angel-vision clear
Quick-glancing he espied: onward it came,
Expanding in its course; and well he knew,
That other spirit than Hell's mighty lord
Dar'd not approach with that presumptuous speed,

That

As if to seize his post: whereat with voice,
That stay'd him in his flight, aloud he cried—
" What ails thee, Satan, to attempt surprise
Where I am station'd? On this spot proscrib'd
Descend not at thy peril! thou art warn'd:
Hover not here, nor bend thine eyes on me,
Who fear thee not; but hell-ward speed thy flight."
To him the arch-enemy of God and man,
Pois'd on the wing, in vaunting tone replied—
" Inglorious spirit! if it were my will
To plant my foot potential on this spot,
Or any other that the broad earth owns,
Thy menace would not stay me, nor prevent
That I should lift this mountain from its base,
Though thou and all the minstrelsy of heav'n
Were hymning hallelujahs on its top,
And in mid ocean whelm it."—" Cease thy vaunts,
Spirit unblest! the patient virtue cried;
Time was, (and cause thou hast to rue that time),
When this avenging sword, which now I wield,
Clove with resistless force thy radiant form,
With arch-angelic energy endow'd.
And hop'st thou, when commission'd here I stand,
To guard the sacred spot whereon this day
The prophet of the Lord shall yield his breath,
That thou, or all the banded host of hell,
Shall mar the purpose pre-ordain'd of Him,
Whose minister I am?"—" 'Tis well thou art,"
Satan replied; " office like that beseems
A mean, degenerate spirit, such as thine:
It fits thee well, accustom'd as thou art
To passive base submission, thus to quit
Thy heav'nly principality and throne,
Here to become a centinel, to watch
Th' expiring sigh of Moses, and attend
His lifeless corpse. Oh! 'tis a princely task;
A post, which none but spirits like thyself,
May envy or may emulate. For me,
(No delegated servant, but the lord
Of realms far spreading which confess my sway)
Here on this spot, where, as it seems, thou stand'st
To watch the corpse of Moses, Satan, I,
Come to contest it with thee."—On the word,
Arm'd for the conflict, he prepar'd to make
Hostile descent upon the sacred soil.
" The Lord rebuke thee, Satan, for thy pride!
Avaunt!" th' archangel said, and rear'd aloft
His flaming sword; and, as he wav'd it round,
From ev'ry quarter of the sky burst forth
The elemental fires. In sulph'rous clouds

Involv'd, the thunder-smitten demon fled,
And sunk desponding to th' infernal pit.
The sun was verging to the western main,
And ev'ning zephyrs with their cooling wings
Fann'd the clear air on Pisgah's lofty brow,
When now the Levites, from the vale below,
Up the high steep had borne their aged seer,
And gain'd the summit. On the topmost peak,
High above all the interjacent hills,
The conscious legate of Jehovah took
His station, and by Heav'n endow'd with strength,
Proportion'd to his purpose, stood apart,
Nor needed man's support. Distinct and clear,
In long perspective to th' horizon's verge,
The camp of Israel, Jordan's winding stream,
And the whole circuit of the promis'd land,
Burst on his sight; for in the pow'r of God,
The great archangel, watching at his side,
Had with celestial touch dispell'd the mist,
Which else had clouded objects so remote.
Pond'ring in thought anticipant the scene
Of Israel's triumphs, and that here, redeem'd
From bondage, they might dwell in cities built
By other nations, and for them reserv'd
By their providing God, the prophet stood
And gaz'd delighted; holy rapture seiz'd
His swelling heart, and, as he turn'd aside
To his attendant ministers, he said—
"Lead me to yonder plain where Joshua stands,
And with the chiefs and elders of the tribes
Awaits my coming: for I feel a hand,
That warns me thither, and arrested holds
The stroke of death, till I shall breathe a pray'r
For my beloved people, and expire."

ANTICIPATION.

(From Mr. WORDSWORTH's Poems.)

"SHOUT, for a mighty Victory is won!
On British ground the invaders are laid low;
The breath of Heaven has drifted them like snow,
And left them lying in the silent sun,
Never to rise again!—the work is done.
Come forth, ye old men, now in peaceful show
And greet your sons! drums beat, and trumpets blow!
Make merry, wives! ye little children stun
Your grandame's ears with pleasure of your noise!
Clap, infants, clap your hands! Divine must be

That

That triumph, when the very worst, the pain,
And even the prospect of our brethren slain,
Hath something in it which the heart enjoys:
In glory will they sleep and endless sanctity.

Song at the Feast of Brougham Castle,

Upon the Restoration of Lord Clifford, the Shepherd, to the Estates and Honours of his Ancestors.

(From the Same.)

HIGH in the breathless hall the Minstrel sate,
And Emont's murmur mingled with the song,
The words of ancient time I thus translate,
A festal strain that hath been silent long.

"From town to town, from tower to tower,
The red rose is a gladsome flower.
Her thirty years of Winter past,
The red rose is revived at last;
She lifts her head for endless spring,
For everlasting blossoming!
Both roses flourish, red and white,
In love and sisterly delight;
The two that were at strife are blended,
And all old sorrows now are ended.
Joy! joy to both! but most to her
Who is the Flower of Lancaster!
Behold her how she smiles to day
On this great throng, this bright array!
Fair greeting doth she send to all
From every corner of the hall;
But, chiefly, from above the board
Where sits in state our rightful lord,
A Clifford to his own restored.
They came with banner, spear, and shield;
And it was proved in Bosworth-field.
Not long the avenger was withstood,
Earth help'd him with the cry of blood:
St. George was for us, and the might
Of blessed angels crown'd the right.
Loud voice the land hath utter'd forth,
We loudest in the faithful North:
Our fields rejoice, our mountains ring,
Our streams proclaim a welcoming;
Our strong abodes and castles see
The glory of their loyalty.
How glad is Skipton at this hour
Though she is but a lonely tower!

Silent,

Silent, deserted of her best,
Without an inmate or a guest,
Knight, Squire, or Yeoman, Page, or Groom,
We have them at the Feast of Brough'm.
How glad Pendragon, though the sleep
Of years be on her ! She shall reap
A taste of this great pleasure, viewing
As in a dream her own renewing.
Rejoiced is Brough, right glad I deem
Beside her little humble stream ;
And she that keepeth watch and ward
Her statelier Eden's course to guard ;
They both are happy at this hour,
Though each is but a lonely tower :
But here is perfect joy and pride
For one fair house by Emont's side,
This day distinguished without peer
To see her master and to cheer ;
Him, and his Lady Mother dear.
Oh ! it was a time forlorn
When the fatherless was born—
Give her wings that she may fly,
Or she sees her infant die !
Swords that are with slaughter wild
Hunt the mother and the child.
Who will take them from the light ?
—Yonder is a man in sight—
Yonder is a house—but where ?
No, they must not enter there.
To the caves, and to the brooks,
To the clouds of heaven she looks ;
She is speechless, but her eyes
Pray in ghostly agonies.
Blissful Mary, mother mild,
Maid and mother undefiled,
Save a mother and her child !
Now who is he that bounds with joy
On Carrock's side, a Shepherd Boy ?
No thoughts hath he but thoughts that pass
Light as the wind along the grass.
Can this be he who hither came
In secret, like a smothered flame ?
O'er whom such thankful tears were shed
For shelter, and a poor man's bread ?
God loves the child ; and God hath will'd
That those dear words should be fulfill'd,
The Lady's words, when forc'd away,
The last she to her babe did say,
'My own, my own, thy fellow-guest
I may not be ; but rest thee, rest,
For lowly shepherd's life is best !'

Alas !

Alas! when evil men are strong
No life is good, no pleasure long.
The boy must part from Mosedale's groves,
And leave Blencathara's rugged coves,
And quit the flowers that Summer brings
To Glenderamakin's lofty springs;
Must vanish, and his careless cheer
Be turned to heaviness and fear.
Give Sir Lancelot Threlkeld praise!
Hear it, good man, old in days!
Thou tree of covert and of rest
For this young bird that is distrest,
Among thy branches safe he lay,
And he was free to sport and play,
When falcons were abroad for prey.
A recreant harp, that sings of fear
And heaviness in Clifford's ear!
I said, when evil men are strong,
No life is good, no pleasure long,
A weak and cowardly untruth!
Our Clifford was a happy youth,
And thankful through a weary time,
That brought him up to manhood's prime.
Again he wanders forth at will,
And tends a flock from hill to hill;
His garb is humble; ne'er was seen
Such garb with such a noble mien;
Among the shepherd-grooms no mate
Hath he, a child of strength and state!
Yet lacks not friends for solemn glee,
And a chearful company,
That learn'd of him submissive ways;
And comforted his private days.
To his side the fallow-deer
Came, and rested without fear;
The eagle, lord of land and sea,
Stoop'd down to pay him fealty;
And both the undying fish that swim
Through Bowscale-Tarn did wait on him,
The pair were servants of his eye
In their immortality,
They moved about in open sight,
To and fro, for his delight.
He knew the rocks which angels haunt
On the mountains visitant;
He hath kenn'd them taking wing:
And the caves where fearies sing
He hath entered; and been told
By voices how men liv'd of old.
Among the heavens his eye can see
Face of thing that is to be;

And, if men report him right,
He can whisper words of might.
Now another day is come,
Fitter hope and nobler doom :
He hath thrown aside his crook,
And hath buried deep his book ;
Armour rusting in his halls
On the blood of Clifford calls ;
'Quell the Scot,' exclaims the Lance,
Bear me to the heart of France,
Is the longing of the shield—
Tell thy name, thou trembling field;
Field of death, where'er thou be,
Groan thou with our victory!
Happy day, and mighty hour,
When our Shepherd, in his power,
Mail'd and hors'd, with lance and sword,
To his ancestors restored,
Like a re-appearing star,
Like a glory from afar,
First shall head the flock of war !"
Alas ! the fervent harper did not know
That for a tranquil soul the lay was framed,
Who, long compell'd in humble walks to go,
Was softened into feeling, sooth'd and tamed.
Love had he found in huts where poor men lie,
His daily teachers had been woods and rills,
The silence that is in the starry sky,
The sleep that is among the lonely hills.
In him the savage virtue of the race,
Revenge, and all ferocious thoughts were dead :
Nor did he change ; but kept in lofty place
The wisdom which adversity had bred.
Glad were the vales, and every cottage hearth ;
The Shepherd Lord was honour'd more and more :
And, ages after he was laid in earth,
'The Good Lord Clifford' was the name he bore.

The Battle of Morven.

(From Mr. Ross's Translation of Book I. of Fingal.)

"LIKE the thunder of autumn from two (opposing) mountains,
The heroes advanced to the charge ;
Like torrents from two (opposing) rocks,
Rushing and pouring on the plain :
Loud, dark, and rough in battle,
Met Innisfail and Lochlin.
Chief mixed his strokes with chief,

And

And man with man :
Steel grated on steel :
Helmets on high were cleft,
Blood pouring thick around.
The bow-string sounded to the polished yew ;
Darts rushed along the sky ;
Spears fell in splinters on every side.
As the lightning of night on the hill :
As the loud roar of the sea,
When rolls the wave on high ;
As thunder behind the rocks:
Were the fury and noise of the battle.
Though Cormac's hundred bards had been there,
To describe the scene in song ;
Feeble had been their voice to relate
The countless numbers of the slain.
Many were the deaths of heroes ;
Wide poured their blood on the ground.
Mourn, ye sons of song,
For Sithallin of mighty heroes.
Heave thy white breast, O Eiver,
For the noble and warlike Ardan ;
They fell, like two hinds from the hill,
By the hand of Swaran of dark-brown shields,
When he moved through thousands with might,
Like a ghost in the clouds of heaven ;—
A ghost which dimly sits,
Half made of the mist from the north.
When bends the shipwrecked mariner
A look of woe o'er the face of the deep.
Nor slept thy hand by thy side,
Chief of the showery isle ;
Thy sword (was) in the path of conquest
Like lightning flashing with speed,
When the people fall in the vale,
And the hills are wrapt in flames.
Dusronnal snorted over heroes ;
Sithfada bathed his hoof in blood.
Many heroes lay behind him,
Like trees along the torrents of Cromla,
When a blast passes through the heath,
With the airy ghost of night.
Weep on the echoing rock,
Noble maid of the isle of ships ;
Bend thy fair face over the ocean,
Purer than the ghost on the height,
Which rises majestic and slow,
As a sun-beam on the silent hill.
He fell, he quickly fell in the battle,
Lifeless is thy lovely youth
Beneath the sword of noble Cuchullin.

Why art thou so pale and so cold ?
No more shall he engage in war ;
No more shed the blood of the mighty.
Trenar, young Trenar is fallen.
No more, O maid, shalt thou see thy love.
His grey-hounds mournfully howl,
While, at home, they behold his ghost.
His bow is bare and unstrung ;
His death-shriek is heard on the hill.
As roll a thousand waves to the shore,
The troops of Swaran advanced ;
As meets the shore a thousand waves,
So Erin met Swaran of ships.
There were the groans of death,
The hard crash of contending arms,
Shields and mails in shivers on the ground,
Swords in all hands like lightning in the air,
The cry of battle from wing to wing,
The roaring, bloody, hot encounter,
Like a hundred hammers wildly beating
Successive sparks from the red (son of the) furnace.
Who are these on the hilly Lena ?
Who, dark and gloomy in aspect ?
Who, like two black clouds ?
Each hero's sword like lightning on the waves ?
The face of the hill is moved,
The rocks of the ocean tremble.
Who are these but Swaran of ships,
And the illustrious chief of Erin ?
Oblique look the eyes of the hosts,
As the chiefs approach in their strength.
Night falls on the combat of heroes,
And conceals the doubtful fight.
Along the heath, on the mountain side,
Was heaped by Dorglass the game,
Which the heroes had killed in the chase,
Before they left the hill of the deer.
A hundred youths collect the heath ;
Ten raise the blazing flame ;
Three hundred gather the smooth stones ;
A hundred dress the meat in haste :
Wide spread the smoke and the feast.
Then said the generous chief,
The magnanimous Prince of Erin,
(While, leaning on his spear, he rose,)
To Fena's son, the first of bards ;
" Carril of ancient times,
" Why spread the feast alone for me,
" While the warlike king of Lochlin,
" On Erin's shore, has no repast from the hill ?

" The Chief is far from the deer of Lochlin ;
" His hall is remote and void.
" Bear my word in peace to the hero ;
" Call hither the chief of ships ;
" Let him come from the roaring of the waves,
" To the feast of generous Erin.
" Let him hear the soft sound
" Of the grove, while night is under a cloud :
" Loud and boisterous is the wind
" Which blows from his native sea.
" Let him praise the soft-sounding harp,
" And the song of heroes on the hill."
The mild speaking Carril went ;
He called the chief of the dark-brown shields.
" From the skins of great boars, arise ;
" Let Swaran, king of mountains, arise ;
" The joy of the shell of feasts
" Is round the blue-eyed chief of Erin."
He answered sullen and slow,
Like the rising storm on Cromla;
" Though all the maids of Innis-fail should come,
" With their polished arms of snow,
" Their white breasts heaving high,
" Their eyes soft-rolling in love ;
" Here shall Swaran remain,
" Like the thousand rocks of Lochlin,
" Here, till the sun-beam rise in the east,
" To light Cuchullin to death.
" Pleasant to me is the wind of Lochlin,
" Which raises the loud roar of the sea ;
" Which, in the lofty shrouds, recals
" The remembrance of my matchless woods ;
" Of the green-hued woods of Gormal,
" Which bent alternate to the breeze,
" When foaming blood was on my spear ;
" The blood of the dark furious boar.
" Let Cuchullin give tribute to me ;
" (Let him yield) the throne of blue-shielded Cormac.
" If not ; when the fight is renewed,
" Both land and stream of Fal are mine."
" Sad are the words," said the bard,
" Which proceeded from brown-shielded Swaran."
" Sad to himself alone,"
Replied the Noble son of Semo.

DOMESTIC LITERATURE

Of the Year 1807.

CHAPTER I.

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL.

Comprising Biblical Criticism; Theological Criticism; Sacred Morals; Lectures, Sermons and Discourses; Single Sermons; Controversial Divinity.

IF, in the course of the annual survey before us, we have it not in our power to notice any new edition, or new version of any entire book of the sacred scriptures; we have, nevertheless, to call the attention of our readers to various publications of no small merit, as biblical comments and illustrations: to publications equally instructive to the student, and consolatory to the matured christian. We shall open our retrospect with Dr. Graves's "Lectures on the four last (*last four*) books of the Pentateuch," in two volumes octavo. These lectures were published at Dublin, and are dedicated to the primate. Their object is to shew the divine origin of the Jewish religion, chiefly from internal evidence; and they discover an attentive examination, a depth of research, and a judicious arrangement of materials, which reflect great credit on their author, and place him in the foremost rank of those who have stepped forward with a manly and pious zeal to repel the assailants of revelation. The lectures are divided into three parts. The first is devoted to the authenticity of the Pentateuch, and the truth of the history, both of the ordinary and miraculous events recorded in its last four books. In the course of this part, the author satisfactorily proves, that the Jews as a nation have uniformly received the Pentateuch from the earliest period of their establishment to the present day, as the only authentic history of their primary legislator and his institutions; that the writings of Josephus, however they may incidentally vary in a few subordinate points from the bible narration, is a collateral testimony in proof of the same position; that the transactions detailed in the last four books of this common history, flow from the foundation which is laid for them in the first, and mutually and completely harmonize; and that the ordinary events of the Jewish history are incredible, if separated from the miraculous, but form an easy and consistent narration, if combined with them. The second part discusses the theological, moral, and political principles of the Mosaic law, branching out into considerations upon the origin, nature, and effects of idolatry, and especially the idolatry of Egypt; the expediency and excellence of the decalogue, as well in regard to its sanc-

tity as its spirit of benevolence; the conformity of the penal law to the moral and religious system of the Jews; and the political code of Moses. In the third part, the various objections and cavils which have been advanced against the authenticity of the Pentateuch by infidels and sceptics, are replied to with equal temper and argument; our author discusses the treatment of the Canaanites, and frees it from many of the difficulties which are usually supposed to embarrass it; he supports with convincing ability the reality of the Mosaic miracles; proves the expediency of the temporal sanctions by which the Jewish code was defended; examines how far the doctrine of a future state has any foundation in the Mosaic writings, and maintains that it is to be traced there, though it does not form a legal sanction; controverts the objection arising from the limitation of Judaism to a single nation, and successfully resists the supposed inconsistency of the Jewish and Christian schemes. We have been peculiarly pleased with our author's survey of the political institutes of the Hebrew legislator, by which, as he observes, six hundred thousand freeholders were endowed with independent properties, the direct grant of the Almighty himself, the avowed sovereign of the Jewish state; these family properties, he proceeds to notice, were preserved as much as possible from alienation, by subsidiary laws tending to prevent an accumulation of debt; and, if alienated for a time, had their reversion secured at regular periods to the descendants of the original proprietors. The distribution of this body of freeholders through the land, and especially the mode and manner of their distribution by tribes and families, constituted an additional provision for their union and happiness. They were directed to agricultural pursuits, attached to domestic life, estranged from war, but bound to assemble for the defence of their country; exhibiting and producing by this plan a secure barrier against hostile violence, and internal ambition; they acknowledged and were governed by a nobility, by magistrates, and by elders, possessing patrimonies adequate to their respective ranks, venerated for their patriarchal descent, and uniting in their persons a civil and military authority by an hereditary right, so as effectually to preclude all jealousy and discord.

The following passage of this very valuable work we cannot avoid quoting, as being equally enriched with historic truth, sound argument, and elegant diction: it relates to the eventual necessity of introducing the Christian system, as a supersession to the Jewish, and the gradual train of events by which the due season and fulness of time for its successful appearance was accomplished. "It is equally remarkable, that the higher we trace the theological opinions of the Grecian philosophers and the popular systems of religion in the ancient world, the more pure and uncorrupted are they found. The nearer we approach to the source of eastern tradition, the more conspicuous appears the radiance of that heavenly light of original revelation, whose beams, though clouded and dispersed, still contributed to enlighten and direct mankind: the more clear traces do we discover of that primæval and patriarchal religion which acknowledged the existence, and inculcated the worship of the true and only God. We find no mortals yet exalted to divinities, no images in their temples, no impure

pure or cruel rites. But when men knowing God, glorified him not as God, "their foolish hearts were darkened;" notwithstanding the progress of reason and civilization, the absurdities, profanations, and crimes of idolatry multiplied without end; philosophy plunging into vain disputations, wandered from the truth; or shrinking from the terrors of persecution, did not dare to avow it. But amidst this increasing gloom of idolatrous ignorance and error, this wide-spreading confusion which threatened to reduce the whole moral and religious world to a wild chaos of vice and disorder, an over-ruling Providence gradually prepared for introducing the glorious light of the gospel, and turning mankind from the power of Satan unto God. Literature, philosophy, and the fine arts, were rapidly diffused over Greece, and cultivated with a degree of ardour unequalled in any other age or country. Broken into small and free governments, blessed with the finest climate, the most picturesque scenery, and the most ingenious and animated people, here was formed a language copious, expressive, and harmonious; and here were produced those immortal works in poetry, eloquence, and philosophy, which rendered that language the universal dialect of the polite and learned, both in the east and west; and thus prepared it to become a general and permanent medium of communication, in which the records and truths of Christianity might be distinctly and safely handed to succeeding ages."

"A concise view of the succession of sacred literature in a chronological arrangement of authors and their works from the invention of alphabetical characters to the year of our Lord 345: by Adam Clarke, A. M." This *view* is somewhat too concise, as our readers will perhaps agree with us in thinking, when we inform them that, though it embraces a range of nearly two thousand years, viz. from the age of Moses to the middle point of the fourth century of the Christian æra, and undertakes to give a survey of all the sacred writers within this period, and to appreciate their respective pretensions and merits, it is limited to a single volume in twelves, of not more than *three hundred and twelve* pages. Yet there is much in it that is highly worthy of praise, and very little that may not be read with advantage. Mr. Clarke has, in reality, evinced a depth of research, an acquaintance with oriental languages, an accuracy of judgment, and a general love of literature, that qualify him for much more extensive communications; and we trust that the present is a mere prolegomenon to a work of more ramification and detail. In the mean while to those who have not the time or the talents to unlock for themselves the arcana of Greek and Hebrew erudition, and especially who wish for a digest of their chief contents, reduced to the most concentrated abridgment, the most "concise view" of which they seem capable, we can honestly recommend to them the very ingenious and elaborate *opuscule* before us. Having thus freely testified to the value of this "concise view," we may be allowed, without forfeiting our pretensions to candour, to point out one or two little defects that have occurred to us upon an attentive perusal. Mr. Clarke seems dissatisfied with every thing yet offered us by the *philosophers* to explain the origin of writing and of alphabetical characters; but we are afraid, from the specimen before us, that our *biblical critics* are as little capable of irradi-

ating the subject as the *philosophers*. We remember that Mr. Davies in his "Celtic Researches," published in 1804, laboured with all the learning he could bring to bear upon this point, to prove that *written* as well as *oral* language was miraculously bestowed upon Adam in the garden of Eden. Not so, Mr. Clarke; taking a rapid sweep through about five and twenty centuries from this epoch, he contends, that alphabetical characters and writing were first miraculously communicated upon the *giving of the law*, "as then God is said to have written the decalogue with his own finger." Now, why it should be supposed necessary to maintain on any account, that a knowledge of written language was only obtained through the medium of a preternatural interposition, any more than the knowledge of any other art or science for which man is qualified by the ordinary powers and faculties he possesses, we have never been able to comprehend. In every part of the world, where the smallest progress has been made towards civilization, we meet with some attempt or other to represent articulate sounds or ideas by visible marks, and this in almost every possible diversity: sometimes by rude arbitrary indentations, and at others by direct pictures or images. The very diversity evinces the common and natural propensity of mankind to a commemorative symbolism, and should seem at the very same time equally to disprove the necessity and the fact of a miraculous interposition— the necessity, because it supposes the exercise of a miracle where it is does not seem to be wanted; and the fact, because there would then appear a much greater unity in the mode of forming symbolic characters, than we have reason to suppose ever has been, or perhaps ever will be in the world. If mankind may be imagined capable by their own natural powers of inventing a system of picture-writing; such, for example, as formerly existed in Egypt, and still exists in China, and South America, there requires but a small portion of faith to believe that they may be also possessed of natural powers sufficient to enable them to invent a system of alphabet-writing; while, inversely, if we conceive that they have not naturally faculties adequate to a system of symbolic characters of any kind, and that alphabet-writing was in consequence miraculously bestowed upon them, it seems impossible to conceive that they could ever have possessed any other kind of written language than alphabetic; or rather, that alphabetic could have been exchanged for picture-writing. We know indeed that every art and science is just as capable of *degenerating* as of improving; but *picture-writing* is not a degeneration of *alphabetic-writing*; it is altogether a different invention, though the end proposed by both is the same. These are general observations, and apply equally to every theory of a miraculous interposition upon this subject. But we have to object more immediately and particularly to Mr. Clarke's theory, that although we have no *direct* proof of the actual existence of writing of any kind, previously to the communication of the law, we have *inferential* proof of the fact, in the antecedent command of Jehovah to Moses to *write* in a book, or upon a scroll, a narrative of the victory of Joshua over the Amalekites, as a national archive or memorial, Exod. xvii. 13; and also in the circumstance, that neither the record of the commandments nor of this victory in written characters, is represented as any thing

thing extraordinary or novel at the respective periods of these separate transactions. It would also have become our author, before he had advanced this theory, to have decided upon the age of the book of Job, so far at least as to have overthrown the best and most common opinion upon this subject, that it possesses the highest antiquity of any book in holy writ; and this, whether written by Moses, or merely communicated by Moses as the work of Job himself, or of his friend Elihu. For if this opinion be correct, not only would the general existence of the book itself be an insurmountable obstacle to his theory; but particularly those passages in this most sublime and extraordinary poem, in which scrolls or books, and the acts both of writing and engraving are clearly and definitively referred to, as matters of common notoriety in that remote æra. Mr. Clarke undertakes to accuse M. Michaelis and Mr. Marsh of inaccuracy in regard to their observations on the controverted text in 1 John v. 7. and nevertheless admits the passage to be spurious. He then adds, "I would not have my readers to imagine, that the proofs against the authenticity of the passage are *demonstrative:* to me they are not so; yet they are strongly *presumptive.*" There is a strange confusion of terms in this assertion: a *presumption* and a *proof* are two distinct ideas; and a *presumptive proof* is nonsense: if there be real *proofs* against the authenticity of the text, those proofs are necessarily *demonstrative;* for an undemonstrative proof (could the term for a moment be admitted) would be no proof at all. But Mr. Clarke need not be afraid upon this subject; for neither Michaelis nor Marsh ever conceived that they advanced actual *demonstrations,* but only superior *arguments;* and our author has here confounded the one term with the other.—In his history of Theophilus, who flourished in the middle of the second century of the Christian æra, and died in the year 181, he has occasion to quote the following passage, which relates to the three days that preceded the formation of the luminaries:—αι τρεις ημεραι τυποι εισιν της τριαδος του Θεου, και του λογου αυτου και της σοφιας αυτου: 'these three days were types of the *trinity* of God, and his word, and his wisdom:' upon which he observes—"I think this is the first place where the word τριας or trinity occurs in the writings of the primitive fathers; if so, it is worthy of remark, that in the same city (Antioch) where the disciples were first called Christians, the sacred persons in the godhead were first termed the *trinity.*" Now, without entering into the question, whether the term τριας were ever assumed antecedently or not, no sober trinitarian we believe will feel himself much indebted to Mr. Clarke for the present unwarranted assertion, that neither the doctrine of a trinity was understood, nor even the term made use of, till nearly two hundred years after the commencement of the Christian æra. Independently of which, we are by no means unaware, that the general course of the expression, *as it here runs,* may just as well refer to the platonism of the day as to its *christianity,* and of course will prove nothing.

We are pleased to find that Mr. S. Burden is continuing his instructive and entertaining compilation "On Oriental Customs," as an illustration of the sacred scriptures, a second volume of which has now reached us, and, like the first, is not only *collected,* as it professes to be; but

but *judiciously* "collected from the most celebrated travellers and the most eminent critics:" to which sources of information we have also to add, which the modesty of our compilist has prevented him from noticing, that he has not unfrequently travelled into other regions of Greek and Roman celebrity, and has embellished his subject with extracts for the most part pertinent and elucidatory, from classical historians and poets. That in the explanation here given of particular customs referred to in the scriptures, there should occasionally be an indulgence of a fancy somewhat too excursive, may be easily conceived, and will, we hope, be as easily pardoned: such appear to us, upon a random dip into the pages, the comments marked No. 1156, upon the *red horse* in Zachariah, and No. 1225, upon the passage in the new testament "prophecy who is he that smote thee." No. 964, upon Job v. 23. "for thou shalt be in league with the stones of the field," gives us a very recondite and remote explanation by referring the passage to a custom described by Van Egmont and Heyman, called *scopilism* (σκοπιλισμος), by these writers, and common to Arabia, which consists in one party's placing stones in the grounds of another party with whom the first is at variance, "as a warning that any person who dares to till that field, should infallibly be slain by the contrivance of those who placed the stones there." How it comes to pass that an Arabian custom should thus have been celebrated by a Greek name, we are not informed: but without entering into this question, if our author had only consulted the original upon this subject, he would have found that all his journey to Arabia might have been spared, for instead of "*stones* of the field," the original gives us nothing more than "sons" or "tribes of the field," בני השרח noxious animals, either reptiles or quadrupeds; he might also have known, by a much shorter excursion, that the term *sons* or *progeny* was first exchanged by the writers of the septuagint version for *stones*, and that this unauthorised and unintelligible deviation, has from this source alone found its way into succeeding versions, unworthy of explanation, and to the discredit of those who have never attempted to restore the true reading.

"Bibliotheca Sacra, or Dictionary of the Holy Scripture," 2 vols. 8vo.—Calmet's dictionary upon this subject is a very valuable work, and ought to be in the hands of every biblical student. Yet it is not without its defects; but these are not defects which the writer of the present work seems qualified to supply, who for explanation too frequently gives us system, and that on many occasions, which is equally remote from liberality and from fair induction. The work opens with the article Aaron, upon which we have a particular account of his "solemn *investiture*," with a "*remark*" upon the typical representation of his garments. "And here," continues our lexicographer, "we may *remark* what a *remarkable* piece of profanity it is in those who now *usurp* the name of *priests*, to array themselves with fantastical robes, whether in the *pontificals* of Rome, or the lawn sleeves of *lesser* note; both took their origin from the Israelitish priesthood; but that which *in them* was glory and beauty, because prefiguring the coming of the Great Priest, is now profanity *in the extreme*." We have never seen a deeper involution of blunders than in this short passage; which is equally destitute of logic, sense, and grammar,

grammar, and in which the subject has no more connection with the predicate than a "Dictionary of the Holy Scriptures has with Jacob's Law Dictionary."

"The Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church; by the Rev. John Lingard," 2 vols. 8vo. Why the writer of this work should choose to introduce the catholic church under the masquerade of the Anglo-Saxon church will be obvious to those who peruse the work itself. The direct intention of Mr. Lingard is to obtain a circulation for his book among persons who would not be much disposed to read it, if he had entitled it, as he ought to have done, "The Roman Catholic Church, as originally professed and established in an early period of English History;" and thereby to entrap them into an acquaintance with his own portraiture of the general features and character of this institution, which, it must be allowed, is a very favourable, if not a flattering likeness. We have no objection to a man's advancing the best arguments he can in support of any principles or opinions he seriously believes to be true; nor have we any hesitation in admitting that Mr. Lingard is a plausible and an able writer; but we have a very strong objection to any man's attempting to vend his productions by a title which does not fairly apply to them, and which is purposely meant to impose upon the unwary.

"An Attempt to display the original Evidences of Christianity in their genuine simplicity; by N. Nesbett, A. M. rector of Tunstall:" a queer title upon a subject rather queerly handled. The inspiration of the apocalyse is questioned; and the bishop of London's explanation of the coming of our Saviour, referred to Matt. xxiv. opposed by an explanation of a different tendency. We see no reason, however, from any thing here advanced for deserting the bishop for the rector; nor for discharging one of the sublimest books of the bible, accredited at least from the second century of the christian æra, from the sacred code.

"Doctrinal and Practical Illustrations of the Litany; by the Rev. L. Booker, LL.D. rector of Tedstone Delamere," are entitled to much commendation; they are serious, succinct, and in an unexpensive form; and are accompanied with various admonitory prayers, calculated both for family and private use, which may prove profitable to a devout christian on many occasions.

The Rev. Nicholas Sloan, minister of Dornock, Dumfries, has, in his own opinion, given us "The leading Features of the Gospel delineated, in an attempt to explain some unscriptural errors, particularly the absurd tenet that mistakes in religion are of small consequence." He appears to be a very earnest and well-meaning writer; but a style so loaded with acrimony and vehement accusation as the present, is not best of all qualified to *delineate* any *feature of the gospel*; much less its leading feature. This kind of style, indeed, is adopted on several occasions, in which it is at least questionable whether the author be perfectly free from error in his own view of the subject; yet even where we admit him to be correct, we cannot avoid retorting upon him that this also is still "a mistake in religion of *no* trifling consequence;" and such a mistake as we trust we shall not have to notice again in any subsequent writings of the present minister of Dornock.

How different the spirit, and how much

much more engaging and persuasive the diction of the venerable bishop of London, in the new edition of his "Tracts on various Subjects," now for the first time collected and reprinted in one octavo volume: offering to the man of taste a valuable present on account of the purity of its language, and to the pious christian an invaluable guide on account of the purity of its doctrines. In its present form it is a garland well selected, and, we trust, of unfading flowers. It is not often that we undertake to notice republications of any kind; but we could not let the present opportunity pass by, of once more paying our tribute of sincere homage and veneration to a prelate, whose heart has uniformly glowed with a regard for the best interests of mankind, and whose life has been uniformly spent in promoting it.

"Dissertations on the Existence, Attributes, Providence, and Moral Government of God; and on the duty, character, security, and final happiness of his righteous Subjects; by the Rev. David Savile, A. M." This title is so full that little needs to be added to it in explanation of the work it introduces. The topics discussed are fourteen, viz. the existence of God, the omnipresence of God, the goodness of God, the moral government of God, moral obligation, the character of the upright, the security of the upright, the final triumph of the upright, the evidences of a future state, the prospect of a future state opened by the gospel, the knowledge of eternal life, the glory of the righteous in heaven; a subject which extends to two dissertations. There is much sound argument in the general inquiry, and not too recondite for men of ordinary capacity, or of moderate reading. The author seems much in earnest, and his style, though not always elegant, is often bold and animated.

We proceed to a review of the discourses and sermons of the year; and feel no small delight in asserting that they are not only numerous, but in a great variety of instances, judicious, argumentative, clear, elegant, and persuasive. We shall commence with "A Confutation of Atheism from the Laws and Constitution of the Heavenly Bodies; in four discourses, preached before the University of Cambridge: with introductory Notes and Appendix; by the Rev. S. Vince, A. M. F. R. S. Plumian Professor, &c." While Dr. Paley, and many other writers of high reputation, have endeavoured to prove the existence of a deity from the marks of design and intelligence manifested in the animal or vegetable world, or even in some individual organs appertaining to some individual species, and have admirably succeeded in their endeavours, we cannot but approve the resolution of Professor Vince, to cooperate in the same comprehensive work by a different, and we may be allowed to add a sublimer, and more magnificent survey of nature; peculiarly qualified, as he is well known to be to all the world, from the chair he so ably fills, and the proofs of indefatigable attention to this subject, which he has already laid before the public. The topic cannot too frequently be discussed; the arguments cannot be too numerous, nor drawn from too many quarters. Many of the points insisted upon, are altogether as astonishing as they are convincing; and if not mathematically demonstrative, approach as nearly as possible, and at least with an evidence that is in every respect as irrefragable. The following reflection is happy and peculiarly pertinent: "If from extending

tending our views by glasses, the mind receives such an accession of knowledge and pleasure, what may not be expected when it shall be admitted to a nearer view of *all the glorious bodies in the universe*, and see *them* as they are."

"Lectures on Systematic Theology and Pulpit Eloquence; by the late George Campbell, D.D. F.R.S." 8vo. To Principal Campbell the christian world is indebted for much useful information, in a variety of forms; and we rejoice to see, from the posthumous publication before us, that "he being dead, still speaketh." These lectures will be found peculiarly useful to students in divinity; for whose benefit indeed they were originally intended in 1772 and 1773; and why, with the merit they really possess, they have been so long suffered to remain dormant, we are at no small loss to ascertain. While some persons of more zeal than wisdom are too apt to speak with contempt of all human learning, Dr. Campbell in these lectures sets its value in its true light, by observing, after having rigidly enforced the necessity of an attention to the Hebrew and other oriental tongues, and an intimate acquaintance with Greek and Latin, "in short, we may say with truth of all the branches of a liberal education, and of history and philosophy in particular; that on all occasions they are ornamental to the character of a minister, and on many occasions may prove greatly useful." All have not an equal taste either for science in general or for the same individual branch of it; but, continues he, "it will neither be for your honour nor your interest that they be altogether laid aside: a proper appetite for *knowledge* is here all in all. What Isocrates said on this subject so pertinently to Demonicus, I say to every one of you—'εαν ης φιλομαθης εση πολυμαθης:' 'if you love learning, you will be learned."

"Sermons on different subjects by the Rev. John Hewlett, B.D." 3 vols. 8vo. The apostolic practice of "becoming all things to all men, that we may save some," is as necessary to be followed in the present day, as on the first establishment of the christian religion. Such are the times in which we live, and probably such they have always been, that multitudes of the gayer and more fashionable part of the world, upon whom the duties of religion hang but loosely, would never attend upon sermons either of a very recondite and scholastic, or of a very calvinistic and damnatory texture: and it is certainly, therefore, a question of high moment, how persons of this description may be induced to attend at all; so that if we cannot do them all the good we could wish, we may at least have the chance of benefiting them by a few scattered seeds, a few incidental admonitions which may impalpably wind themselves into the heart, by inlisting the fashionable feelings of the day, the charity, the philanthropy, the sentimental stimulus to do good, into the sacred cause; and thus of leading them, in spite of themselves, from passion to reason, from folly to wisdom, from giddiness to solidity, from error and impiety to rectitude and true religion. The sermons before us appear for the most part to have been written under this impression; and, though we do not conceive them to be calculated for any other places than the chapels of such charitable institutions as the Foundling Hospital, within the walls of which they were delivered, we have little doubt that they have been doubly serviceable in that place; that they have often excited

excited good resolutions, and stimulated the hand of benevolence. Beyond this we cannot expect them to have operated; they float too much on the surface of vital christianity to do more.

"A Body of Theology, principally practical; in a series of lectures; by Robert Fellowes, A. M." 8vo. 2 vols. Upon several doctrinal points we differ *toto cœlo* from the present writer: yet there is a seriousness, an earnestness, and for the most part a sound and solid ratiocination running through his exertions, so that we have been upon the whole highly pleased with them, and can honestly recommend them to the world at large. How indeed should it be otherwise? when the author has avowedly taken Barrow and Butler for his "guides, philosophers; and friends;" has imbibed their spirit, and followed their legitimacy of induction. The work is introduced by a long dedication to his grace of Grafton: and the chief subjects discussed are, the moral government of God; life a state of probation; the wisdom and benevolence, but inscrutability of the divine administration; free will; necessity of the christian revelation; the rational analogies and probabilities in favour of a future life; the resurrection of the body, and the day of judgment; the Mosaic preparatory to the Christian dispensation; the excellence of the Christian religion; the crucifixion and resurrection. There is a lecture on industry which we strongly recommend to every man; we have been also much pleased with that on the probatory condition of the present life. The most obnoxious of the whole is the lecture on the day of judgment; in the course of which the writer, deviating from the common interpretation of the passage in which our Saviour speaks of this aweful event, contends that no general judgment will ever take place, but that every man immediately upon his death becomes subject to a personal judgment or decision, by which his future fate is irrevocably sealed. In a note subjoined to this part of the lecture before us, Mr. Fellowes observes, that he has composed a work in vindication of this tenet; of which, however, some parts "are so little congenial with the present state of theological opinion, that it will probably never see the light. The author, tired of controversy, studious of peace, and sighing for repose, wishes not again to take the field as a disputant, or to involve himself in any polemic contention." We wish this principle had been a little more pertinaciously adhered to; in which case the lecture in question would have slept (as in consistency it ought to have done) upon the same shelf as the work here referred to.

"The Romish Church; or an historical and critical view of some of the leading doctrines of the church of Rome, in a series of discourses, preached at Bishopwearmouth, in the year 1806; by the Rev. George Stephenson, M. A." 8vo. These discourses are dedicated to the bishop of Durham, as their plan was suggested by hints communicated in this excellent prelate's charge to his clergy, given in the preceding summer. The subjects consecutively discussed are the necessity of revelation; the sufficiency of the scriptures; the claims of the catholic church to infallibility; invocation of saints and angels; of the virgin Mary and of images; transubstantiation; confession and purgatory; indulgences and works of supererogation; extreme unction; the impropriety of employing a foreign tongue in public devotion; the infallibility and

and supremacy of the pope; necessity of the reformation; and lastly, an exhortation to christian love and charity. Notwithstanding the degraded and palsied state of the papal power at the present moment, it is highly useful to take an occasional view of the doctrines which have peculiarly characterised it; and the view before us is conducted with much soundness of argument, and liberality of spirit. We do not think, however, that Mr. Stephenson sufficiently distinguishes between the *Romish* and the *Catholic* church, properly so called: and we the rather point out this want of discrimination, because it is an error into which protestant polemics are apt to fall. The catholic church never acceded to the *whole* that has often been demanded of it by several of the most tyrannic popes, and to which of course the *Romish* church, as an individual branch of the catholic church, and more immediately under the command of the Vatican, paid implicit obedience. The Gallican church, for example, never assented to the pope's personal infallibility; but only to the infallibility of general and ecumenical councils; while the Romish, the Portuguese, and the Spanish churches, have assented to the former. There are various other points on which they have equally differed, but upon which we cannot enter at present.

"Parochial Divinity; or Sermons on various Subjects; by Charles Abbott, D.D. F.L.S." 8vo. As theologians have their school-divinity, there can be no reason why parishioners may not have their parochial-divinity. But though we except not to the title, nor to the subject matter of this volume, and least of all to the author's alleged motive in publishing it, "that of becoming an humble instrument in the hands of Almighty God for extending the knowledge, the power, and the triumphs of the gospel of Christ," we except very much to the frequent inaccuracies and inelegancies with which the body of the work before us is disfigured: and we except the rather, because the reverend author from various antecedent publications upon another subject, has given positive testimony that these blemishes can be only the result of a truly censurable inattention and haste in composition, and a want of revision afterwards.

"Eight Lectures on the occurrences of the passion-week, &c.; by Richard Mant, D. D." 12mo. Modestly introduced, seriously drawn up in plain unaffected language, and tending, we doubt not, to afford Dr. Mant's parishioners in Southampton, agreeably to his own immediate view, and for whose use they were composed, 'some assistance in their devout meditations on the momentous transactions of the devout and holy week.'

"Lectures on Scripture Tracts; by the Rev. William Bango Collyer," 8vo. This volume being the labours of a young dissenting minister, are dedicated to the ex-Lord Chancellor Erskine, but *antecedently* to his lordship's resignation; as though the clergy *out of* the established pale, as well as *in it*, had views of church preferment. For the rest, the lectures it contains are for the most part able compilations from prior writers of acknowledged authority, such as Prideaux, Lardner, Briant, Stillingfleet, Pearson, Doddridge; and the language in which they are written is fluent and easy. We chiefly object that Mr. Collyer's list of authorities is too circumscribed, and neither brought down sufficiently to those of the present day, nor extended to foreign writers of undeniable

niable testimony; and that the playfulness of his youthful fancy should have often plunged him into redundancies of expression which overload him with their weight; or, in pursuit of the sublime, should have carried him, as in an air-balloon, into the higher regions of fine writing, from which he is every moment in danger of being thrown down and of breaking his neck.

"Sermons, by Samuel Charels, D. D. minister of Wilton," 8vo. These sermons consist of four only, and are of a peculiar texture. They are pithy, sententious, and apophthegmatic; enlivened with frequent, and occasionally with very apposite anecdotes, drawn from modern biography. They may not be suited to every taste; but *de gustu non disputandum;* it is probable they may be accurately suited to that of those for whom they were composed. We trust also that they are suited to their *pockets;* for it is not often that village parishioners can afford to give *seven shillings* for only four discourses; nor is it *always* that we are called upon (as we are in the present instance) to censure the useless pomp and parade of swelling out so scanty a portion of matter to an octavo volume of three hundred and fifty-six pages, through the convenient medium of a large type, wide spaces, and broad latitudinary margins.

"The Works of the Rev. Edward Barry, M. D. consisting of Sermons preached on several occasions; the friendly call of truth and reason to a new species of Dissenters; and Essays," 3 vols. 8vo. This, for the most part, is a collection of pieces already before the public: there is, however, a considerable portion of new matter, and especially in the Essays, which are devoted to the subjects of celibacy, wedlock, pride, duelling, self-murder, lying, detraction, avarice, justice, generosity, temperance, excess, and death; every one of which is well worth a serious and attentive perusal. Yet, had the work before us consisted altogether of republished matter, so important is that matter in itself, and so highly do we value the talents and character of the writer, that we should have thought ourselves justified in departing from our usual custom, and of affording it a notice in its new form.

"Lectures on the Liturgy; delivered in the parish church of St. Antholin, Watling Street; by the Rev. Henry Draper, D. D." 8vo. A very useful exposition; and which, we trust, is in the hands of every parishioner, for whom it was more immediately designed, as we have no doubt it will be in the hands of many hundreds besides. The texts of scripture selected for each lecture are chosen with judgment; but there is a want of method, in the present appearance of the work, which we should much like to see removed in a subsequent edition. It is not easy to pitch upon the interpretation of any particular passage, as, at present the lectures have no title, the pages no head-line, and the book no table of contents.

"Sermons on interesting and important subjects; by the Rev. John Wright, A. M." 8vo. These sermons extend to thirteen; but the subjects do not exceed four or five, and are hence, for the most part, very unmercifully protracted. As to the rest, the author's sentiments appear liberal, and his style is plain and easy.

"Discourses, moral and religious, adapted to a naval audience; preached on board his majesty's ship the Tremendous; by the Rev. Robert Baynes, L. L. B." These discourses

courses appear suitable to the character, taste, and genius of those to whom they were addressed: the style is simple and unaffected; the subjects are, for the most part, as they ought to be, practical; and the number of discourses here offered is *sixty-four*.

"Twenty short Discourses, adapted to village worship, or the devotions of the family. Volume II. Published from the MSS. of the late Rev. B. Beddome." Peace to the memory of a good man and a worthy minister! We never could go hand in hand with Dr. Beddome in his severe calvinistic views; but we can admire his character, and wish success to these honest effusions of a heart that now beats no more.

"Two Sermons and a Charge: by Luke Heslop, B. D. Rector, &c. and Archdeacon, &c." There is much knowledge of the times, much sound judgment, excellence of advice, and liberality of spirit in these addresses. The first sermon was preached before the judges of assize at Newcastle in 1805, from Romans xiii. 1: the second at the visitation of the Lord Bishop of Durham, in 1806, in which the preacher discusses with no small ability the importance of the christian ministry; the solemn pledge entered into by every minister to discharge it; and the means by which it may be discharged with the greatest benefit to ministers and congregations. The charge was delivered at a visitation of the clergy of Buckinghamshire, and enters with peculiar acuteness, and at the same time with no want of christian charity, into an investigation of that sort of "plan for an universal union of the genuine church of Christ," so frequently proposed, and apparently so sincerely recommended by those who chuse to denominate themselves evangelical preachers, and to presume that the gospel is deposited with themselves alone. This address is well worth an attentive perusal; and we lament that our limits will not allow us to give even a faint outline of it.

Of the single Sermons of the year, that of Dr. Laurence "On singularity and excess in Philological Speculation, preached before the University of Oxford, April 19, 1807," is in every respect entitled to a priority of notice. It is equally original, erudite, ingenious, and applicable to important errors of the present times. The philological speculations chiefly adverted to and reprobated, are, first, that of biblical etymologists, who undertake to resolve almost every mythological absurdity, and every pagan rite into some renowned name, ceremony, or event, recorded in the old testament; in order, as such visionaries dream, to establish its peculiar authenticity; secondly, that of the mystics, "who, in various passages of scripture, which seem capable only of a simple explanation, discover deep and recondite mysteries; depressing the letter, and exalting what they imagine to be the spirit of the sacred oracles; and thirdly, the "Socinian refinement," which, "in order to expel scriptural doctrines from scriptural phraseology, constantly affixes to it a supposed idiomatical or metaphorical meaning." This is a sermon which concerns the christian church at large; while those whose conduct is reprobated, are peculiarly interested in an examination of the charges advanced against them, and in rebutting them as well as they may be able.

Dr. Maltby's, preached before the University of Cambridge, is also well entitled to distinct notice. The text is St. John ix. 4. "I must work the work of him that sent me while

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it is day, the night cometh when no man can work." In the course of this address the preacher maintains, with much force and eloquence, first, that to every individual is allotted the performance of his peculiar work or employment; next, that a distinct and proper season is assigned to each individual for his work; and then points out the false error committed by those who fail to improve the opportunities they enjoy of gaining the knowledge, and discharging the duties suited to their respective stations.

The rest of the single sermons of the year, though numerous and for the most part respectable, present no such prominence of feature as to induce us to examine them distinctly. Many of them, indeed, have been preached upon temporary or incidental topics, and, as well as the topics themselves, have already made no small progress down the gulph of oblivion.

We must except, however, Mr. Ingram's "Causes of the Increase of Methodism and Dissension, and of the Popularity of what is called Evangelical Preaching, and the means of obviating them, considered, in a sermon preached at the Visitation of the Rev. the Archdeacon of Leicester, held at Melton Mowbray, &c." In this pamphlet we have also various other papers, containing the substance of another sermon, appendixes, and remarks, converging, in some degree, to the same point. Mr. Ingram, in the course of these tracts, offers a variety of sensible observations, and which are well worthy the attention of the hierarchy. He thinks a considerable degree of latitude of construction may be allowed in the act of subscribing the church articles, but expresses some doubt of the expediency of any such test, and avows his opinion, that wherever such test is required, the form should include only a few particulars expressed in general terms. In order that the regular clergy should engage with the irregular upon equal terms, he strongly recommends to them the practice of extemporaneous preaching, or at least without notes: there is no eloquence, and often not much impression in reading; and certainly no good reason can be offered, why public speaking, without notes from the pulpit, may not be as easily acquired as it is at the bar and in the senate. Mr. Ingram laments, in his Essay on the Education of the Clergy, that religion is not a more prominent feature in our Universities; and to this and several adjunct causes, he ascribes the disrespect which is now too commonly evinced amongst the lower orders for clergymen; believing that "the influence of the clergy is reduced almost to insignificance." In this point, however, we think he has fallen below the proper estimate; though it cannot but be allowed that there is a considerable portion of truth in his assertion.

It appears high time, however, that the church should exert itself against the Methodists, unless it tacitly consent to be totally overthrown by them. And upon this subject we cannot but strongly recommend to our readers a work of which the first part only has yet been published, entitled, "Hints to the Public and the Legislature, on the Nature and Evil Effects of Evangelical Preaching." By a Barrister. In this tract the writer examines with much shrewdness and acumen, but we think with somewhat too much bitterness of heart, the object and probable result of this "New Spiritual Power in the State," as he calls the system of Methodism, and

is justly severe upon the mischievous tendency of its common doctrine that *good works*, or a *man's endeavouring to do his best*, are of no avail; while the *only* thing necessary for his final salvation, is "*to know his misery*, and to come to the Lord Jesus;" or in other words, "to come to the teachers of this doctrine; as he is also, and with equal justice upon the cheap and low publications, which, under the title of Village Dialogues, or some other equally *taking* appellation, penned in a strain of vulgar quaintness and coarse familiarity, are carefully disseminated through every hamlet in the kingdom, for the express purpose of holding up the regular clergy to derision, under the names of the rev. Mr. *Dolittle*, the rev. Mr. *Deadman*, and his cousin the rev. Mr. *Blindman*, and of forestalling the affections and veneration of the vulgar, by applying to their own preachers such appellations as Mr. Lovegood, &c. We are sorry to see such trash as this openly, and upon autohrity we cannot at present impeach, ascribed to such men as Mr. Rowland Hill and Dr. Hawke, whose education ought to have taught them better, and of whom, notwithstanding our inveterate dislike of their general system of discipline, we had certainly conceived better things.

"We find in another pamphlet, the work also of a layman, entitled, "A Serious Address to the Parochial Clergy of the Church of England on the increasing influence of the people called Methodists;" that much of this increase of influence is again ascribed to the want of energy and the negligence of the parochial clergy: and as this is a charge proceeding from a great variety of quarters, and now equally advanced by clerical and lay-writers, it is impossible to avoid believing, that it is in some measure founded in truth. Yet we hesitate not to assert, that as far as our observations have extended, it is a charge which has less foundation now than it possessed a few years ago: it appears to us that all orders of the clergy have taken the alarm, that our bishops have been more scrutinous, our rectors and vicars more vigilant, and our curates more circumspect: we could easily point our finger to a great number of villages in which divine service has of late years been performed with more punctuality and seriousness, and the general parochial duties of the resident clergyman been more sedulously attended to than in former times. These, in truth, are the arms with which the battle ought to be fought; the regular clergy have still the vantage ground in their favour; and with these arms alone duly and skilfully employed, the victory must yet be theirs.

We have also received a thick octavo volume upon this same subject, entitled, "A Portraiture of Methodism; being an impartial view of the rise, progress, doctrines, discipline and manners of the Westleyan Methodists. In a series of letters addressed to a lady." This, we understand, to be the work of a Mr. Nightingale, who, after having run through half the signs in the religious zodiac, at length entered into that of Westleyan Methodism, was a zealous preacher in its cause, sedulously attended the monthly *love-meetings*, and at length left this cause for some other, but if we be rightly informed not for a better; and now, in a paroxysm of spite, foams forth all the absurdities and trash which he has ever beheld among this extraordinary sect. But to us he foams in vain: the evidence of a renegado shall never be admitted in our

our court. There is a depravity, indeed, in this man's heart (if we may reason from his publication before us) that unqualifies him for giving evidence in any court. The Methodists may be fools, but their present historian is obviously a knave.

We lately gave our most cordial congratulations to that first of all the excellent religious institutions we possess in this country, the "British and Foreign Bible Society," on account of the great exertions it has made, the prospective increase of its funds, and the heart-felt gratitude which had been expressed towards it by thousands, and perhaps hundreds of thousands in every quarter of the world. With the truest satisfaction did we learn, that noblemen, prelates, members of parliament, members of the board of controul, directors of the Bank and of the East India Company, had, in very considerable numbers, contributed the conjoint influence of their names, and of their benevolence to promote this truly christian object; and that the government presses at Calcutta and the other British settlements in India, had by the consent of government itself, been engaged in forwarding versions of the Bible into almost every Indian dialect. It now appears, however, that some gentlemen, without openly abjuring the christian religion themselves, have been bold enough to object to this most worthy and benevolent design, and have been visionary enough to behold, in the gratuitous circulation of the bible in the different dialects of India, a complete subversion of the British empire in that quarter of the world. To give the greater effect to this insidious insinuation, they have laid hold of a "Memoir," published six years ago by Dr. Buchanan, Vice Provost of the College of Fort William, pointing out the expediency of an ecclesiastical establishment for British India, although they well know that this "Memoir" has never produced the smallest effect, and that the prize dissertation written by Mr. Mitchell, in consequence of Dr. Buchanan's gift of a hundred pounds to the University of Glasgow in 1804, for the best essay on the best means of civilizing the subjects of the British empire in India, and of diffusing the light of the christian religion throughout the eastern world, is in direct opposition to a religious establishment at present, and indeed till India may be completely christianised by voluntary exertions. This memoir they have laid hold of; they have endeavoured to amalgamate the exertions of the "Bible Society;", of the "Baptist Missionary Society;" the travelling ministers from which have uniformly borne an unblemished character; and of this "memoir" of the Vice Provost of Fort William; and a hue and cry has been raised and propagated from the Decan to the court in Leadenhall-street against the dreadful danger to be apprehended from so terrible an innovation, as that with which it is asserted India is now threatened, and the utter ruin that would result from a further introduction of the christian religion into the Indian peninsula. Mr. Twining has the honour of having first laid hold of the trumpet, and sounded the earliest blast of alarm, in "A letter to the chairman of the East India Company;" in the course of which he chiefly directs his hostility to the Bible Society, and has the misfortune to exhibit, such an alienation of intellect, as to regard a diffusion of the blessings of christian knowledge among our fellow-subjects as a *sanguinary doctrine*, and to ascribe "all the

the catastrophes at Buenos Ayres, Rosetta, and Vellore," to the propagation of this same *sanguinary doctrine*, with which, in point of fact, they have had just as much concern as they had with the fall of Troy, or the Peloponnesian war. To Mr. Twining has succeeded another, but an anonymous writer, who has brought forth a tract of observations on the present state of the East India Company, with prefatory remarks on the alarming intelligence lately received from Madras, as to the general dissatisfaction prevailing amongst the natives of every rank, from an opinion that it is the intention of the British government to compel them to embrace christianity, &c." In this pamphlet the author fairly admits, that even the insurrection at Vellore had no concern whatever with the doctrines of the christian, or of any other religion whatever. Yet he still harps upon dangers which he cannot point out; dissatisfactions which never appear to have existed; and boldly recommends to the East India Company, and to his majesty's ministers, for the future security of the British government, and the future felicity and quiet of the natives, that not another bible should be exported, and that every missionary, of whatever character or persuasion, should be immediately withdrawn. We can only observe, that all this torrent of unfounded declamation, and most disgusting impiety has been coolly attacked, and ably and satisfactorily replied to by Mr. Owen of Fulham; by the committee of the Baptist Missionary Society, and by one or two other writers, who have modestly chosen to conceal their names. Mr. Owen's "Address to the Chairman of the East India Company" we particularly recommend as a masterly production, fraught with irrefragable argument, and decisive of the question.

CHAPTER II.

PHYSICAL AND MATHEMATICAL.

Comprehending Medicine and Surgery, Natural History, Horticulture, Agriculture, Experimental Philosophy, Mathematics, Mechanics, and Military Tactics.

AS usual, we shall open this chapter with the department of Medicine for the year; and shall commence our observations with "The London Medical Dictionary —originally compiled by G. Motherby, M.D. and G. Wallis, M.D. Sixth edition improved. Vol. I. 4to. 2*l.* 8*s.*" The progress with which we fondly hope the arts and sciences are advancing towards a more perfect state; or, at least, the changes which are perpetually taking place in the supposed facts and phænomena upon which such progress is erected, are almost annually calling for a revision of former works upon every branch of which they are the subject; more especially for a revision of works that relate to the practice of physic and surgery, therapeutics and materia medica, chemistry and natural history, the whole of which is daily

assuming a new face, or a more comprehensive range. To what extent the present work may reach we can only conjecture; for we are not informed by any introductory address. As the volume before us, however, comprising two parts, extends to H inclusively, we may expect that another volume, or two additional fascicles, will complete the plan. In the execution of the present edition, we perceive a material difference in different parts of it, produced, as we suppose, from the various powers of different editors. In some parts we cannot avoid observing, that the articles treated of are by no means brought down to the full improvement and knowledge of the present day. Yet this has not frequently occurred to us; while, on the contrary, we have often been pleased with the ample information, and latest notices and experiments that are presented to us upon other articles: among which we may especially mention those of affinity in chemistry, and camphor in materia medica; in the former of which, however, we notice the typographical blunder of *dwellent* for *divellent* affinity introduced in more places than one. The different medical systems of Brunonian, Boerhavian, and Cullenian, are fairly given, and at sufficient length for general comprehension. It cannot be a matter of surprise, that the editors should lean chiefly towards the last of these; the reader may guess which is most repudiated of the other two, by the following passage, which relates to the Brunonian system; we "shall pursue the present meteor from its first spark to its meridian; others may perhaps record its decline or fall." We are rather surprised that these theories alone should have satisfied the scope of the editors; and that the names of Darwin, and of Hunter, should not once have been made mention of. Upon the whole, however, we think that the supplementary matter of the present edition is numerous and generally important, and that the view of most subjects introduced is systematic. The random and imprecise synonyms of the former editions are greatly reduced, and the plates are generally clear, correct, and elegant.

"An Account of the Diseases of India, &c. By Charles Curtis, formerly Surgeon of the Medea Frigate. 8vo. 7*s*." A perspicuous and well-digested Indian nosology would indeed be a valuable treasure to the medical world. Such, however, is not the work before us. The author writes from personal observation, and hence his histories and many of his remarks are worth attention. But the whole is desultory, ill arranged, unsystematic, and often at variance with itself; for every one of which defects there is the less apology, as the materials were collected four or five-and-twenty years ago, and might by this time have been kneaded into a more shapely and harmonious appearance. The tribe of diseases chiefly noticed is that which proceeds from an affection of the liver; to a morbid state of which organ the author refers almost all the fevers of the country, varying from each other chiefly in consequence of the various states of the atmosphere, or of the temperament of the individual. Yet we do not here perceive any thing very prominent either in minuteness of description, or mode of cure: mercury is uniformly looked up to as the grand panacea; and the adjuncts consist, first of all, in gentle evacuation, and the free use of diluents and afterwards in epispastics to the abdomen; while opium is to be introduced.

troduced, however, and regulated as the variation of the symptoms might indicate.

"An Enquiry into the Seat and Nature of Fever, &c. By Henry Clutterbuck, M.D. 8vo." This enquiry, if we mistake not, is still open—and perhaps is long likely to be so. The humoral system has been overthrown by the spasmodic, the spasmodic by the sympathetic, and the sympathetic will probably be in its turn overthrown by the humoral; since the chemistry of the day bids fair to enlist very speedily under its banners, with a very able and effective force. In the meanwhile the author before us starts with a new idea, and endeavours to prove that, however general its action, fever is in truth nothing more than a local disease, and essentially confined to the brain. In endeavouring to establish this doctrine, he has recourse equally to the characteristic phænomena of fever, and the appearances that for the most part take place in dissection; all which he thinks justify him in maintaining it, and in concluding that fever is a simple inflammation of this organ, and that, in our nosologies, it ought to be transferred to the order Phlegmatiæ. Under this impression he wishes to revive, and even to extend the practice of venæsection, in defiance of all the maledictions of all the Brunonians in the world, and especially in the earlier stages of the disease. The volume offers us much ingenuity of reasoning, and no small portion of useful information; but it completely fails, in our opinion, in establishing the point for which it was written.

In our last Retrospect we noticed a work of some merit, containing "Observations on Abortion," by Mr. J. Burns, Midwifry Lecturer in Glasgow; and we have now to introduce an octavo publication from the same writer, entitled, "Practical Observations on the Uterine Hemorrhage, with Remarks on the Management of the Placenta." The observations on hæmorrhage are in general well worth attending to; but in his directions in the case of labour, our author is too busy with his fingers and hands. In all cases of natural labour it cannot be too strongly inculcated on the mind of the pupil, that every intrusive irritation is a real mischief; it may retard the expulsion but cannot expedite it; it may inflame and thicken the mouth of the uterus, but it will not accelerate its enlargement. The placenta, when left behind, is often expelled by the efforts of nature alone, and in robust constitutions without any ill consequence. But in delicate habits its continuance is almost always seen to produce disease, extreme exhaustion, even if the result be fortunate, or putrid or puerperal fever if it be not. As a general rule it should always be extirpated, though it is not in one instance in five hundred that any degree of force is requisite for this purpose, beyond that of gently soliciting it downwards by the funis.

"Observations on the Application of Lunar Caustic to Strictures in the Urethra and Œsophagus. By M. W. Andrews, M. D. 8vo." We are sorry to find this practice persevered in: because we are confident that a fair balance of the account will prove enormously against it. We do not mean to say it has never been successful: on the contrary, we admit that it has; but for one patient it has cured it has destroyed three or four, upon the average; and rendered double that number doubly miserable for life. Even our author's own practice in strictures of the œsophagus is by no

means in his favour; for, of the three cases he relates, two died and only one was permanently relieved. Dr. Andrews, indeed, ascribes their death, not to his own experiments, but to incidental causes occuring while he was persevering in them. We will not absolutely oppose this assertion; but neither can he oppose us in asserting, that he can draw no rational conclusion from premises so equivocal.

"The Code of Health and Longevity; or a Concise View of the Principles calculated for the Preservation of Health and the Attainment of Long Life. By Sir John Sinclair, Bart." This work has already reached a second edition; and the *concise* view now extends to four volumes, or somewhat more than *two thousand* octavo pages, closely printed with a small type. The observations interspersed are often well-founded; but the difficulty, amidst such a mass of matter, is to know where to pitch upon them. The general pith of the work, however, or that which is truly the "*Code* itself," is contained in the first volume alone, to which the other three are for the most part merely subservient, as containing the sentiments of various writers, as well ancient as modern, selected by the worthy baronet himself; and a long succession of communications to him from personal correspondents; the whole forming a basis for the superstructure exhibited in the preceding volume. Among the circumstances favourable to health and long life, and over which the individual has no controul, we are here referred to healthy and long-lived ancestors in the first place; and next to a birth in the healthiest part of the parental life; to an advance by a gradual and not very rapid progress to manhood; and to the possession of a good natural constitution. To all this we can subscribe; but when our author descends to such minute particulars as to limit our diet to certain articles of food, and to ascertain comparative weights or measures of each article; when he teaches the necessity of making a difference in the potency of the table beer we drink in summer and winter; when the difference of soil or earth, of air, of water, and of heat or fire, are all brought forwards, and insisted upon as adjuncts of high consequence and importance, we are fearful that the present *code* of health, like the present code of our national law, will be found so multiplied and complex that few men can thoroughly understand it, and no man completely act up to it.

Under this head, if under any, we are to notice an anonymous "Account of Dr. Gall's New Theory of Physiognomy, with the critical Strictures of C. W. Hufeland, M.D. Author of the Art of Prolonging Life." We have perused this account, if not with a conviction of its utility, with a still stronger conviction than ever, that there is a rooted and instinctive stimulus in the constitution of the Germans which is for ever plunging them, in despite of their own natural exertions, and the heavy lumber of learning they often carry in their heads, into all the wildernesses and labyrinths, the dangerous depths and quagmires of speculation and fancy. If their plays and novels are a perpetual tissue of extravagance in passion, in scenery, and in language, their comments on revealed religion far better subserve the views of infidelity than the purpose to which they are avowedly directed. In politics they have driven the world mad with their

their systems of cosmopolitanism and universal philanthropy; for which the only cure that has been found, or that perhaps could be found, is the discipline just administered by Buonaparte. In metaphysics they have exhibited the same bewildered understanding by swallowing all the nonsense of their own countryman M. Kant, dosed out to them under the imposing and empyric name of *transcendental philosophy*; and since the decline of Kant they have been led astray by a new meteor, (or a "*new notion*" as he calls it himself,) struck out by M. Gall, under the very explanatory appellations of Crunioscopy and Cruniology; by the light of which the discoverer informs the *genus avidum auricularum*, the itching multitude that surrounds him, that he has clearly ascertained, first, that every passion and affection of the mind inhabits a distinct part of the interior of the scull, from which it never migrates; secondly, that whatever passion or affection predominates and controls the rest, like every other predominating power, enlarges its territory or dominion, and renders itself even externally conspicuous by the change it produces in the superincumbent bones and integuments; and lastly, that in consequence of these infallible criteria, he, the aforesaid Dr. Gall, is able to determine, at first sight, the passion that most easily besets a man, and becomes acquainted with the whole routine of his past conduct and future fortune. In proof of which he ventured to prognosticate some few years ago, (when his spectacles, however, do not appear to have been perfectly adjusted to his optics) from observing the particular prominence of a particular organ in the vicinity of the nose of that renowned champion General Mack—that this celebrated soldier would be peculiarly characterised through life for his skilful disposition of an army in the field, and still more so for his inflexibility in retaining his posts!! Surely the German philosophers have as much reason to anathematize Buonaparte as the German monarchs; for by one fatal blow he has as completely overturned the *cranioscopy* of the infallible Dr. Gall, as by a preceding blow he subverted the whole cosmopolitanism of the benevolent Weishaupt. Such then, gentle reader, is the subject of the book before us, containing the combined wisdom of Dr. Gall and Dr. Hufeland; concerning which, if this outline do not satisfy thee, the first twenty pages of the book itself will be sure to do it.

We are glad to find that the anonymous author of the "Practical Synopsis of the Materia Medica" has at length, by the publication of a second volume, brought his labours to a close. Our medical readers may perhaps recollect, that the first embraced the whole division of *alimentary* substances, and the *evacuants*, or first class of medicinal substances. The present volume compietes the plan, and evinces the circumspection, assiduity, and discrimination, which we noticed in the preceding part.

In the department of chemistry we have little to notice, in the circle of our present range, that is directly applicable to medicine or the hygeine, or if directly applicable, entitled to much commendation. In the mechanical branch of this science, however, we have to introduce to our readers a vernacular translation of M. Chaptal's "Chemistry appled to the Arts and Manufactures, 4 vols. 8vo." which, though not rendered by the translator with all the care we could have wished for, cannot

not fail to be found a very valuable book by that industrious part of the community to which it is immediately addressed. These volumes may, in truth, be regarded as an elementary work, capable of explaining to every artist the actual cause of the greater number of his results, and affording him a fundamental rule for his conduct. Upon the subject of light, our author has coined a few words to express its basis, and among others given us the term *lumic* in imitation of *caloric*, which is employed to express the basis of heat. On various reasons, however, we are altogether dissatisfied with this coinage; it will be enough on the present occasion to specify, that it adds to the general jumble of Greek and Latin, by which our gasses of the present day are designated. As phos (φως) has been so long in use, and is far more consonant to the general source of derivation, we should much rather have seen *photogen*, in imitation of hydrogen, and nitrogen than *lumic*.

In the class of natural history, we have had not much more offered to us than in that of mechanical or medical chemistry; yet we must not omit to notice the first volume of a work by Dr. Turton, entitled, "British Fauna," that gives ample proof of very great general merit. With the name of this gentleman indeed, we have long been familiar, as well on account of his Medical Glossary, as of his very valuable and voluminous "General System of Nature," in seven volumes, octavo, arranged upon the Linnéan system. The work we have now to announce is designed to contain a compendium of the zoology of the British islands, upon a similar arrangement; and as the volume before us comprises the classes of animals, birds, amphibials, fishes, and worms, it leaves us out insects and plants alone to render the undertaking complete; unless, indeed, which we have some reason to expect from the preface, our national minerals should be included in the same design; in which case, we shall have more reason than even at present, to object to the title of *Fauna*. While, however, we cordially wish success to the undertaking, we cannot but wish, at the same time, that it had been presented to us in a somewhat less contemptible style, paper, and general appearance. We are not friends to costly editions, but the subject itself is degraded by the very humiliating manner in which, in its present form, it is offered to the public.

We are led forwards insensibly to horticulture and rural economy. Upon the former branch, we have received several publications not destitute of merit, and one or two of more than ordinary desert. Foremost in the list, we are compelled to place Mr. Macdonald's "Dictionary of Practical Gardening. 2 vols. 4to." This work, first published in numbers, is now completed, and offers, in a mixt copy of the plans of Miller and Abercrombie, being less diffuse than that of the former, and less involved than that of the latter, a very able and excellent book of practice, well calculated to direct the inexperienced in forming, planting, and managing, not merely kitchen and fruit gardens, but pleasure grounds and other horticultural compartments. The Linnéan classification of the plant described is first given, together with its relative order and genus: its connexion with other species is then noticed; as also its varieties, where varieties are found to exist. The most approved methods of cultivation succeed, and are generally detailed at some length;

length; and the account closes with a brief statement of the use and application of the plant. The work is ornamented by a profusion of plates for the most part well-executed; and in the more superb edition, well and accurately coloured.

As a smaller publication upon the same subject, we can safely recommend Mr. M'Phail's "Gardener's Remembrancer," introduced to us in the calendar-form, as the preceding is in the form of a dictionary. The calendar, however, is prefaced by an introductory disquisition upon various subjects of horticulture in general; in the course of which, we perceive a disposition somewhat too *pugnacious*, as in reality we do throughout the greater part of the book; which, upon the most trifling occasions, is stimulating our author to find fault with the plans and recommendations of horticulturists of the first merit and reputation. Had Mr. M'Phail made less free with the names of Mr. Forsyth, Mr. Stewart, and Dr. Anderson, his book would not have lost in value, and would have gained something in general urbanity. His strictures are at times worth attending to, but we cannot approve of the spirit with which they are urged; and have often had occasion to lament, that they should have been advanced upon subjects of so trifling a nature.

We have a similar censure to exercise on "The Forest Pruner, by William Pontey, 8vo." This writer, like the last, seems to think it impossible to make any effective advance till he has lopped and topped every preceding author in a most discourteous and indeed unmerciful manner. Hence his *pruning*-knife makes a dreadful introductory havoc among the ranks that have hitherto been so well filled up by the names of Lawson and Evelyn, and Forsyth and Nicol. It is probable, that the very extensive way in which Mr. Pontey proposes to prune timber trees, beginning at an early age, "when a knife alone will perform the operation;" and steadily persevering in the same rough treatment every second or third year, till the stem is cleared to the desired height, might give us straighter timber and of larger diameter, as well as much freer from knots; but we doubt much, whether it would also give us, which he also positively and ex cathedrâ asserts, sounder or stronger timber, or additional space for the growth of new wood, since the roots would still require the same area under ground, whatever fantastic form the trunk may be compelled to assume above ground. Knots, we also beg leave to observe, instead of being constantly and of necessity a useless projection and deformity, are neither the one nor the other. Many species of trees are valuable alone in consequence of such projections, and their value is estimated by their multiplicity of knots; while the branches thus issuing in every angle, in the opinion of *sylvestrians* of *less taste* than Mr. Pontey, constitute one of the greatest ornaments of a forest. In fine, while we readily allow to the present work a few ideas of no small practical value, we cannot but affirm it to be equally deficient in ideas of picturesque beauty, and vegetable physiology.

The department of rural economy has furnished us with several interesting publications. Of these, the chief are, Mr. Arthur Young's 'General View of the Agriculture of Essex,' and Mr. Rudge's 'General View of the Agriculture of the county of Gloucester;" both drawn up for the consideration of the Board of Agriculture and internal improvement. The former labour has fallen into

into Mr. Young's hands somewhat against his desire. It was at first entrusted to two gentlemen, whose report, in consequence as we suppose of defective arrangement, was placed in the hands of Mr. Howlett for correction, who, having at the same time added much new matter of his own, so as to swell the report to a more than usual bulk, the committee of the Board of Agriculture declined to print it, and directed a new report under the superintendance of their indefatigable secretary; and, whether it has been from the peculiar stimulus hereby created, or from any other cause still more recondite, we know not; but we have no hesitation in stating, that the *general view* before us is drawn up in Mr. Young's very best manner, and is a very able and valuable agricultural survey. As usual he gives the opinions of the practical farmers on the different districts he visited, rather than his own: and as it was fairly to be expected, he seems to have associated with a very long succession of highly intelligent and skilful agriculturists.

In Mr. Rudge's 'General View,' the descriptions are at once neat, clear, and correct. Upon the chorography of Gloucestershire, and the more common tenures of the different estates, as well as the more common extent of the different farms, he enters into a pretty full detail; but he has somewhat too hastily passed over the important subject of the nature of the leases usually granted. Among the implements of husbandry that are either more freely employed here than in other districts, or that appear to be employed in a state of greater perfection, he particularly notices the mole plough as of important advantage in draining; and the wooden thistle drawer, a most useful weeding forceps, of which Mr. Rudge has given a figure. The chapter on gardens and orchards is peculiarly interesting; and the author warmly recommends, on the score of profit, and from tables correctly drawn up for the occasion, the cultivation of orchards and the growth of apples on an extensive scale. Woods and wastes, the advantages of draining, paring and burning, manuring, weeding and watering, the subjects of live stock and dairies, all successively pass in review before him: and upon the whole, there appears to be a richness in the collection of facts, and a correctness in the report of them, far beyond what we have generally met with in similar works, and which cannot fail of being highly useful and profitable to the scientific cultivator.

We have no work on the subject of mineralogy brought forwards in the period to which we are restricted, of sufficient merit to detain us by a detailed account: and shall hence pass on to other branches of physics.

Under this division, we must first notice the "Elementary Treatise on Natural Philosophy, translated from the French of M. R. J. Haüy, Professor of Mineralogy at the Museum of Natural History (Paris) &c. &c. by Olinthus Gregory, A.M. of the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, with Notes by the Translator." 2 vols. 8vo. This is an admirable production, admirably translated. To our own country, M. Haüy has hitherto been chiefly known by his researches into the nature and laws of crystallization; and in these researches, has deservedly ranked high for the perspicuity of his theory. In the *Traité de Physique*, the work now before us, his object, as the translator remarks, was not

not to produce a compilation of earlier performances, a collection of insulated dissertations—it was rather to give a cast of unity to this department of human knowledge, to present natural philosophy, though in an abridged, yet in a complete form; to free it from a great number of superfluities with which it has been overcharged, and to develope scarcely any but theories now solidly established, though perhaps previously contested, that he might be able to place physics in the situation it ought to occupy, by assigning their due portions to the comparatively recent branches of magnetism, electricity, galvanism, crystallography, &c. and by enlarging those boundaries which some modern authors seem to have established upon too narrow a space. The original work constitutes part of a course of instruction for the French National Lyceum, in conjunction with Biot's Astronomy, and Francœur's Mechanics. The translator was meditating a work upon this very plan, when the present volumes fell into his hands; but his plan was intended to be more comprehensive: with respect to the part of it, however, here treated of, he observes with a modesty which the world well knows how to appreciate, "that it has been executed by M. Haüy in a manner so far superior to any thing he could himself have accomplished, that he is persuaded he shall be rendering the public a more essential benefit, by laying before them the present treatise, than by offering any original performance of his own, embracing the same subjects." The work commences with an account of the general properties of bodies. These properties are distributed into two classes: in the first of which are placed "those which attach to bodies considered simply as assemblages of material particles," as extension, impenetrability, and divisibility. In the second class are included, "those properties which depend upon certain forces that solicit or impel bodies," of which six are enumerated as follow; mobility, hardness, elasticity and ductility, gravity, crystallization, and heat. Under these heads we meet with much perspicuous and accurate description, valuable information and acute reasoning, with occasional excursions into dependant or collateral topics. In treating of crystallization, which our author defines "the regular arrangement of the molecule (molecules) of certain bodies under geometrical forms," M. Haüy developes the principles of his own theory, which is peculiarly excellent for the precision of its language, and for the number and accuracy of the observations on which it is founded. The subject of heat, considered in its tendency to equilibrium, and in the effects it produces upon bodies, is investigated with ability; and we meet with several admirable descriptions of the different kinds of thermometers to measure its intensity, as well as an account of the calorimeter, to ascertain its specific quantity. Upon the subject of combustion, M. Haüy appears to have embraced the whole of the Lavoisierian system in its utmost latitude: he regards caloric as a real substance, instead of as the effect of an intestine motion; or rather adopts the language flowing from this system, contemplating it "solely as an hypothesis more proper to assist the conception of phænomena, and more commodious in expression." Upon the whole, we have no hesitation in affirming, that the work before us exhibits more originality and vigour of intellect, than any other elementary treatise on

on natural philosophy, which has for many years passed through our hands. The translator has executed his task with fidelity and skill, and we feel much indebted to him for adding to our vernacular literature so valuable a production.

"Practical Electricity and Galvanism: containing a series of experiments calculated for the use of those who are desirous of becoming acquainted with that branch of science. By John Cuthbertson, 8vo. 10s. 6d." We have seldom seen a work that has better answered to its title than the present. The author has been long known by his professional ability as an instrument-maker; and on the continent, where he resided many years, his talents as a writer obtained for him a fellowship in the Philosophical Societies of Holland, and Utrecht. At Amsterdam, between the years 1769 and 1793, he published three volumes on the Science of Electricity, which were so well received as to be translated into German; in which language they were afterwards republished at St. Petersburg. From these volumes the author has selected many valuable experiments upon electricity, and in conjunction with various others not hitherto published, has given them in the present work, as a useful introduction to that part of it which treats of the science of galvanism.

"A Course of Lectures on Natural Philosophy and the Mechanical Arts. By Thomas Young, M.D. &c. 2 vols. 4to." These volumes consist of the lectures delivered in two successive years, at the Royal Institution, to a respectable but mixed audience, comprehending persons of both sexes and of all ages: in the course of which, Dr. Young found it requisite to desert the beaten path; and, instead of offering a mere compilation from elementary works already in existence, to digest into one system, from original writers, every thing that relates to the principles of the mechanical sciences, and that can tend to the improvement of those arts which are subservient to the conveniences of life. In the prosecution of this design, the author divides his first volume into sixty lectures, of which twenty are devoted to mechanics, twenty to hydrodynamics, and twenty to physics. The lectures on mechanics treat of motion in general; of accelerating and deflective forces; of confined motion, and the motions of simple masses, which include pressure, equilibrium, and collision; of the motions of connected bodies; of statics; of passive strength and friction; of the union of flexible fibres; of time-keepers; of raising and removing weights; and of the modes of changing the forms of bodies. Besides these distinct topics, we have, under the same general division of the work, an account of the methods of drawing, writing, measuring, modelling, engraving and printing; a brief sketch of the doctrine and practice of perspective; the general principles of architecture and carpentry, and a brief history of mechanics. From mechanical principles and dead weights, our author proceeds to the consideration of animal actions and the application of animal force: the former of which, depend upon the contractions and relaxations of the muscles; and the latter, on the number or peculiar combination of their fibres. He then passes forwards to a comparison of the different kinds of moving powers, of which we can obtain possession. Taking, as a sort of standard, the daily work of a labouring

labouring man, of middle age and sound health, who can raise a weight of ten pounds to the height of ten feet in a second, and can continue this labour for ten hours a day; this power is contrasted with the force of horses, of steam-engines, and gun-powder. To these subjects succeed the lectures on passive strength and friction, on architecture and carpentry, the whole of which is highly interesting. These are followed by enquiries into the modifications of forces and of motions, through the medium of rods, joints, cranks, wheelwork, ropes, and other flexible substances, together with the regulation and equalization of motion, by means of clocks and watches. The nineteenth lecture is devoted to "the modes of changing the forms of bodies" by *compression*, as in presses, sugar-mills, and oil-mills; by *extension*, as in wire-drawing, glass-blowing, gold-beating; by *penetration*, as in pile-driving engines; by *division*, in which cutting instruments are employed; by *agitation*, as in threshing machines; or by *demolition*, as in burning, blasting, &c. or by a *combination* of two or more of these simple operations; of which the process of boring, in this respect, affords us an example, which is an union of the two operations of penetration and division. In this, as in various other parts of the voluminous work before us, the author has evinced very great ability and very extensive knowledge; together with much perspicuity in the developement, and an admirable order in the arrangement of his ideas. A succinct and luminous history of mechanics fills up the twentieth lecture, and closes the first part. The second, under the title of hydrodynamics, includes hydrostatics, hydraulics, pneumatics, optics, and acoustics, or, as Dr. Young, with an affectation of singularity that we are surprised at, chooses to call them, *acustics*. The third part is entitled physics. Contrary to all the common arrangements, this part commences with astronomy, and then proceeds to a consideration of the essential properties of matter, the nature of heat, which is examined in a very masterly manner, and the sciences of electricity, galvanism, and magnetism. We cannot enter into our author's reasons for this deviation: to us they are not altogether satisfactory. Towards the close of the volume, we meet with a short and comprehensive account of natural history, and a brief explanation of the Linnéan system. The second volume, the contents of which we are compelled to hurry over, commences with the mathematical elements of natural philosophy, separated under the distinct heads of pure mathematics, mechanics, and hydrodynamics. To the elements succeed "a systematic catalogue of works relating to natural philosophy and the mechanical arts, with references to particular passages and occasional abstracts of remarks." The whole work closes with various miscellaneous papers formerly published in the Philosophical Transactions; or in some of our most respectable periodical publications. We shall now only add, that the space we have devoted to these lectures is a full proof of the very high opinion we entertain of them.

"Observations on the Hypotheses, which have been assumed to account for the cause of gravitation from mechanical principles; by the Rev. S. Vince, Plumian Professor," &c. These observations might have been introduced into the first chapter; for the grand object of them is to

to prove the necessity of a supreme and intelligent power 'at this time,' as the professor very justly observes, 'when many of the most able philosophers upon the continent have been endeavouring to account for all the operations of nature upon merely mechanical principles, with a view to exclude the Deity from any concern in the government of the system, and thereby to lay a foundation for the introduction of atheism.' In the prosecution of this idea, the author undertakes to show, that none of the hypotheses hitherto assumed to account for the cause of gravitation are satisfactory upon the score of mechanical principles alone: and his general inference is, that 'the power and wisdom of the Deity are no where so conspicuous as in his government of the heavenly bodies. "We see," continues he, "nothing in the heavens which argues imperfection; but imperfection is always found in the operation of mechanical causes. Now it seems reasonable to admit a divine agency at this point, when all other means appear inadequate to produce the effect. And as mechanical operations, in whatever point of view they have been considered, do not appear sufficient to account for the *preservation* of the system (to say nothing of its *formation*) we ought to conclude that the Deity, in his government, does not act by such instruments, but that the whole is conducted by his more immediate agency, without the intervention of material causes."

"A Treatise on plain and spherical Trigonometry, with their most useful practical applications; by John Bonnycastle." This, like most of Mr. B.'s preceding publications upon the same science, is a useful and popular work, well calculated to initiate youth into one of the most important branches of mathematics; it pre-supposes, however, some acquaintance with algebra and geometry.

Mathematical science, in its more immediate application to mechanics, has supplied us with two admirable productions. The one is from Mr. Olinthus Gregory, whose talents and diligence we have already had occasion to commend; the other from the pen of the late Professor Robison of Edinburgh.

Mr. Gregory's work, which he entitles, "A Treatise of Mechanics, theoretical, practical and descriptive," is comprised in two volumes, octavo. His theoretical division, which occupies the first volume, is arranged under the heads of statics, dynamics, hydrostatics, hydrodynamics and pneumatics. From the minuteness of the type, and the narrowness of the margin, a very considerable portion of valuable matter is crowded into a small compass. In the second volume, which offers us the practical and descriptive parts, we meet with designs and explanations of more than a hundred articles of machinery, alphabetically arranged, and preceded by a preliminary essay on the nature and construction of machinery, on friction, the stiffness of cords, the expansive force of steam, and various other subjects with which practical mechanics are closely connected. We cannot but approve of this arrangement, by which the theory is kept distinct from, and unencumbered with the descriptions of machinery. We have been highly pleased with this work, though we think the style too frequently betrays marks of negligence and obscurity. Yet, excepting in these occasional instances, there is a considerable display of taste and precision. By the simplicity, clearness, and originality of his proofs and investigations, the reader will

will at once enter into the full conception of the author's ideas: his mode of investigating and demonstrating his propositions is frequently new, and, in general, highly perspicuous; and he appears always more anxious to convey real information, than to flourish with an idle parade of mere scientific acquirements.

The "Elements of Mechanical Philosophy;" by the late Professor Robison, constitute at present an unfinished work, in consequence of his unexpected decease. Yet, we trust, the plan will be persevered in by his representatives, from the papers, which, we understand, he has left fully arranged for this purpose. The work before us, in its present appearance, extends only to one bulky octavo volume, and includes the substance of a part of the author's public lectures. The method, perspicuity, elegance, and acuteness, which pervade the whole of this volume, give proofs of a mind highly cultivated, and long accustomed to habits of close and arduous thinking. The general subject of the lectures is a physico-mathematical history of the mechanical phænomena of the universe: the whole of which the author contends to be effected by gravity, cohesion, magnetism, electricity, and the affections of light; in which successive order he consequently arranges the powers of natural substances, as that which best distinguishes their generality or extent. In the course of his observations, like Professor Vince, he appears uniformly anxious to oppose the evil tendency of the insinuations of M. La Place, and other philosophers of the French school; and not only to refer every result to one primary and intelligent cause, but to maintain the absolute necessity of pre-supposing the existence of such a cause as the basis of all solid and legitimate reasoning.

We have had less offered to us in the course of the past year, upon the subject of naval and military tactics, than for many years antecedently. We cannot, however, refuse to notice, as particularly worthy of perusal, the "Detailed account of the Battle of Austerlitz, by the Austrian Major-General Stutterheim: translated from the French by Major Pine Coffin," &c. 8vo. This account is drawn up with candour, and great precision: it enters accurately and minutely into the whole circumstances of the attack, the general operations, and unfortunate result: and presents us with an interesting narrative of one of the most decisive battles, and most important in its consequences, of any recorded in the annals of history. It evinces, in the most striking colours, the necessity of introducing a new mode of military tactics, and of giving a proper stimulus, as well as education, to those who are destined to fight for the liberty and independence of their country. From this deficiency, not only was the battle before us lost, but the more recent battle of Auerstadt; the continent of Europe has been overwhelmed with an influx of forces from one common point, directed by one common power: its entire face changed, and its whole system of relations subverted. Hence alone have new dynasties been created, and kingdoms and empires, once great and mighty, have sunk before the revolutionary schemes of a crafty and imperious usurper, who has been as much indebted for his stupendous success to the general disunion, self-interest, and political ignorance of the powers who progressively confederated against him, as to his own consummate talents and indefatigable perseverance. It is impossible for us to give even an abridged statement of this memorable battle; but the

the general causes to which the very able author ascribes the total defeat of the allies, we shall offer in the following extract, confident that it cannot be perused without a deep and extensive interest. "It will not," says he, "have escaped the observation of the experienced soldier that it is principally to the following causes that the loss of this battle is to be attributed. To the want of correctness in the information possessed by the allies as to the enemy's army; to the bad plan of attack, supposing the enemy to have been entrenched in a position which he did not occupy; to the movements executed the day before the attack in sight of the enemy, in order to gain the right flank of the French; to the great interval between the columns when they quitted the heights of Pratzen; and to their want of communication with each other. To these causes may be attributed the first misfortunes of the Austro-Russian army. But in spite of these capital errors, it would still have been possible to restore the fortune of the day in favour of the allies, if the second and third columns had thought less of the primary disposition, and attended more to the enemy; who, by the boldness of his manœuvre, completely overthrew the basis on which the plan of attack was founded; or, if the first column (which possessed the means of doing so) instead of retiring by Aujest, as before mentioned, had marched to the assistance of the two former; and, together with them (or at least with what remained of them), had moved upon the heights, of which the French had as yet but a precarious possession, so long as the left of the allies was unbroken, and their extreme right, which made only feeble demonstrations, continued at Posorsitz. The carnage made on the 2d of December was very great. The Russians at the commencement fought with intrepidity, and the guards and hulans distinguished themselves for their courage. The French infantry manœuvered with coolness and precision, fought with courage, and executed its bold movements with admirable concert. After having made some efforts without effect, the Russian battalions began to waver; confusion and finally complete defeat were the consequences of the imprudent conduct of the second and third columns." We have only to add, that Major Coffin has executed the part of a translator with spirit and perspicuity, and apparently with great closeness and fidelity.

CHAPTER III.

MORAL AND POLITICAL.

Containing History, Voyages, Travels, Politics, Law, and Ethics.

FROM the indefatigable and, for the most part, elegant pen of Dr. Gillies we have received a "History of the World, from the Reign of Alexander to that of Augustus," in two volumes 4to. to which, on various accounts, our first attention is due in the present chapter. This history embraces, as to its scope, "the latter ages of European Greece, and

and the history of the Greek kingdoms in Asia and Africa, from their Foundation to their Destruction;" and is introduced by "a preliminary survey of Alexander's conquests, and an estimate of his plans for their consolidation and improvement." To those who are incapable of perusing for themselves the original sources from which this "history of the world" is derived, it will be found a very useful as well as a very entertaining work. The range of time to which it extends is peculiarly rich in incidents of the highest political importance, and comprehends an epoch of about three centuries; and in this respect it may be regarded, as, in truth, the author seems to wish it to be, as a continuation or second part of his "History of ancient Greece." The principal action in the work is the gradual transfer of dominion from the Greeks and Macedonians to the Romans and Parthians. Other historians make the Romans the most energetic, the ascendant and prevailing power, the most prominent and leading figure of the drama. The royal historiographer of Scotland, however, undertakes to shew, not how the Romans rose, but how the Greeks fell. The spirit, the exertions, and the forms of liberty had departed from Greece on the Macedonian conquest. These revived, however, and preserved some shadow of existence during the whole period of the Achæan league; but after the second and the third Punic war, after the overthrow of Carthage and Corinth, the independence, the stern freedom, the manly exertions of the Grecian states, the bold and unrestrained exercise of thought on which all that is noble in art, or sublime and valuable in science, depends for support, was exchanged for low insidious cunning, for servile adulation, and all the passions and the vices of slaves! In the management of this comprehensive history, Dr. Gillies appears to have studied his subject carefully; he evinces a clear survey of the bearings of its different parts upon each other; and his transitions are natural, and conduct the reader with facility from one incident to another. He penetrates into the characters, the circumstances and views of his principal actors; and his digressions are neither too frequent, too long, nor too wide of his main subject. The style of our historian is also improved in no small degree, by dropping a considerable portion of the tinsel and bombast by which his previous writings are distinguished, and by the consequent introduction of more simplicity, solidity and ease. His chief defects are an assurance of his own abilities very nearly bordering upon vanity; and a desire to aggrandize beyond its appropriate scale every thought, word and action of every man that happens to become a more than ordinary object of his discussion; as though the royal historiographer of Scotland conceived that his office would be degraded by being surrounded by any thing less than the first heroes, the first sages, and the first philosophers of ancient times.

"The Reign of Charlemagne considered chiefly with reference to Religion, Laws, Literature, and Manners: by Henry Card, A. M. 8vo." This is a very amusing and, in some sort, an instructive work; and it supplies a chasm in the general literature of our own country. Charlemagne was rather a deep politician than a valorous warrior; and his military history has far less prominence than his cabinet intrigues. If not a *man* of learning, he was at least a *friend* to learning, and that in no ordinary degree, since letters were a sure

a sure introduction to his favour and patronage. It is well observed by Mr. Card that "in order to excite among the higher orders of his subjects a favourable disposition towards the study of letters, and thus to wean them from those pursuits and pleasures which equally depraved their minds and weakened their bodies, Charlemagne lavished with a most unsparing hand, abbeys, bishopricks, and other ecclesiastical dignities, upon such as stood foremost in the ranks of letters. He even made learning the way to political distinctions. His passion for letters and encouragement of them were indeed so great and universally known, that two learned *Scotchmen,* in the certainty of obtaining his protection, cried out, as he passed along the highway, *Science to be sold.* This singular conduct immediately arrested his attention: he ordered them to be presented to him, and having found that they really could perform what they had professed, afterwards promoted them to posts of trust and honour, suitable to their abilities." Yet the Court of Charlemagne was not a mere college. Pomp and pleasure intermixed in the motley train that surrounded the imperial throne, or rather took the lead of the rest. Nine legitimate queens administered to his pleasures, and he had still his private amours, notwithstanding his pretended veneration for the church, and all that was connected with it. Our readers will here perceive that the *interior* of the reign of this magnificent monarch must contain a sufficient variety of incidents for the pursuit of his historian, without any aberration to foreign connections. It is to such *interior department* that the present work is chiefly devoted; and the writer has executed his task with industry, accuracy, and elegance.

"The ancient and modern History of Nice; comprehending an Account of the Foundation of Marseilles: by J. B. Davis, M. D. one of the British captives of Verdun," 8vo. This is a mixt performance, and seems to be an attempt to blend the sobriety of history with the glowing colours of picturesque scenery, and the rigid maxims of the hygeine. As a physician, and a physician unfortunately confined to the vicinity of the region he describes, Dr. Davis recommends, in the warmest terms, this district to the attention of the valetudinarian, and especially if his disease be of a pulmonary character. Pisa, Genoa, Hyeres, and especially Montpellier, have all had their advocates in turn, yet even in respect to the best of them our author tells us, that "as far as regards a comparison of climate *with* Montpellier and Nice, I do not hesitate to say the latter has an *infinite* superiority." In picturesque painting we can more readily admit such hyperboles of assertion, because we are more in the habit of meeting with them; and in this kind of writing our author seems rather to excel than when seated in the chair of Esculapius. With the historical part of the work, however, which comprises about half of it, he has evidently taken no small pains, and drawn from good authorities: and the antiquity of Nice as a Phocæan settlement, and whose fortunes were so long and so closely connected with those of Marseilles, from which it ramified—together with its vast variety of incidents, prosperous and adverse—its triumphs, defeats, and revolutions, during its contests with the Ligurians, Romans, Goths, and modern French, from about the year 340 before Christ to the present æra, give to this part of the volume before us an attraction and interest which we have deeply felt, and are anxious to communicate.

"History

"History of the Rise and Progress of the Belgian Republic, until the Revolution under Philip II.: including a Detail of the primary Causes of that memorable Event. From the German Original of Frederic Schiller: by Thomas Horne." This is a sketch; but it is the sketch of an able master; it bears in most of its pages the impress of Schiller, or of a writer of his powers. The period selected is the most important in the Dutch history, developing on the one hand, the progressive goading by which the Hollanders were at length stimulated to throw off the yoke completely; and on the other hand, the progressive influence which such an ascending scale of tyranny produced upon the feelings, till at length the pressure and the cruelty became altogether intolerable. Under the elegant and courteous, but at the same time bigotted and imperious Charles V. this commenced. He, however, possessed talents of so dulcifying a description, and at the same time a policy so chastised and controlled, that it was impossible the flame of general insubordination could burst forth under his reign. Unfortunately for the Spanish dynasty, his son and successor, with all his lust of power and bigotry of religion, possessed not a single particle of his conciliatory talents. Hence the spirit of resistance soon began to blaze forth; death in opposition to submission, was esteemed a glorious martyrdom; and the Netherlands, by a struggle which ought to shame the existing inhabitants of the same territory, obtained, as their glorious result, political independence and the veneration of the world. Such is the subject of the volume before us. In the original we should have liked to have beheld a more correct discrimination upon the subject of *religion*, as it is here called, than we find actually exhibited; and in the translation a more accurate knowledge, we do not say of German, but of English. Amidst the peccadilloes of the original author we are told, "thus *religion* conducted despotism into the sanctuary of liberty, and urged it to *profane* her *sacred* rites without danger or resistance!" What is the meaning of this incongruous assemblage of images? *Religion* first becomes a priest or priestess to the goddess of *Liberty*, at whose sanctuary he or she duly officiates; and immediately afterwards *Religion* is metamorphosed into a sort of renegado or blasphemer, and is made to *profane* the *sacred* rites that appertain to this goddess. Why the term *superstition* should not have been adopted, not only here, but in a variety of similar passages, we have too often seen reason to conjecture, and are sorry that such reason should have been afforded us. To the translator we would hint that in the expression "discourses on *such-like* topics,"—*such-like* is neither English nor German. Yet we should not have noticed it, but that we meet with instances of *such-like* phraseology occurring too frequently.

We hasten to the department of Voyages and Travels; and shall open it with a notice of Dr. Buchanan's "Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar," 3 vols. 4to. This is a work of considerable value in many points of view, and would have been of more value still, had the great variety of important facts and observations it contains been more compressed and better arranged; by which one of the three volumes at least might have been curtailed. In reality the author himself is not insensible of this: for after observing

in a preliminary page that, upon the recommendation of Mr. Wilkins, the East India Company, to whom a manuscript copy had been transmitted, had resolved upon patronising and publishing it, and that the printing was actually commenced before his arrival in England, affording him an agreeable surprise that his journal had experienced a reception so favourable; he immediately adjoins, "it is true I wished to have abridged the work before publication, and altered its arrangement; but as the printing had commenced before my arrival, and as my stay in England was likely to be short, I could not undertake such alterations." We are highly thankful, however, for the work in its present form; as it gives us a more detailed and satisfactory account of the countries through which the author travelled, comprising the entire dominions of the Raja of Mysore, the whole extent of the territory acquired by the Company from the Sultan in the course of the late war, and such part of Malabar as was annexed to the Company's possessions in the course of the war under Marquis Cornwallis, than any publication that has preceded it. The tour was undertaken at the instigation and under the direction of Marquis Wellesley, in the beginning of 1800; and the object was to obtain equally a collection of agricultural, commercial, and statistic facts. Dr. Buchanan was instructed, as the first and most essential part of his mission, to survey the agriculture of the different districts in regard to their esculent vegetables, cattle and farms. He was next to attend to the cultivation and preparation of their cotton, pepper, sandal-wood, and cardamoms; then to their mines, quarries, minerals, and mineral springs; to their manufactures and manufacturers; to the climate and seasons of Mysore; and lastly to the condition of the inhabitants in general in relation to their food, clothing, and buildings; and how far their condition in these respects may have been affected by the different changes in the government. The field is almost unlimited, and when we add that the important task thus confided to our industrious and indefatigable traveller was executed to the satisfaction of the distinguished nobleman who employed him; and that the volumes before us give, in an itinerary form, a general statement of the countries he visited in regard to the whole of the objects that occupied his attention; we add quite enough to convince our readers of the importance of their contents, and to induce, as we may reasonably hope, no small part of the British public to examine for themselves. It is not long since that Mr. Colebrooke published at Calcutta a very valuable account of the "Husbandry and internal Commerce of Bengal:" a large vacuity was still left, and Dr. Buchanan's journal tends very considerably to fill it up.

"Travels through the Canadas. By George Heriot, Esq. 4to." The tide of empire has been gradually rolling westward; and the new world will probably, in the revolution of a very few ages, assume the attributes of the old; the rude but sublime scenes, and the savage but manly race described by Weld, Hearne, and Liancourt; all, no doubt, destined to wear a milder aspect, and to furnish materials of high import for the future delineator of scenery, and the historian of civilized men. We have, therefore, received and perused the present volume with great pleasure and interest. The writer has a high claim upon our confidence in his statements, from his having resided many

many years in the country he describes; and having had opportunities of becoming intimately acquainted with the manners of the people he reviews; and his descriptions are given with an energy as well as a precision, that have never been surpassed by antecedent travellers through the same country, and not often equalled. The plates are numerous, exquisitely drawn, and well engraved and tinted; they place the objects before our eyes in the clearest light, transport us, as it were, to other regions, and introduce us to the acquaintance of nations, of whom we have hitherto only read. Upon the subject of Canadian language, the vernacular tongue of the rude districts through which our indefatigable traveller journeyed, we should have liked to have gleaned something more satisfactory; yet we are aware of the difficulties which entangle all information of this kind, from the great diversity of dialects into which the common language of the country is subdivided. The last chapter, however, affords a pretty full vocabulary of the Algonquin dialect, whose use is the most extensive of any in North America.

"Some Account of New Zealand, &c. By John Savage, Esq. Surgeon, 8vo." This account comprehends chiefly the Bay of Islands, and the surrounding country: with a description of the religion and government, language, arts, manufactures, manners and customs of the natives. It is but a sketch, but the sketch is well executed, and gives sufficient proofs of fidelity. In reality we have ourselves of late been much in company with a most respectable public character, who has lately returned from Australasia, after having passed fourteen years of his life in that distant region; whose private conversations not only corroborate the very agreeable picture which Mr. Savage has here drawn of these industrious and affectionate barbarians, but sufficiently vouch for the originality of the work before us, and its being the result of actual observation, from his own personal knowledge, that the author was an inhabitant of the places he undertakes to describe. The New Zealanders are highly ambitious of copying every thing that is English; most of the royal family are sufficiently versed in the English language, for the purposes of conversation; and it is but a year or two ago that the king himself not only paid a visit to the English governor at Sydney Cove, but actually resided with him for many months, to become more deeply instructed in the more simple and useful handicrafts of the colony.

"Observations upon the Windward Coast of Africa; the Religion, Character, Customs, &c. of the Natives: with a System upon which they may be civilized, and a knowledge attained of the interior of this extraordinary quarter of the globe; and upon the natural and commercial resources of the country: made in the years 1805 and 1806. By Joseph Corry. With an Appendix containing a Letter to Lord Howick on the most simple and effectual means of abolishing the Slave-Trade." The extent of this title leaves us little more to do than to acknowledge, that upon the whole the author has made good his pretensions. Mr. Corry looks with the eye of a politican and a patriot, and his remarks may deserve the attention of our rulers in more happy and tranquil times. We have been particularly pleased with his observations on the failure of the late Sierra Leone project. "I can bestow,"

says he, "no panegyric adequate to the sense I entertain of that active goodness which prompted the directors of the Sierra Leone Company to the undertaking I have alluded to; but with all due deference I conceive that they have mistaken the practical grounds upon which the seeds of civilization, and the principles of christianity, can be effectively displayed to the African." The observation is correct. Will it be found that the Company's agents have introduced the arts of civilization among any tribe or nation in Africa? that they have made any progress in agriculture, although possessing a very extensive tract of fertile lands, or that they have converted them into any of the regular features of cultivation? Have they explored or brought into action any of the attainable and lucrative branches of natural commerce, abounding in the region they inhabit, or do they employ a single ship in a regular trade with the mother country? Will it be found that they have unfolded the doctrines of christianity in their native purity and simplicity to the unenlightened African, or converted, by their preaching or example, any tribe or nation among them? The spacious waste is destitute of the appearance of domestic industry, or respectable character; it exhibits only a tissue of indolence, hypocritical grimace, petulent and assuming manners, and all the consequences of idleness and corrupted morals. To succeed in this beneficent undertaking, and to expunge the inveterate nature of the African, his prejudices and inherent customs, progressive approaches upon his present condition are indispensably requisite, under the attractive influence of agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and navigation. We are afraid that the captivity, and probably the assassination of the active and enterprising Mungo Park are to be ascribed to a deficiency of judgment as to the real character of the African tribes, and the true mode of managing it. The system of colonization offered in this work is built upon a much wiser basis, and we subscribe very cordially to a great part of it.

"Observations on a Journey through Spain and Italy to Naples, and thence to Smyrna and Constantinople; comprising a Description of the principal Places in that Route, and Remarks on the present Natural and Political State of those Countries. By Robert Semple, 2 vols. 8vo." Mr. Semple is, we believe, by birth an American: yet an education in England has completely anglified him. In the course of the present route, however, he chose, from political motives, to assume his native character, and to travel as an American. He pays very little attention to antiquities and the fine arts, probably from possessing very little knowledge of either; but he discovers a competent share of observation and reflection, and his manner of narrating adventures, and describing customs and scenery, affords a lively picture of the realities that would be likely to strike the eye of any rapid and superficial observer. The present work is hence rather calculated for amusement than for literary or political instruction.

"The Present State of Turkey: or a Description of the Political, Civil, and Religious Constitution, Government and Laws of the Ottoman Empire. By Thomas Thornton, Esq. 4to." There is, in this work, too much of a spirit of controversy, and desire to establish the writer's own fame or authority upon the ruins of almost every author

thor who has preceded him in the same track. Bating this disingenuous and hostile propensity, it is a volume of real merit and information, elegantly written, and not less elegantly printed. The observations are often original, and worth getting by heart: the political strictures evince a mature and comprehensive judgment; and the general accuracy of our author's statement is, we very much believe, beyond the power of impeachment.

"Travels in the Year 1806, from Italy to England, through the Tyrol, Styria, Bohemia, Gallicia, Poland, and Livonia, &c. By the Marquis de Salvo. 12mo." This volume is chiefly written to describe the generous plot contrived, and successfully executed for liberating Mrs. Spencer Smith, the daughter of Baron Herbert, and sister-in-law of the hero of Acre, from the gripe of French police, or rather from that of Buonaparte himself, who merely, as it would seem, in consequence of her name and relationship to Sir Sidney Smith, was arrested at Venice, while residing there for the benefit of her health, under the sanction of a passport, and the direct permission of the French government, and condemned to be conveyed to Valenciennes, and imprisoned within the walls of its desolate and murky castle. The story is told in glowing colours; and is peculiarly interesting from the difficulties, embarrassments, hair-breadth escapes, and final success that alternately or progressively characterise it.

"A Tour through Holland along the Right and Left Banks of the Rhine to the South of Germany, in the Summer and Autumn of 1806. By Sir John Carr. 4to." Few people have written so largely as the present author in the course of the last three or four years; and fewer still who have written so largely have written with equal elegance and entertainment. The same fascination that pervades his anterior exertions is diffused through the present; and if we do not enlarge on it, we withhold our pen merely from a desire that our readers may open the pages and judge for themselves.

"Journal of a Tour in Ireland, A. D. 1806. By Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Esq. 8vo." As an archeological work, this is of very high value. The ancient history, and the ancient buildings, and whatever relates to the tale of former times, are here given *con amore;* and the writer appears to have imbibed the whole spirit of his own Gyraldus. We also meet with an interspersion of observations on the agriculture, commerce, climate, present state and condition of the inhabitants; but these are fewer in number, and tinted with less glowing colours. The volume may be said to consist of three parts: the first a description of our journalist's *southern* route, through Trim, Mullingar, Tullamore, Henagh, Killaloe, Limerick, Listowell, Trallee, Killarney, Mill-street and Cork; with a return to Dublin by crossing the harbour from Cork to Cloyne, and re-entering the post-road at Youghall. In the second part Sir Richard describes his *northern* tour, from Dublin to Donegal, Derry, Colerain, and the Giant's Causeway; with his return through Antrim, Belfast, Hillsborough, Newry and Dundalk. In the course of his progress he refers to many of the best Irish antiquarians, and hence produces a body of paleology, equally entertaining and authoritative. The volume closes with a section of general remarks, which is again partitioned into

into three subdivisions: the first recounting and connecting a variety of antiquarian points; the second exhibiting the present appearance of the capital and its provinces; and the last relating exclusively to the surface of the country.

"Travels in Scotland by an unusual Route, &c. By the Rev. James Hall, A. M. 2 vols. 8vo." These volumes are stored to satiety with anecdotes and characters, and these not always told or drawn with any high degree of zest. They nevertheless contain some striking and important facts; and as we have made a pretty long extract from them in an antecedent part of our Register, we shall dismiss them without further notice. They are embellished with a map including the Caledonian canal, and a variety of neatly executed views of the most striking objects.

"Letters from England. By Don Manuel Alvarez Espriella. Translated from the Spanish, 3 vols. 12mo." We have some doubt whether this be a translation, or an original work designed to impose upon the public by such a pretension: and we trust, for the honour of Spanish liberality, that our doubts are well founded. There is a spirit of bigotry of the very worst and most intolerant complexion, that appears almost in every page; and, in truth, the work affects to be written altogether under the superintendance of the author's *holy* father confessor. Excepting in this point, however, there is a sufficient keenness and originality of remark to render it sufficiently attractive for general reading.

"Illustrations of the Scenery of Killarney and the surrounding Country. By Isaac Weld, Esq. M. R. I. A. pp. 224, 4to. 2*l.* 2*s.*" This is, indeed, a sumptuous and exquisite treat. Expensive as is the volume, it should be in the possession of every one who is about to travel towards the wild and romantic districts, which are the subject of the work. It chiefly fails in its mineralogical and botanical statements, which are far more meagre than we should have expected. It is chiefly successful in the description of picturesque views, and the delineation of national characters.

In our political catalogue for the year we ought, unquestionably, first of all to introduce to the notice of our readers Professor Playfair's "Enquiry into the permanent Causes of the Decline and Fall of powerful and wealthy Nations, &c." This work has already acquired a second edition; but we do not perceive that the author has much availed himself of this circumstance to correct his errors, whether of style or speculation. He is still haunted by the spectre of monopoly; and appears desirous that government should take the superintendence of almost every trade and profession into its own hands, by which we have not the smallest doubt, that our statute law would be multiplied in just an inverse ratio to its benefits. The work commences with an attempt to account for the decline and fall of many of the most celebrated, commercial, and opulent states in ancient history, especially those of Tyre, Carthage, and Rome: in the course of which, however, we meet with little that has not been observed by prior writers. Mr. Playfair then enters upon what is by far the most important part of the work. "Having now," says he, "taken a view (*of*) and inquired into the causes that have ruined nations, that have been great and wealthy from the earliest to the present time; having also enquired into

into the causes that naturally will operate where those did not, and that would, at a later period, have produced the same effect; it is now the business to examine, how far and in what way, the result of the inquiry applies to the British empire." This inquiry is, for the most part, highly interesting; the facts adduced are well chosen; most of the observations are pertinent; some of them extremely important; and the general views of the author appear to be patriotic, and his sentiments liberal. There is rather too gloomy a shade, however, cast over the existing state of things, and consequently the predictions are unduly charged with national calamity and distress. We are told that, surrounded as we are by dangers from without, and corrupted within by ill-gotten wealth, the fruit of Eastern pillage and African oppression; pervaded by the mercenary and venal spirit of an overgrown commerce; and governed by councils either fluctuating or feeble, we have to anticipate a retrograde course; that the future presents us with nothing that is cheering; that our decline will be rapid and our ruin signal. But we cannot find that such declamatory observations are by any means justified even by the very facts to which the author appeals as their basis.

"State of France during the Years 1802 to 1806. By T. W. Williams, Esq. 2 vols. 12mo." These volumes are written in the epistolary form, and comprise thirty-one letters, exclusive of a postscript, for the most part upon interesting topics, and from a source that may, in a great measure be depended upon, the writer having been unfortunately one of our numerous fellow-countrymen detained at Nancy, at the commencement of the war, in consequence of Buonaparte's severe and flagitious interdict. According to the statement before us, there is little chance of any serious counter-revolution, the French prudently preferring one tyrant to a hundred, and being apprehensive of less mischief from the rod of single handed despotism than of multifarious anarchy. Yet there are anecdotes that sufficiently prove that the people of France are neither insensible of the violent character of their ruler; nor the autocrat himself totally fearless of private, if not of public, revenge. In proof of the first position we may quote the following short passage that occurs on the author's very unexpected arrest:—"You may easily conceive my surprise and mortification in seeing a *gens d'arme* enter my room at three o'clock in the morning, notwithstanding my passport was in the foreign office, and I had received the assurance of the minister for foreign affairs, that the English were safe, and would receive an order to return to their own country. I must, however, do him the justice to say, that I believe, when he professed to inform me of the intentions of his government, he was sincere; as we understand that the sudden caprice of Buonaparte has induced him to make us prisoners; and that this is an effect of that degree of passion to which he is so liable, in common with the natives of *his country*." The writer was sentenced, in spite of all the hopes held up to him, to Nancy, where he resided on the return of Buonaparte from his brilliant triumph over the power of Austria. "The emperor passed through this place yesterday," says he, "in his way back to Paris, after the shortest and most brilliant campaign that will be recorded in modern history. Triumphal arches were erected in every

every town on his road. He arrived here about three o'clock in the morning, and changed horses by torch-light; during which time I put into his hands a letter which the illustrious Dr. Jenner had the goodness to write for me, soliciting my return, in consequence of his having been of so much benefit to France by means of his vaccine inoculation. Buonaparte received the letter with all the haughtiness imaginable, and gave it to a person in the same carriage without reading it. Vast numbers of people were collected from all quarters, notwithstanding his wish to pass through the town privately. His equipage consisted of three carriages, constantly changing their station as they proceeded; his own being sometimes the first, and at other times in the middle, or last. This denoted a precaution, which seems to indicate that *his majesty* is not quite secure of the loyalty of *his liege subjects.*" It appears in the issue, that notwithstanding the repulsive manner of Buonaparte to his supplicant, through the interference of Dr. Croisart, his first physician, Dr. Jenner's letter was eventually successful.—" Je ne saurais," replied he, " refuser la demande d'un grand homme tel que le docteur Jenner." In a short time our author's passports arrived, and passing through Paris, he embarked at Morlaix.

" View of the present State of Poland. By George Burnett, late of Baliol College, Oxford. 12mo. 7*s.*" This is a mere compilation; yet in the present interest which the country it describes has, unfortunately for itself, communicated to other nations, may be consulted with advantage, and will afford an information which we believe may for the most part be depended upon.

But we are peremptorily called to the political controversies of the year: of which the three chief are, that respecting the present and prospective state of our commerce, and the expediency or inexpediency of breaking with America; that respecting the attack upon Denmark, and the prospective state of the Baltic; and that respecting the Irish Catholics, which we perceive is as vigorously persevered in as ever.

It will be impossible even to enumerate the whole of the very multiplied pamphlets, the observations, replies, rejoinders, and replications which have been advanced upon these leading political disputes. We shall notice, on both sides of the question, those which appear to be possessed of most merit.

We shall commence with Mr. Spence's pamphlet, which has already passed through three editions, entitled, " Britain independent of Commerce." How often are we called upon to observe, that public sentiments change with the public times! It is only a few years ago that Mr. Windham's too hasty apostrophe of " perish commerce!" promised him an unpopularity coextensive with the whole country, and threw him out of the parliamentary representation for the city of Norwish. At present, however, the very same sentiment is not only generally endured, but attempted to be reasoned upon as the very basis of the wealth and prosperity of not only *a* country, but of *every* country: and the pamphlet before us is written, in conformity with the state of the belligerent world, and the very extraordinary interdictions against all commerce whatever, which have been equally fulminated by England and France, to prove that our national strength and opulence by no means depend upon foreign

foreign commerce, but almost exclusively upon internal manufactures and agriculture, and especially upon the latter: and hence that provided the train of politics, either of the French or English cabinet, should cut us off from all trade up the Baltic and to America, as it has already cut us off from all trade with every other country, excepting, indeed, the East Indies, instead of being discomfited, we should rather rejoice at being compelled to concentrate those energies, which, in no view whatever, could be affected by any such change; "our own wealth and our own greatness being wholly derived from our own resources, and independent of every thing external."

In answer to this new-fangled paradox, as well as with a view to various other points, Mr. Roscoe has sallied forth with his "Considerations on the Causes, Objects, and Consequences of the present War, and on the Expediency, or the Danger of Peace with France:" and that we may not wander from the march immediately before us, we shall reverse the order of his paging, and commence our brief notice of these "Considerations" by the following quotation, which occurs towards their close. "Speculations," says Mr. Roscoe, "have lately been hazarded, to shew that this country is independent of commerce, and that her resources are wholly within herself. As a general proposition it may be admitted, that agriculture is the only foundation of wealth. But this must be taken with relation to the world at large; and it may not follow, that the cultivation of the soil, to the exclusion of other occupations, will be the policy of every particular country, any more than of every individual in a society. The fact is, that agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, have all been found to be real sources of national greatness; and it is not therefore from general principles and abstract reasonings, that we are to give an exclusive preference of the one to the other. How far they are to be conjointly or separately encouraged, must depend upon a due consideration of various circumstances, to which the writers alluded to have not sufficiently attended: such as the extent of territory, the fertility of the soil, the insular or continental situation of the country, and the talents, acquirements, and dispositions of the inhabitants. To what cause are we to attribute the power of Venice in the beginning of the sixteenth century, when she withstood, both by sea and land, the whole force of Europe combined against her in the league of Cambray? Or how are we to account for the former greatness of the states of Holland, the most formidable maritime foe that this country ever encountered? In these instances manufactures had little, and agriculture no concern." This, we think, is putting the question in its true point of view; and we have no hesitation in stating, first, that the safety of Great Britain depends chiefly on the peerless and triumphant power of its navy; and secondly, that neither mere internal agriculture nor manufactures, alone or in conjunction, could have put us into possession of such a navy, or could feed its incessant demand for ready-prepared and able hands. With these observations we shall let the present question rest. But we cannot so fully accede to Mr. Roscoe's positions, which regard either the cause and objects of the war, or the expediency of a peace with France. We cannot admit with him, that it recommenced *altogether*

ther in a "contemptible dispute about the island of Malta;" or that "in the year 1806 peace might have been established, if we had not preferred the interests of Russia to our own, and that this cause of hostilities is now removed by the treaty of Tilsit, and the declaration of war by Russia against Great Britain." Our author seems to forget that Sicily was by no means disposed of as well as a variety of other points, at the time the negotiation was abruptly broken off; as also that the pivot on which the whole turned was the active hostility, all of a sudden evinced by Prussia against France merely in consequence of the avowed determination of the latter to compel her to restore Hanover into the hands of our own sovereign. Had not the evil genius of Prussia swayed her national scale at that inauspicious hour—had she, instead of resisting, consented, as she ought to have done, equally upon the score of honour and policy—no new war would or could have been lighted up on the continent, and hence, in all probability, the negotiation would have taken a more favourable and pacific turn.

Upon the subject and principle of neutral trade and international law, we entered at some length in our last RETROSPECT, and especially as it concerned the existing states and relations of Great Britain and America. A variety of unfortunate events have since occurred to keep up the fermentation; and, as the common result, a variety of acrimonious pamphlets on both sides the question, as well as on both sides the water, have rendered the fermentation still more ebullient. The *rights* of neutrals, as they are uniformly called by the opposers of the British system, have, upon the whole, been less sturdily maintained than during the past year. In the "American arguments for British rights," which is only a republication in this metropolis, of a trans-Atlantic pamphlet, entitled, "Letters of Phocion on the subject of Neutral Trade," we meet with an able auxiliary to the author of "War in Disguise." But we cannot avoid reprobating severely the very irritating language, and angry menaces thrown out on the same side of the question, by the author of "A True Picture of the United States of America," as well as of another pamphlet, entitled, "Softly, Brave Yankees!!! or the West Indies rendered independent of America, and Africa civilized." This author signs himself "A British Subject." A greater abuse of the name we have seldom seen; and we trust there are not many *British subjects* equally ready to advance the most effective interests of Buonaparte against their own country. Could he who has, so unfortunately for us as well as for the world at large, succeeded in exciting a spirit of warfare between Great Britain and all Europe, succeed also in propagating this war to America, his malice would nearly be gratified against ourselves, and his ambition satiated by the advantage he would have over both. It is the very game he is now striving to play, as the cheapest and the most effectual he could accomplish in any part of the globe. The populations of Spain and Italy were brought forwards to overthrow Germany; those of Germany to overthrow Russia; and now those of Russia and Denmark to overthrow Sweden. It is of little consequence which side obtains the battle; his is a certain gain; for the conquerors and the conquered become equally incapable of opposing him. A greater curse could not happen to the civilized world,

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than that Great Britain should be at war with America as well as with Europe; that the only two powers which have any pretensions to civil liberty, and which Buonaparte cannot injure or even touch, should be quarrelling and fighting, and destroying each other. Is it politic, under these circumstances—is it true under any, to tell the Americans, as this writer does, that "they cannot be said to possess character; that they are as capricious as unprincipled; and that they have reached that pitch of depravity in their private as well as public character, that to hear of our subjugation by French conquest would be to them a political millenium:" No! replies Mr. Medford, in his "Oil without Vinegar, and Dignity without Pride:" and we trust there are thousands of other Americans who will join in the reply, "should Britain sink in the contest she now maintains with European powers, let it not be thought, that that would be a matter of triumph for America. No! the world would be again plunged in despotism, and darkness would soon follow. The age of commerce would be over, for despots do not admit of its flourishing under their hands." We need not add, that this is one of the best popular pamphlets which have been published on this subject. Mr. Medford, indeed, has favoured the public with another, very nearly coeval in point of printing, under the title of "Observations on European Courts, and Outlines of their Politics;" but it is of inferior merit, though containing a variety of manly and liberal sentiments.

The question of the policy or impolicy, justice or injustice of the late attack upon Denmark, has scarcely been opened within the period of time to which we are limited. It has been strongly combated by several anonymous authors, and especially the writer of "Remarks on the Injustice and Impolicy of our Attack, &c." but as we shall be compelled to return to the same subject in our next retrospect, and to examine the public opinion more at large, we shall defer all further consideration of it for the present.

The subject of Catholic emancipation has been compounded, recompounded, digested and strained off by such a variety of hands, that it is impossible even to notice the whole of them. Of the chief pamphlets that have appeared in its favour, are, "Two Letters on the Subject of the Catholics to my brother Abraham, who lives in the Country. By Peter Plymley, Esq." A mixture of humour and argument, with which the Catholics themselves were so much pleased, that Squire Plymley soon afterwards thought he might venture upon the publication of "Three more Letters on the Subject of the Catholics to my brother Abraham;" in which we perceive the mistaken tenets of brother Abraham attacked by the same weapons, and with equal success. "An Essay on the History and Effect of the Coronation Oath. By J. J. Dillon, Esq. of Lincoln's Inn, barrister at law;" which has unquestionably the merit of even a courtly politeness and suavity of manner, in conjunction with much adroitness of pleading, as well as a thorough knowledge of the subject. And "an Historical Apology for the Irish Catholics. By William Parnell, Esq." to whom, however, we cannot pay *all* the compliments we have thought ourselves bound to pay to Mr. Dillon. The argument is for the most part, that the Catholic religion had sunk into torpor and inactivity, and that it must have

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continued asleep and harmless if government had not "roused it with the lash:" and even this ineffective argument is accompanied with a virulence of abuse, which can injure no party so much as the author's own.

The chief pamphlets, in opposition to the Catholic claims, are Mr. Bowles's "Strictures on the Motions made in last Parliament, respecting the Pledge, &c. in a Letter to the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Howick:" written in the author's usual style, and evincing great indignation at his Lordship's conduct. "The Patriot King; by a Foe to Bigotry:" written with more or less asperity than the preceding, but at the same time with less knowledge of the subject. "Remarks on the Dangers which threaten the Established Religion: in a Letter to the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval, &c. By Edward Pearson, B.D." There is too much of mystery and perplexity in this composition, notwithstanding the author's good intentions, and excellent remarks. It discovers a strange contexture of brain, not to be able to defend the conduct of government concerning the Catholics without attacking the whole host of Methodists and Evangelizers at the same time. "Letter to the Right Hon. Viscount Howick, on the subject of the Catholic Bill. By the author of "Unity the Bond of Peace." "A Second Letter to ditto by ditto." Upon the whole, however, in the course of the controversy, as maintained through the current year, we perceive but little novelty, or originality, or interest, whether on the one side or the other, compared with what has already been offered to us. The question is absolutely torn to tatters as to all scholastic disputation: it may, nevertheless, be kept up as a political foot-ball.

In the department of law we have to notice, "Remarks critical and miscellaneous on the Commentaries of Sir James Blackstone. By James Sedgewick, Esq. Barrister at Law," of which a new edition has been published, and which have possessed much popularity, as well from their intrinsic excellence and spirit, though hostile to several of Judge Blackstone's most prominent opinions, as from the warm eulogium passed upon them by the late Lord Kenyon. Mr. W. H. Rowe, of Lincoln's-Inn, has replied to these in "A Vindication of the Commentaries of Sir W. Blackstone;" but we do not think the fame of the writer of the "Remarks" will totter on this account. "A Series of Original Precedents in Conveyancing, &c. By Charles Barton, Esq." Useful and perspicuous. "A Treatise on the Law, relative to Contracts and Agreements not under Seal. By Samuel Comyn, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo." A treatise drawn up with much judgment, fidelity and accuracy, with ample and correct references. "The Law of Shipping and Navigation, from the Time of Edward III. to the end of the year 1806. By John Reeves, Esq." a work originally composed for the use of the Committee of Privy Council; and fully calculated to communicate the information it proposes.

The present tone and temper of the public mind is not peculiarly propitious to subjects of a strictly ethical or moral character. Yet we have received two or three, that we lament we have not space to pay sufficient attention to: unfortunately for us! these are, for the most part, the compositions of writers who will never more adorn or instruct the world

world by new productions. We allude chiefly to the late Prebendary Gilpin's "Dialogues on Various Subjects," which are beyond our praise, and ought to be in the hands of every young man of taste: and Mrs. Chapone's "Posthumous Works," filled with elegance, amusement, and all the attractions of goodness and truth.

CHAPTER IV.

LITERATURE AND POLITE ARTS.

Containing the Transactions of Literary Societies, Biography, Antiquities, Philology, Classics, Poetry, Drama, Novels, Tales, and Romances.

AS usual, we shall commence this part of our annual retrospect with the "Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, for the year 1807." Of these, however, we have at this moment received only the first part, a work of less magnitude than common, yet offering us several papers of highly curious and interesting results. The volume commences with Mr. Davy's Bakerian lecture "On some Chemical Agents of Electricity," in the course of which he has clearly ascertained, that the acid and the alkali for some time discovered to be produced at the ends of the opposite wires, connected with the extremities of the Voltaic pile or trough, are obtained from a decomposition of some part of the apparatus employed. Considering the effect produced on glass, he conjectured that bodies which are generally regarded as insoluble in water, might be transmitted through this fluid by means of the Galvanic action; which, upon experiment, was actually found to be the case with the sulphat of lime, the sulphat of strontian, and other similar substances, the earth becoming attached to the negative, and the acid to the positive wire. From which, and other auxiliary facts, Mr. Davy deduces the following proposition: "that hydrogen, the alkaline substances, the metals and certain metallic oxyds are attracted by negatively electrified metallic surfaces, and repelled by positively electrified metallic surfaces; and contrariwise, that oxygen and acid substances are attracted by positively electrified surfaces, and repelled by negatively electrified metallic surfaces; and that these attractive and repulsive forces are sufficiently energetic to destroy or suspend the usual operation of elective affinity." In pursuing these experiments, however, our ingenious and prying philosopher was led to new ideas relative to the connection which subsists between the electrical energies of bodies, and their chemical affinities; to suppose that bodies that unite chemically are in opposite states of electricity, and that their affinity for each other will be destroyed or altered by any alteration in their electricity, as was observed in the experiments above: whence we may deduce the basis of a new theory of chemical affinity, as depending on the attraction which different

ferent particles of matter possess for each other, when they are in opposite states of electricity; an idea on which we cannot at present rely with implicit confidence, but which may be substantiated by subsequent facts, and is at least found to coincide with the laws of affinity, as developed by modern chemists.

1. "An Account of two Children born with cataracts in their eyes, to show that their sight was obscured in very different degrees; with experiments, to determine the proportional knowledge of objects acquired by them immediately after the cataracts were removed. By Everard Home, esq. F.R.S." It was well conjectured by Mr. Cheselden, from observations in his own extensive practice, that vision alone, unassisted by the touch, gives no idea of the figure of objects and their distances from the eye—a conjecture in perfect consonance with one of the express dogmas of the epicurean theory of colours, which is perfectly in unison with the modern theory, and may be found detailed with great beauty and at full length in Lucretius. Mr. Ware, however, from a fact that occurred to himself, formed a different conjecture, and published it in the Society's Transactions for 1801. The paper before us is intended to reconcile these opposite results, or rather to shew by what means Mr. Ware was led to his conclusion in opposition to the general truth and accuracy of Mr. Cheselden's remarks.

2. "Observations on the structure of different Cavities which constitute the Stomach of the Whale, compared with those of ruminating Animals, with a view to ascertain the Structure of the digestive Organ: By the Same." The species examined was, the *delphinus delphis* of Linnéus, or *bottle-nose whale* of our own countrymen. This animal has four cavities: Mr. Hunter, from an examination he had an opportunity of making, suspected that the digestive process was conducted in the second; Mr. Home, in the present paper, endeavours to prove that it takes place in the fourth.

3. "On the formation of the Bark of Trees, in a Letter from T. A. Knight, Esq. F.R.S. to the President." Mr. Knight, in this paper, seems to believe, that the new bark is produced from the old, by the exudation of a fluid which forms a cellular substance to be afterwards converted into such bark. It is enough for us to observe, that this cannot be the case universally, for that the potentillas and some of the plane trees exfoliate their bark annually, as the grasshopper or spider exfoliates his cuticle, and has nevertheless a new bark produced very shortly after each exfoliation. It is affirmed by Mr. Good in his ingenious oration lately delivered before the Medical Society of London, to be annually formed or increased from the outer layer of the liber or inner bark, as the alburnum or soft wood is annually also from the inner layer. As Mr. Knight proposes to continue this enquiry, we cannot do better than recommend his perusal of this curious paper, the very subject of which is "the general structure and physiology of plants, compared with those of animals." The recent publication of this oration prevents us from noticing it in this years list, but we shall necessarily return to it in our catalogue for the ensuing year.

4. "On the Precession of the Equinoxes. By the rev. Abraham Robertson, M.A. F.R.S. &c. 5. An Investigation of the General Term of an important Series in the Inverse Method

Method of finite Differences. By the Rev. John Brinkley, D.D. F.R.S. &c." Both these articles are incapable of abridgment. The first is designed to point out the chief theories that have been advanced on the subject of the precession, since the error of Newton has been fully ascertained, and arranges them into various heads, according to the express cause of their failure. The author makes a few original observations with a view of founding a new theory: but the subject is still open to other hypotheses. The latter paper is still more recondite, more accurately written, and, in in our opinion, entitled to a closer study.

"Transactions of the Society instituted at London for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, Vol. XXIV." Many of the papers in the volume before us are highly useful and interesting. The first, which consists of letters from J. C. Curwen, Esq. M. P. of Workington-hall, Cumberland, is peculiarly of this kind: its subject is the culture of carrots, their value as a food for cattle, and an improved drill horse-hoe. By the method of growing carrots here pursued, the crop proved very productive, and there is an attested statement, that no smaller saving of oats than fifty-eight Winchester bushels per week, was obtained by the use of carrots upon the food of seventy-six horses. R. Phillips, Esq. of Tyn-y-Rhos, near Oswestry, has produced an excellent paper "On the Improvement of Waste Lands;" by the plan recommended, he recovered ninety acres from a state of waste; and as he is extending his exertions, he expresses a hope, should he live another year and enjoy his usual health, of seeing 148 acres, which very lately were almost entirely unproductive, covered with rich harvests, and adorned with thriving plantations. May he live many years! and may every year add an equal harvest to his deserts! Under the head chemistry, we have a paper from Mr. Charles Wilson, containing the specification of a composition for curing damp walls, which is a mixture of tar, kitchen-grease, slaked lime and powdered glass. Where the dampness proceeds from soft oozy bricks, or walls porous from similar causes, it is probable it may be used with good effect. It is to be laid on in the consistence of thin plaster, and immediately on being mixed. In the section of manufactures, we cannot avoid noticing that Mr. J. Austin, of Glasgow, has given an account of a loom to be worked by steam or water, which is well worth attending to. The loom is reported to work with regularity as well as dispatch; to stop when a thread breaks, and to save more than one half the ordinary price of workmanship. Mr. J. Robertson, of St. Mary's Wind, Edinburgh, has also, in the same section, proposed a plan for "A Loom for weaving Fishing-nets." This is a desideratum that has been long before the public, and that cannot fail of proving highly beneficial to our public fisheries. In the class of mechanics, one of the most important papers is the account of Dr. Cogan's "Drag for raising the bodies of persons who have sunk under water:" the chief object of which is, to lay hold of bodies whether clothed or naked which have sunk under water, and to raise them up without laceration. It seems well calculated to answer this purpose, and the inventor has been rewarded with a gold medal. Mr. Trotter, of Soho-square, has given an account of what is apparently a very valuable curvilinear saw

saw, but which cannot be explained without the plate: and, in the section of colonies and trade, we find with much satisfaction a continuation of the valuable communications of the ingenious Dr. Roxburgh, and especially of his "Observations on the Culture, Properties, and Comparative Strength of Hemp and other vegetable Fibres, the Growth of the East Indies;" the former part of which was published in Vol. xxii. of the Society's Transactions. He has exhibited in a tabular form the name of twenty-eight plants which afford a fibrous substance, capable of being employed as hemp: of all which plants, Dr. R. particularly recommends the cultivation of the palm called *ejoo* in the East Indies; and to enforce his advice, he has sent specimens of its vegetable fibres, not only to the society before us, but to the museum of the East India Company, remarking, that "the cultivation of this beautiful, stately, and very useful palm may, I think, with the prospect of great advantage, be encouraged in the East Indies. For, besides the above-mentioned fibres, which are in high estimation for thick cordage and cables in India, this palm furnishes sugar, and abounds, probably more than any other, in wine, which, in its recent state, is a pleasant and wholesome beverage, and is also converted by the Malays into ardent spirits; and when the tree arrives at maturity, the pith of it is one of the varieties of sago-meal used by the people in their diet." Dr. Roxburgh has also presented the society with a specimen of a vegetable substance that has a prospect of being of very considerable consequence if more extensively cultivated, though but little known in Europe at present. "I have the pleasure," says he, "of sending you also a specimen of a most curious light vegetable substance, the spreading stems of the *aeschynomena aspera*, a water-plant, called by the Hindus and Bengalese *solah* and *fool solah*. It is employed by them for a variety of purposes, such as floats for fishing-nets, artificial flowers, &c. Might it not be advantageously employed," continues he, "instead of cork, in making jackets to swim with, and in life-boats, &c. At all events, the bare circumstance of making known the existence of such a plant, and the place in which it flourishes, will, I am persuaded, be acceptable information."

We have neither received the transactions for the year of the Royal Irish Academy, nor of the American Philosophical Society; and are hence compelled to defer entering upon both, till our next retrospect.

In biography, the year has been rich. We shall commence our list in this department with Mr. Barrow's "Life and Writings of Earl Macartney." It is written with the biographer's general spirit and amenity of style: the life is busy and important, and discloses to us a statesman equally able and uncorrupt. But we need not enlarge upon it, as our readers will be able to judge sufficiently for themselves, from the ample specimens we have given in a preceding department.

We may plead the same motive for brevity in our account of Lord Woodhouse's "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the hon. Henry Home of Kames," from which also we have made extensive extracts in the same section of our register. From these it will be seen, that Lord Kames has been peculiarly for-

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tunate in his biographer, than whom there is not perhaps a person existing so well qualified to delineate his character, and to present the world with a philosophical and critical analysis of his various, and in many respects, his interesting labours. Lord Kames was a shrewd lawyer, an enlightened philosopher, a sound political economist, and a judicious critic: and, to give his biography as it deserved to be given, and as it is here given, demanded a general knowledge of the moral and political character of the times in which he flourished, and especially of the progress of the literature, arts, manners, and general improvement of Scotland during the greater part of the eighteenth century.

"Memoirs of the Life of Mrs. Eliza Carter, with a new edition of her Poems, some of which have never appeared before, &c. By the Rev. Montague Pennington, M.A. Vicar of Northbourn, Kent, 4to." Mrs. Carter's character for learning at a period when female authors of every kind were far less common than at present, her connection with many of the most distinguished literates of the age, the long period which her life embraces, and the numerous virtues it disclosed, are sufficient reasons for collecting and publishing these memoirs. Yet upon the whole, they are ill-written; they display a strange want of taste in the selection of the letters, and possess less interest than any subject pretending to the length they possess, in this bulky quarto, ought ever to possess. Many of Mrs. Carter's letters were written half a century ago, and are dated from Brussels and Amsterdam, both which cities became antiquated, and fell into oblivion before her own death, and are totally destitute of all power of attraction in the present day. These letters, moreover, seldom contain a single remark that is new, profound, or wonderful; they are, however, occasionally sprightly, and shew that the grave translator of Epictetus could on particular occasions unbend from the severity of her ethics, and trifle in as easy and pleasant a manner as the more volatile and less learned of her sex. The following anecdote shall suffice as an example: "The Count de *Mhandhershield Bhlaywnktreihimwn* is another of our great personages, and a sovereign prince. He and Madame la Comtesse dined at the bishop of Augsburg's; they were attended by two figures which, as far as I could guess by their motions, are of the human species; but there not being any telescopes in the room, it was impossible for me to see their heads. Mrs. —— conjectures, that this pair of colossusses must be very useful to see the dishes on a table whenever the Compte de *Mhandhershield Bhlaywnkhcihimwn* happens to have a boiled leviathan at top, and a roasted behemoth at bottom." After having survived most of her contemporaries and the friends of her youth, and attained the advanced age of *eighty-eight*, the subject of these memoirs died in Clarges-street, Feb. 19, 1806.

"Memoirs of John Lord de Joineville, Grand Seneschal of Champagne. Written by Himself. Translated by Thomas Johnes, Esq. with Notes and Dissertations, 2 vols. 4to." The sire de Joinville was an eminent French statesman, who flourished about the latter end of the thirteenth century, and was descended from one of the noblest and most ancient families of Champagne. He was attached from early life to the count of Thibaud, king of Navarre and count of Champagne, was in possession of all the

knowledge of the age, and one of the most enlightened politicians of his contemporaries. His society being courted on account of his family connections and personal qualities, he accompanied Louis IX. in all his expeditions, excepting that to Tunis, which he declined from a foresight of its unfortunate termination. The familiarity with which St. Louis honoured him, gave him an opportunity of tracing the links of every event in his reign; and the candour and simplicity of the recital of these events which he has left us, afford strong proofs of his exactness. These memoirs, finished in 1309, and published after the death of Philip the Fair, have not only been esteemed one of the most valuable monuments of French history, but are peculiarly interesting to Englishmen; as they contain a variety of particulars relating to the Holy Land, at a short period after it was partly occupied by the English forces, together with occasional anecdotes of Richard the First, whose valour is not a mere national tradition; for, (says M. de Joinville, "this Richard, king of England, performed such deeds of prowess when he was in the Holy Land, that the Saracens, on seeing their horses frightened at a shadow or a bush, cried out to them, "What! dost thou think king Richard is there?" This they were accustomed to say from the many and many times he had conquered and vanquished them. In like manner, when the children of the Turks or Saracens cried, their mothers said to them, "Hush! hush! or I will bring king Richard of England to you: and from the fright these words caused, they were instantly quiet." To the contents of the second volume, we have some objection; it is chiefly occupied with the dissertations of Du Cange, in illustration of Joinville, amounting in number to no less than twenty-seven. These might certainly have been much abridged, and their value would have been increased by their reduction. They are succeeded by "Extracts from such Arabian MSS. as speak of historical events relative to the reign of St. Louis;" some "Explanations relative to the old Man of the Mountain;" and a "Translation of M. Falconett's two Dissertations on the Assassins, a people of Asia, whom he governed." The work is also accompanied by a portrait of the Lord de Joinville, from his monument; a map of the croisade of St. Louis in Egypt and Palestine; a map of the Delta, explanatory of the expedition; a view of the town and castle of Joinville; and a map of Syria and Palestine from D'Anville. The translator has been engaged in a valuable labour, which he has satisfactorily executed, and for which we beg him to accept our sincere thanks.

"The Life of Thuanus, with some account of his Writings, and a Translation of the Preface to his History. By the Rev. J. Collinson, A.M. of Queen's College, Oxford, 8vo." There is so little incident and change of scene in the life of Thuanus, that we are surprised that his biography, published by himself in the third person, could even at that period have excited much attention; and we can only resolve the fact, that it did excite attention by the fact of equal notoriety, that Thuanus was peculiarly characterised by his political and his religious opinions. At this day, however, when nobody but the recluse studies his history, few people besides the dealers in old books hear of his name, and not a soul can be interested in his personal disputes; we

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are doubly astonished that it should seem good to any gentleman of taste or talents, to dig up his mouldering remains from the grave of antiquity, and once more refit and re-introduce them into the world. The following seems to be the only apology that Mr. Collinson could muster up on the occasion: "Our author's character bears considerable resemblance in many points, to that of Lord Clarendon, and there is a remarkable coincidence in many leading circumstances of their lives. Each was born of a good family, and raised himself by merit to a station of the highest dignity in the legal profession; each was the object of his widowed mother's partial affection, and indebted to her bounty for an early establishment in life. Both, in tempestuous times, were firm adherents to the crown, and confidential ministers to two sovereigns; both experienced an unjust reverse of favour, and were exposed to the aspersions and ridicule of dissipated and licentious courts. Lastly, each composed a history of his own times, in a style of singular candour and moderation." But Clarendon was an Englishman; his history is peculiarly English history; his æra was far busier and more eventful: and, to Englishmen, these few casual resemblances will offer, we are afraid, but very little inducement to a perusal of the foreign, obsolete, and monotonous life of Thuanus.

"An Account of the Life and Writings of Hugh Blair, D. D. F.R.S.E. one of the Ministers of the High Church, &c. By the late John Hill, LL.D. &c." In this title, there is something peculiarly melancholy: the historian has since joined his deceased friend; and the biographer requires equally to be biographised. Dr. Blair was a man of taste and cultivated mind: yet it is truly extraordinary, that his sermons, which obtained for him by far the higher portion of his reputation, are now fast sinking into oblivion; while his exertions in polite criticism, and especially his critique upon the poems of Ossian, after having lost no small measure of public estimation, are re-ascending into public favour, and will probably long preserve his memory in the public mind. The incidents in the life of Dr. Blair are but little varied: and were it not for the critical observations introduced into the volume before us upon his style and writing, it would be reduced to a few pages. Many of these criticisms have merit: but having in a prior part of our Register offered ample extracts from the work, we may well be excused from adding any additional observations at present.

"Account of the Life and Writings of David Hume, Esq. By Thomas Edward Ritchie, 8vo." From some cause or other, Scotland has been peculiarly lavish of biographies in the course of the current year; and our readers will find, that by far the greater number of those we are called upon to notice are from this quarter. The narrative part of the life before us, like that of Thuanus by Mr. Collinson, is chiefly drawn from the auto-biography of the person pourtrayed; in the case before us, from Mr. Hume's memoir, entitled, "My own Life." The rest is chiefly criticism upon Mr. Hume's writings, elucidations of his opinions, or republications of several of his printed papers; much of which might have been spared without loss to the public. We have given a general summary of his life in an anterior department, and have added to it Rousseau's very curious and

extravagant dispute with him, as well because of its singularity, as that it is not easy to be met with elsewhere.

"Memoirs of the Life of the Great Condé, written by his Serene Highness Louis Joseph de Bourbon, Prince de Condé. Translated by Fanny Holcroft, 8vo." We are informed, that the original of this volume was written by his Highness the Prince de Condé in his youth, and that it never, perhaps, would have seen the light, had not the revolutionary depredators taken the manuscripts from the chateau of Chantilly, where it had been deposited in privacy by the modesty of the author. His highness, it is added, intended it only for the instruction of his family; and he was not less surprised than displeased at finding it was published. The first copy received in London was shewn to him; upon which he recognised and acknowledged the work, excepting the changes and additions which the Parisian editor has thought proper to make, and which are sufficiently denoted by the difference of the style. We have now seen the original, and can vouch for the truth of this assertion: it had indeed from the first the appearance of a correct averment. The life is drawn up with a simplicity and spirit that would do honour, we will not say to the pen of a *prince*, but to the pen of a *master*; and the translator has executed her task with credit.

"Lives of British Statesmen. By John Macdiarmid, Esq. 4to." Here too, as in the article of Dr. Blair's life, we have to lament over the loss of the historian; to observe that he himself has joined the dust of those he has commemorated, and that the biographer requires equally to be biographised. We may, in this instance, be allowed to indulge in a double degree of sorrow: for we personally knew, and had a friendship for the writer, a young man, a man of merit, and a man of modesty; to whose pen the world has been indebted for several prior publications in no small degree distinguished by acuteness of judgment, and logical precision of argument; we allude particularly to his "Inquiry into the System of National Defence in Great Britain," and his "Inquiry into the Principles of Subordination;" both of which we duly noticed as they appeared before the public. It only remains for us at present to observe, that the volume before us contains very excellent summaries of the lives of Sir Thomas Moore, William Cecil Lord Burleigh, Thomas Wentworth Earl of Strafford, Edward Hyde Earl of Clarendon; that they are so well selected, that the public history of the biography of the one seldom recurs in that of another, that the authorities referred to are of the most approved character, and that the style is animated and correct. We lament, on the score of the public, that a writer with so good a head and heart, and so full a prospect of many years of health and enjoyment, did not live to add other volumes to the present.

From the records of *men* we proceed to the records of *things*; from great and illustrious names to great and illustrious designs; and shall open our archaiological compartment with Mr. J. T. Smith's very costly and sumptuous "Antiquities of Westminster, the Old Palace, St. Stephen's Chapel, &c. 4to. pp. 276, price Six Guineas." Within the range of this beautiful and splendid work, we meet with no less than two hundred and forty-six engravings of topographical objects, of which

which one hundred and twenty-two are no longer in existence. We shall explain this paradox by stating, that on the alteration which was lately made in the House of Commons, with a view of rendering it large enough to admit the members elected by Ireland upon the epoch of the union, it was discovered, as soon as the wainscoting was removed, that the whole inside of the walls of the building had been originally painted with single figures and historical subjects; and that many of these were even then in a state so little imperfect as to admit of their being copied and engraven. In consequence of which, Mr. Smith, having procured permission for this purpose, obtained accurate drawings from them on the spot; and from these drawings many of the plates now presented have been copied with fidelity and exactness. We cannot but regard this volume as a national work of high value; nor ought we to neglect to observe, that the very ingenious and accomplished artist has the additional merit of having enlivened his engravings by a typographical description of real interest and excellence, richly interspersed with anecdotes of much curiosity and amusement.

"Twelve perspective Views of the exterior and interior parts of the Metropolical Church of Canterbury, accompanied by two ichnographic plates, and an Historical Account. By Charles Wild, folio, 3*l.* 3*s.* plain, or 5*l.* 5*s.* coloured." This, as a first essay, is highly creditable to a young artist. It contains two very elaborate plans, distinguishing the stations from which the perspectives are taken, and the actual measurements of the length and breadth of all the component parts and tracings of the groined arches, with five exterior and seven interior views in aquatinta; to which is annexed, an ample explanatory table. The whole is enriched with an abridged and well-selected history of the venerable structure which is the subject of the work. The parts chosen for the plates are, 1. The south-west view of the cathedral: 2. The nave: 3. Part of the western transept: 4. The martyrdom, or northern division of the transept, being the spot on which Becket was assassinated: 5. The cloisters: 6. The choir: 7. Western part of the south aisle: 8. Eastern part of the same: 9. Eastern transept: 10. Baptistry: 11. Trinity chapel: 12. Exterior of Beckett's crown.

"Antiquities, Historical, Architectural, Chorographical, and Itinerary, in Nottinghamshire and the adjacent Counties, &c. By William Dickinson, Esq. In four parts. Part I. II. and III. separate, 4to. Price 15*s.* each. This work, which yet requires the fourth part to complete it, has been in a state of progressive publication from the year 1801. In its scope it comprises the histories of Southwell and the *Ad Pontem* of the Romans, and of Newark, their Sidnacester, spots as deserving the notice of the antiquary as any in the island. The author discovers himself to be a man of reading, and recondite archaiological erudition; the engravings introduced are numerous, the subjects well selected, and the execution neat.

"Caledonia: or an account historical and topographical, of North Britain, from the most ancient to the present times; with a Dictionary of Plates, chorographical and philological. In four volumes. Vol. I.

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By George Chalmers, F.R.S. and S.A. 4to. Price 3*l.* 3*s.*" This is an elaborate undertaking, commenced by a gentleman who has given sufficient proof, that he is not in the habit of being dismayed by little difficulties, or of turning aside from a question because it is intricate and perplexed. As the first volume alone, however, is at present before us, we shall merely proceed to state its contents, reserving our opinion of the general merit of the work till it has advanced to a conclusion. This volume is divided into four books: The first relates to the Roman period; the second to the Pictish; the third to the Scottish; and the fourth to the Scoto-Saxon.

We proceed to the department of philology, and shall open it with noticing the late Professor Barrow's "Lectures on Belles Lettres and Logic, 2 vols. 8vo." These lectures constitute the course that, for twenty-five years, was read to the University of St. Andrews. The lectures on belles lettres are divided into three parts: 1. language and style; 2. eloquence or public speaking; 3. compositions in prose and verse. The subject of logic has a division somewhat similar; and its sections are, 1. On ideas: 2. On propositions: 3. On reasoning. There is great merit in this work, though it abounds with inaccuracies of expression, at many of which we are truly astonished, and affects to keep christianity and revealed religion by far too much in the background. The author, on all occasions, thinks for himself; his arrangement and his language are uniformly his own; and he seems to admit nothing that he borrows without having first sifted it, and minutely examined its foundation. He is perpetually disclosing judicious and profound views of life, and exhibits himself as a man who has read books, and marked the intercourse of the world with a philosophic eye.

"Richardi Bentleii et doctorum virorum, epistolæ, partim mutuæ. Accedit Richardi Daweii ad Joannem Taylorum epistola singularis, 4to." "Letters of Richard Bentley, and Men of Learning, partly reciprocal. To which is added, An individual Letter from Mr. Richard Dawes to Dr. John Taylor." This magnificent volume is indeed a rich and luxuriant treat to the philologist; it is published at the sole expence of Dr. Charles Burney; but we are not at present acquainted with the means by which the M.S.S. found their way into his possession. We are informed, however, by a notice affixed to the blank leaf at the beginning of the volume, that we may soon expect an additional volume of notes and indexes. The work, curious as it is, is not to be purchased; we shall hence enter more particularly into its contents. It comprises eighty-four letters. Of these, ten are from Bentley to Grævius; thirty-one from Grævius to Bentley; two from Burman to Bentley; eleven from Bentley to Dr. Bernard; nine from Bernard in reply; one from Le Clerc to Bentley; one from the latter to the former; one from Bentley to Dr. Davies; one from Bentley to Mr. Gacon; one from Bentley to M. Biel; two from Bentley to Dr. Wake, archbishop of Canterbury; three from Bentley to ——— (persons not named); one from Bentley to La Crore, the librarian at Berlin; two from Bentley to Dr. Richard Mead; one from Bentley to his brother James; one from Bentley to Dr. S. Clark; one from Bentley

Bentley to John James Wetstein; one from Bentley to Sir Hans Sloane; two from Bentley to Hemsterhuis; one from M. Cappel to Grævius; and one from Mr. R. Dawes to Dr. Taylor. Nineteen only are in English: the rest are in Latin. The letter from Mr. R. Dawes to Dr. Taylor, inserted in the appendix, is designed to controvert the opinion of the latter, that the ancient Greeks expressed EI by the single vowel E. This sumptuous volume is embellished by portraits of Dr. Bentley and Grævius, and with facsimilies of their handwritings.

"Specimens of English Prose Writers, from the earliest times to the close of the seventeenth century, with sketches biographical and literary, including an account of books as well as of their authors, with occasional criticisms. By George Barnett, late of Baliol College, Oxford. 3 vols. 8vo." The plenitude, and we may say exuberance, of this title, renders it unnecessary for us to add much to its pretensions; and were we to do so, we are afraid it would not be *much* in its favour. The success of the compilation called Elegant Extracts in Verse, induced the selector to follow it up with another compilation which he called Elegant Extracts in Prose. In like manner, Mr. Ellis, having long since published successfully his Specimens of early English Poets, the writer before us has conceived, that to render the plan complete, it behoves the tribe of book-makers to follow it up with similar specimens of early English prose-writers, and that this mighty undertaking is designed for no less a personage than himself. Yet we will venture to affirm, that had there been a proper tribunal to have examined his qualification antecedently to his having engaged in this concern, whatever qualification he could have offered would have been disputed. There can be no difficulty in filling up three or even three hundred volumes with extracts from all the prose writers of this country *from the earliest times*, and anecdotes concerning many of them; but the difficulty is in bringing to market a sufficiency of taste, judgment, critical acumen, and characteristic knowledge of the common style and manner of the different ages referred to, so that we may not only have to read, but to read to some purpose: and these, we are afraid, are commodities in which Mr. Burnett is very seldom a dealer and chapman.

"Anecdotes of Literature and Scarce Books. By the rev. W. Beloe, 8vo. 2 vols." This, so far as it has any resemblance to the preceding, is by far a work of more taste, judgment, and entertainment. The author, in his preface, details the motives which led him to its compilement; which, in few words, are the ample stores to which he had lately access as librarian to the British Museum, the collateral acquaintance he possessed with many private libraries and curious manuscripts contained in them, and the extensive connection he had hence formed with the general republic of letters and learned men. The volumes contain a very valuable fund of classical, antiquarian, and bibliographic amusement and instruction. There is, however, something more of egotism than we could have wished to have beheld, or than is consistent with the virtue of modesty, or the attribute of real merit, as they are generally pourtrayed by the best ethical writers. In the preface, moreover, we meet with a pretty

pretty strong allusion to the extraordinary and mysterious transaction, which, in its result, deprived the compiler of his official situation at the Museum; but the particulars are not detailed. He assures us, however, and we rejoice that he is able to do so, that, notwithstanding this event, "of his friends and protectors, some of the most eminent and some of the most estimable characters of his country, he has not lost one."

"Fragments of Oriental Literature, with an outline of a painting on a curious Chinese vase. By Stephen Weston, B.D. F.R.S. &c. 8vo." This is an odd miscellany, totally destitute of all arrangement; but it nevertheless discovers, taste, talent, and genius. There is nothing very curious or instructive in the article on the Chinese vase, an engraving of which, however, is given as a sort of vignette to the book. We are next presented with Meleager's beautiful poem on Spring, in the original Greek, succeeded by two versions of the present writer, one in Latin and the other in English, both of which have the merit of being smooth and correct enough, but both which also are deficient in spirit. We have then five articles containing extracts from Persian or Arabic, or criticisms on these languages. We are then transported to the Georgics of Virgil, and have a conjecture offered to us, and attempted to be supported, that the term *Idumæas* iii. 10 was originally *Ithonæas*. We are then hurried back to Iran, to discuss a variety of Arabic proverbs and sayings, derivations from Arabic and Persian poetry." The next paper is "on Cufic Coins," and the last "on Abulfeda's Egypt."

"The Poems of Ossian, in the Original Gaelic, with a literal translation into Latin, by the rev. Robert Macfarlane, A.M. together with a Dissertation on the Authenticity of the Poems, by Sir John Sinclair, Bart. and a Translation from the Italian of the Abbé Cæsarotti's Dissertation on the Controversy respecting the authenticity of Ossian; with Notes and a supplemental Essay, by John M'Arthur, LL.D. Published under the sanction of the Highland Society of London. 3 vols. 8vo." This amplitude of title may well serve as a table of contents. It appears, that the Highland Society of London is not quite satisfied with the decision, or rather the want of decision, evinced upon the everlasting subject before us by the Highland Society of Edinburgh; and thinks, notwithstanding all the pains and researches which have been taken by the latter, that it is abundantly able to prove, that not only very long and detached passages in the different poems ascribed by Macpherson to Ossian, may be collected from the mouths of many of the highlanders of the present day, as traditionary fragments of great national antiquity: but that the poems, and the whole of the poems, in the form and order in which they are given by Macpherson, were actually written by Ossian, and that in a style and with an energy to which Macpherson's version has scarcely done justice. Having given an extract, however, upon this subject in a preceding part of the work, of sufficient length and scope to put the reader into possession of the general argument, we shall only add here, that this argument by no means appears perfectly satisfactory to ourselves. The Italian copy is of no value whatever as a proof, and it still, therefore,

therefore, remains to be enquired, whether and by what means Macpherson obtained possession of the Gaelic copy, which he is here asserted to have left behind him? Whether the document be capable of being traced to any genuine source, or whether it be a second forgery of Macpherson's, and a mere translation of his own English, as his own English was ushered into the world as a translation of the original Gaelic? We shall leave this enquiry with Mr. Laing, who is thoroughly competent to its reply.

"Comments on the Commentators on Shakespear: with preliminary Observations on his Genius and Writings: by Henry James Pye, Esq. 8vo." There is here more comment than *illustration*; the observations on the genius and writings of the poet comprise only six pages and a half, and chiefly discuss his frequent breaches of unity, and his use of *aches* as a dissyllable, in the manner it has lately been pronounced on Covent Garden stage. The criticisms that follow, are for the most part very meagre; and clearly shew that the field has been so often gleaned off, that there is now neither wheat nor even chaff left for a straggler to be able to put his hand upon a single husk. The book, however, might at least have been printed with fewer typographical errors; a greater number we have never met with in so small a compass. They are a disgrace to the British press. It is said that while the work was printing in town, the writer was at a distance in the country: we should rather, however, have reversed the fact in our own minds, and have supposed, that while the work was printing in the *country*, the author was at a distance in *town*.

"An Essay on the English Language: by J. Odell, M. A." This essay was intended to have been printed as an introduction to Mr. Boucher's Supplement to Dr. Johnson's Dictionary; but for certain reasons it has been judged proper to publish it separately. To those who are acquainted with the *Epea Pteroenta*, it will offer little that is new, and that little not always admissible. We do not think the *Supplement* has sustained any very great loss by its omission.

"Practical Illustrations of Rhetorical Gesture and Action: by Henry Siddons, octavo, 11. 1s." This is a valuable work for persons of a certain class, and for whose use it is chiefly designed. It is drawn almost entirely, and acknowledged to be so, from M. Engel's work on the same subject, in reference to the German drama: but it is considerably vernaculized, as well in matter and manner as in language, and is enriched by a variety of well-executed engravings, in illustration of the chief subjects discussed. It cannot fail to be of use to the actor, the sculptor and the painter; and, in truth, opens a new field of disquisition to the philosopher.

The classics have not received much attention in the course of the past year from commentators or translators. Mr. Howard, nevertheless, has given us a version of the "Metamorphoses of Publius Ovidius Naso, in two volumes octavo;" but unfortunately in blank verse, one of the very worst applications, perhaps, that could ever be made of it: independently of which, however, the blank verse here offered is for the most part of very homely texture, and totally inadequate to a conveyance of those striking incidents, well discriminated characters, fine descriptions of nature, and powerful expressions of feeling, which are the peculiar

liar beauties and features of the Ovidian Muse. We cannot compliment Mr. Howard on his success.

In our range of domestic poetry, the narrative parts of the Old Testament appear to have operated with a peculiar stimulus upon the minds of those who have been seeking for new or interesting incidents. It is a curious fact that, within the period of the twelve months before us, we have had no less than three epic poems, derived from this source; two of them, indeed, from the very same history, we mean the *Exodus* of the Hebrews from Egypt. The first we shall notice under this title is the joint production of Mr. Cumberland and Sir James Bland Burgess; and narrates, with little machinery of their own imagination, the various events by which this suffering people were led away from the hands of their cruel task-masters, conducted through the desert, and brought to the borders of the promised land. It terminates with the death of Moses, in the relation of which the poem deviates from the narrative, and in our opinion with just as much injustice to truth as to poetic sublimity. There is a polished roundness maintained throughout the general versification, which never suffers the subject to be degraded, but we meet with few flights of real genius that lift it beyond its common scale of ascent in biblical prose, which after all appears to us in its own simple narrative to be possessed of considerably more interest. Mr. Hoyle's Exodus is published in a humbler form, (an *octavo* instead of a *quarto* size) but is at least as largely imbued with the spirit of Castalia—or rather, to adopt a part of his own introductory address, as sweetly rings with the "harps of Solyma." It is divided into thirteen books; and in its historic range runs short of the preceding poem, and terminates, and we think more happily, with the triumphant song of Moses on the overthrow of the Egyptians in the Red Sea. Having made an extract or two from the former in our present Register, we intend to do equal justice to Mr. Hoyle in our next. Of Mr. Southey's "Saul, a poem, in two parts," we have also enabled our readers to form a judgment for themselves, by a selection or two. He has laboured it with great spirit; has deviated but little from the biblical history; his verse is always dignified, but sometimes too much broken and disjointed, for the mere sake of giving a variety of cadence. "The Poems of Richard Cobbet, late Bishop of Oxford and Norwich," have been republished, with additions by Mr. Octavius Gilchrist; as have those of the unfortunate Dermody, under the title of the "Harp of Erin." Mr. Crabbe's poems have also been collected, and replenished with many additions, though we find little of the new matter equal to much that our readers have already met with in the "Village," "The Library," and "The Newspaper;" especially the first, which had the honour of pleasing the correct but fastidious taste of Dr. Johnson. The *Minor Poets* of the year are Mr. Wordsworth, who has given us two small additional volumes of "Poems," for the most part lyrical, and possessing his common ease and simplicity: Mr. Mant, who has now added to a very pleasing volume of fugitive poems, an appendix, entitled "The Slave, and other Poetical Pieces," abounding with classical taste, and rather polished than vigorous: Mr. Lawrence, who at a very late period of being, after having been present at the battle of Minden, and

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after having enjoyed the friendship of Dr. Goldsmith, Dr. Parnell, and Dr. Beattie, and continuing to enjoy that of Dr. Percy, has felt the embers of life throw forth a sudden flame, and has published a volume, under the title of "Miscellaneous Productions," upon which, however, we cannot compliment the hardy veteran: "Hours of Idleness, by George Gordon, Lord Byron, a *minor;*" containing a series of original poems and translations, that reflect equal credit on his Lordship's rank and age of life, and which few noblemen, and still fewer noble minors, are able to equal. To these we must add Mr. Howard's translation of the "Inferno, in one volume, 8vo." This translation is in blank, decasyllabic verse, the cadence is little varied, and the sublimity but little supported.

The only dramatic pieces of the year worth noticing are Mr. H. Siddons's "Time's a Tell-Tale, which has the merit of exciting mirth without equivoque or buffoonery: "Faulkner," a tragedy, in five acts, by W. Godwin; rather calculated for the closet than the stage: and Mr. Morton's "Town and Country," a comedy, that has already had a successful run, and we believe has nearly run itself out of breath.

Of the novels, tales, and romances, we have to notice "Corinna, or Italy," a very interesting novel, translated from the French of Mad. de Stael Holstein, and far less exceptionable than some of her former productions. "Charles Ellis, or the Friends, by Robert Sempel;" amusing and not destitute of instruction. "The Fatal Vow, or St. Michael's Monastery, a romance, by Francis Lathom;" the dullest progeny this author has yet produced. "Henry Hooka, a novel, by Mr. Dibdin," and Gabriel Forrester, or the Deserted Son, by T. B. Lathy;" both which may live their hour and die.

FOREIGN

FOREIGN LITERATURE

Of the Year 1807.

CHAPTER I.

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL:

Containing a Sketch of the chief Productions of Germany, Sweden, and France.

SITUATED as the continent of Europe is at present; harassed and exhaused almost to the agonies of political death, tyrannized over in every point but one by a colossal autocrat, whose will is universal law and whose decision is followed by instant execution; still reeking with the blood of recent battles, and dragged forwards to violate the soil with fresh carnage; cut off from all knowledge of what is passing in other quarters of the world; alike blockading and blockaded, and dependent upon this sole and extraordinary ruler for its religious creeds as well as its political governments; it can scarcely be expected that the important interests of religion have been attended to as they would have been under more tranquil and auspicious circumstances; that biblical criticism has flourished as it did of late, especially in Germany, or that books of devotion or sound practical exhortation have been produced with equal ease, or find as ready a sale. Nor is it to be expected, with the impediments that at present exist, and shut up almost every kind of intercourse between ourselves and continental Europe, that even of the few works upon biblical and theological subjects that are yet uttered from the press, we should be able to obtain copies, or detailed accounts in respect to all of them. Yet we trust our readers will have no great reason to complain of our want of activity upon this subject, and will rather give us credit for having pushed our means to their utmost extent, than condemn us for having accomplished less than we might have been able.

Every friend of Christianity must rejoice that Dr. Griesbach has, *at length*, completed his very valuable edition of the New Testament: the second volume of which, in the octavo edition, is now published at Halle, under the title of "Novum Testamentum Græce Textum ad fidem codicum, versionum, et patrum recensuit, et lectionis varietatem adjecit D. Jo. Jac. Griesbach, &c." The first volume of this admirably collated work was published in 1796, and comprised the four gospels alone: the present extends to the remainder of the christian scriptures, and of course contains the

the Acts and Epistles of the Apostles, with the Apocalypse. A variety of unprosperous circumstances, which it is needless to detail, have occurred in succession to prevent an earlier completion of this edition; we shall only mention two of them: the fire that a few years ago destroyed the very valuable library at Copenhagen, as well as a great part of the capital itself; and a long severe illness on the part of the editor. The whole of these delays, together with many collateral circumstances, are noticed by M. Griesbach, in his preface. To this preface succeeds a list of the very numerous MSS. consulted by the author: and then follows the text, arranged as in the preceding volume. The expence of this edition, we understand, has been munificently defrayed by the Duke of Grafton; a princely and well-applied assistance, which does honour to the British character, as well as to the illustrious nobleman who has taken it upon himself. There is, however, a more superb edition at this time printing at Leipsic, in royal quarto, with a beautiful type, to extend to four volumes; of which the first appeared in 1803, the second in 1804, the third is just completed, and the fourth remains to make its appearance.—In collating the present reading with the common editions, we find that Acts xx. 28. which has commonly been written—ποιμαινειν την εκκλησιαν ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ, ἡν περιεποιησατο δια ΤΟΥ ΙΔΙΟΥ ΑΙΜΑΤΟΣ, is here rendered, and after great acuteness of examination, and much apparent impartiality of decision, ποιμαινειν την εκκλησιαν ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ, ην περιεποιησατο δια ΤΟΥ ΑΙΜΑΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ. In plain English, instead of the common rendering, "take heed, to feed the church OF GOD which he hath purchased with his own blood," we have it in the present edition, "to feed the church OF THE LORD, which he hath purchased WITH THE BLOOD OF GOD."—The passage 1 Tim. iii. 16. for ΘΕΟΣ εφανερωθη εν σαρκι, we have here ΟΣ εφανερωθη, &c.. "*who* or *which* was manifest in the flesh," instead of "*God* was, &c." There is, nevertheless, a great difficulty in determining the predicate, since, on account of the inaccordance of genders, the relative *who* or *which* can neither agree with the term *mystery* or *godliness*; while the term God, in the preceding verse appears to have too remote a connexion. Yet the motives for the change are strong, and the reasoning convincing. Our learned scholiast decides against the genuiness of the three witnesses in heaven, 1 John v. 7, 8. omitting the whole of that part of these two verses, the spuriousness of which has been so decisively proved by Mr. Porson, and admitted by Bishop Prettyman.

At Stockholm we perceive that M. Halberg has not only translated Josephus's "History of the Jews" into Swedish, but has added a very great accession of matter, by continuing their narrative to the present times. We perceive also that M. Hedrin has translated into the same language Michaelis's "Mosaic Law," to which Professor Wyk, of Upsala, has prefixed a very valuable prolegomenon.

"L'Esprit des Orateurs Chretiens, &c." "Spirit of the Christian Orators, or Evangelical Morality; extracted from the Works of Bossuet, Bourdaloue, Massillon, Flechier, and other celebrated Preachers: by E. L. 2 vols. 12mo. Paris. 7s." We are glad to see that at this moment the writings and remains of such excellent and animated characters as those contained in the title have yet a prospect of attracting the enslaved

enslaved and subject inhabitants of France. Never can they derive other than good from "the morality which was preached by the sublime Bossuet, the profound Bourdaloue, the brilliant Flechier, and the persuasive Massillon; Massillon, who made his auditors say that he knew them better than they knew themselves; Flechier, who was not ignorant of any of the sources of eloquence; Bourdaloue, who was the delight of a most polished and intelligent court; and Bossuet, who was the wonder of an age which was itself wonderful." We trust this selection will have the effect which the editor ventures to expect, and that the evangelists of modern France will put the philosophists to flight. "Be it," says he, in reference to the latter, "that some of them teach sound morality; how much less profound, less powerful, less useful, are their writings, than those from the mouth of the christian orator—than his who attacking the conscience has access to the heart? Philosophism attempted to isolate man from his God, and to render the creature independent of his creator; but the philosophists were thus without any control over man, who laughed at their speculations. His heart led captive by his passions, demands force to retain it on the side of virtue; and the morality which speaks in the name of a sovereign ruler, which denounces future punishments, and promises future rewards, is alone adequate to this effect."

Dr. Blair's Sermons are in a state of progressive translation into French, under the very able hands of the Abbé de Tressan. The first two volumes are now completed, and the rest are to follow with speed. The version does credit to the original and the French critics, while they regard the British preacher as inferior to Flechier and Massillon in point of eloquence, and far behind Pascal in point of logical induction, admit him to be entitled to much praise for the purity and elegance of his style; and perhaps they have not unjustly appreciated his merit.

"Collection des Actes de l'Assemblée des Israelites de France, &c." "Collection of the Acts of the Convocation of France and Italy, assembled at Paris by a Decree of his Imperial and Royal Majesty, May 30, 1806: published by M. Diogene Tama: 12 numbers. Paris, 1807. Dulau, London." In our last retrospect of the literature of France, we observed that Bonaparte had invited all the Jews of Christendom to assemble in France, and to reply to certain political questions to be proposed to them, in order to ascertain whether the peculiarities of their religious tenets would allow them conscientiously to become citizens of France, and entitle them to its privileges and immunities. And we remarked, at the same time, that the most learned, logical, and historic answer which had been advanced on the part of the Jews, to the very numerous objections which had been raised against them, proceeded from the pen of a female writer, unquestionably of great accomplishments and erudition, and to whom we paid a due tribute of applause. The Jewish deputies from various countries have since assembled at Paris; especially from different parts of Italy and Holland, as well as France; and regarding them in the theocratic capacity to which they still pretend, and being incapable of separating them from biblical history, we have judged it expedient to take into consideration in the present chapter the proceedings which ensued at this extraordinary convocation

vocation, as recorded in the publication before us: a publication which has just been translated into English, under the title of "Transactions of the Parisian Sanhedrim; or Acts of the Assembly of the Israelitish Deputies of France and Italy, convoked at Paris by an imperial and royal Decree, dated May 30, 1803; translated by F. D. Kirwan." We find that on this occasion the number of Jewish representatives for France was seventy-four; and that the representatives from Italy and Holland made the aggregate just one hundred. M. Abraham Fartado, of Bourdeaux, was elected president, a very proper man for the purpose, eminent as a merchant, intelligent as a man of science, and by no means unknown to the literary world. The questions proposed, contrary to the wish of the rabbis, were decided to be carried by general vote, and not exclusively entrusted to the Jewish priesthood. One of the chief of these questions concerned the legality of taking usury, or interest to an unlimited extent, in cases where no civil law opposed the practice; and upon the whole the opinion of the assembly appears to sanction the practice. The legality of marriage between Jews and Christians was another question that occupied much time, and produced no small degree of controversy; and the decision was, that such marriage is binding as a *civil* contract; but that no rabbi can perform the requisite sanctifications that render the service complete as a religious institution. The assumption of French citizenship is allowed; and the power of performing the whole of its duties; in consequence of which many Jews of France have aspired to military honours, have enrolled themselves as national guards, and have risen to commands in the army. There was no want of adulation to Bonaparte on any occasion, and on that of his birth-day, August 15, the flattery of the Hebrew deputies appears to have been carried to the most preposterous and impious extreme. Hebrew hyms and psalms, in honour of Napoleon the Great, ushered in the solemnities of the day: the bust of the emperor adorned the hall; the imperial eagle was placed *above* the altar: "the name of Jehovah (we give the very words of their own statement), the cyphers and the arms of Napoleon and of Josephine shone on every side; the ark, which contained the book of the law, was oversahdowed with shrubs and flowers;" three eulogistic sermons were delivered, one in Italian, one in German, and one in French; and the chief of those prophecies or expressions in the Old Testament which have usually been applied to the Messiah, were here applied to Bonaparte, such as "Son of Man," Dan. vii. 13. "Behold *my servant*, whom I uphold, *mine elect*, &c." Isaiah xlii. 12. "Thou lovest righteousness and hatest wickedness, therefore God, thy God has anointed thee, &c." We shall only add that these deputies not having any exclusive right to decide for Jews in general, and especially for those of other countries, the Hebrew community at large cannot be said to be involved in these sacrileges and absurdities.

CHAPTER II.

PHYSICAL AND MATHEMATICAL:

Comprising the chief Productions of Germany, France, Sweden, and Italy.

"OPUSCULES de Chirurgie, &c." "Chirurgical Fragments; to which is annexed an Account of the Diseases which prevailed in Andalusia in the Year 1800: by J. P. Paroisse. vol. 1. 8vo. Paris." This is a valuable work, as being founded on the actual practice of a bold and ingenious practitioner: it is drawn up from notes written at the moment, and is enriched with a variety of curious cases. In perforating the tympanum, in certain cases of long and obstinate deafness, our author has successfully followed the German method. He has also employed *moxa* with the most fortunate result in other species of the same disease, and hereby removed both connate deafness and dumbness. He was at this time attached to the suite of the French ambassador in Spain, and being often at Malaga, paid close attention to the fatal epidemic which in 1800 ravaged that town: and the result of his observations is, that this supposed yellow fever, when it first made its ingress, was properly a putrid bilious fever, more or less typhous; that it became epidemic from causes which were obvious to every one, and yielded without obstinacy to the ordinary remedies.

M. Proust has followed the example so ably set him by M. Pinel, and has published an Essay on Insanity, which, however, has somewhat less of practice, and more of physiology. His reflections and analytical researches are directed chiefly to the circumstances, 1, which predispose the mind to mental derangement; 2, those which immediately produce it; and, 3, the causes by which it is continued. He has subjoined a variety of hints towards the adoption of a rational method of treatment and cure.

M. Alibert, on the contrary, appears to be treading in the footsteps of Dr. Willan; and has commenced a medical work in separate numbers, or fascicles, upon cutaneous disorders. M. Alibert is one of the physicians to the hospital of St. Louis, and is a practitioner not only of experience, but of judgment. The only fascicle we have yet obtained is No. II. which is confined to the *Plica*, or *Mioma*, as he denominates it. He divides this disease into five species; and describes not only the genuine character of the disorder, and its analogy to various other disorders, but the specific characters by which his divisions are supported. He has opened and long continued an extensive communication with Polish physicians; and has adduced five instances of this unhappy malady that have occurred to him in his own practice at Paris. His treatment of these cases appears to have been ingenious, and is asserted to have been fortunate. We trust this article will be given at length in some of our monthly scientific journals. The title of M. Alibert's work is "Description des Maladies de la Peau observées a l'Hopital St. Louis, et Exposition des meilleures Méthodes suivies pour leur Traitement."

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It is accompanied with coloured plates, the size folio, price 50 francs each.

"Moyens de conserver la Santé des Habitans des Campagnes, &c." "On the Means of preserving the Health of Country People: by Madame Gacon-Dufour." Madame Gacon-Dufour is not unknown to France, nor altogether so to England, as a writer. Her attention has been chiefly directed to rural economics, and the work before us discovers a continuation of that attention. It is chiefly a work of *hygeine*, and we like it the better on this account. It deals much less in the materia medica, than in the means of *preserving* health already possessed; and gives a variety of very useful directions for constructing the cottages of the poor, for their diet and clothing, and for the nursing and management of their children: it contains observations on the causes which render the air unfit for respiration, on the injurious tendency of many of the operations in which the peasantry are occasionally engaged, and the means for obviating these effects, chiefly derived from the best practice and experiments. It does not appear from the pictures that incidentally occur in this volume, that the French peasantry of the present day are in a state of much comfort or even civilization.

But the work of by far the greatest importance which we have received in this department of science, most comprehensive in its scale, most profound in its researches, is M. Dumas's "Principes de Physiologie, ou Introduction à la Science expérimentale, philosophique, et médicale, de l'Homme Vivant." "Principles of Physiology, or an Introduction to the experimental, philosophical, and medical Science of Man." A kind of prospectus or general outline of the work before us was published by the same author a few years ago, and obtained an almost universal applause: and it is in consequence of this public testimony in its favour that the author has now ventured upon his more detailed and finished plan, of which the volume before us is only the commencement, or the elementary part. This is to be succeeded by distinct treatises upon the subjects of, 1. *Philosophical* or *General Physiology;* which will enter into the cause of vital action under its most extensive relations, and will bear the same affinity to common physiology, as the Chemical Statics of Berthollet bear to common chemistry. 2. *Experimental* or *Demonstrative Physiology;* which will exhibit a methodical arrangement of the various facts and experiments which tend to illustrate this science. 3. *Medical* or *Practical Physiology;* which will point out the application of physiological principles of medicine. We lament that it is not in our power to enlarge even upon that part of this extensive and truly learned work which is now before us as we could wish: but it affords us, in thus cursorily closing our notice of it, some consolation to believe that it will not be long before we shall have to follow it up in an English dress: and we strongly recommend it, on account of its intrinsic merit, to our translators of French works in this department, as one that will be sure to repay the fatigue of a vernacular version.

In close connection with medicine we have to notice M. J. Kohlkaus's "Giftpflanzen auf Stein abgedrukt, &c." "Collection of Poisonous Plants, engraven on Stone, with Descriptions." This useful and elegant work has made its appearance at Ratisbon, and is to be published in fascicles. The first number only has

has yet been offered to the public: it is illustrated by ten plates, and its price is a florin. The invention of printing from designs marked on stone has already found its way into our own metropolis, and is in use by M. Vollweiler. The appearance of the prints equals that of well-executed wooden-cuts, and the price is hereby reduced to a moderate compass. The work opens with a concise sketch of the sexual system, and the principles of vegetable physiology, the whole of which we could have dispensed with. Then proceeds the class of poisonous plants, extracted from Gmelin's History of Vegetable Poisons, with their generic and specific characters. The number before us contains, 1. Aconitum napellus. 2. Anemone Pratensis. 3. Caltha palustris. 4. Delphinium staphysagria. 5. Helleborus fetidus. 6. Helleborus niger. 7. Ranunculus flammula. 8. Ficinæ acris et scelerata. Mr. Kohlkaus has added a chapter on the means of discovering an accumulation of mephitic gass in any situation, and of dispersing it without injury.

"Histoire de Végétaux recueillis dans les Isles Australes de l'Afrique." "History of Plants collected in the Southern Islands of Africa: by A. Aubert du Petit Thouars. Part I. containing a description of plants which form new genera, or augment those already known. No. I. 4to. embellished with six coloured plates, pp. 22. Paris. 12 fr. imported by De Boffe, 15s." The settlements and islands here referred to are chiefly the Cape of Good Hope, Isles of Tristan d'Acunha, of France and Bourbon, and Madagascar: the excursions of the author consumed ten years of his life, and his herbal consists of two thousand plants, and six hundred drawings of the most remarkable objects, accompanied with appropriate descriptions. In this first fascicle we meet with specimens of the following; *didymeles, ptelidium, Hecatea, dicoryphus, Bonamia, Calypso.* The different parts of the plants are given distinctly, and especially the sexual organs: the plates are coloured.

Whilst upon this subject we must pass forwards to Sweden, to notice M. Westring's "*Svenska Lafvarnas Färghistoria;*" or "Uses of the Lichens in Dyeing, and other economical purposes." M. Westring is well known to be one of the physicians to his Swedish Majesty; and the present work, founded upon much actual observation, and extensive study, will be found highly useful both to the naturalist and the manufacturer. It was commenced in 1805; two fascicles are now before us, and the whole is to be completed in twenty-four numbers, including a particular description and delineation of seventy-two lichens, the most valuable, in the author's opinion, of two hundred and twenty, upon which he has been making experiments during a period of fifteen years. We trust this work will find an inroad into our own tongue.

M. Sebastian Gerardin *(de Mirecourt)* in his "Tableau Elementaire d'Ornithologie, &c." Elementary View of Ornithology," has given us a pretty full account of the natural history of birds usually found in France. It extends to two volumes octavo, and is accompanied with a quarto atlas. This work also contains a treatise on the manner of preserving specimens of birds, in the formation of collections. The arrangement of the work is chiefly that of M. Cuvier, in his elementary sketch of the natural history of animals; and divides it into five chapters. The author's observations were chiefly made in the Vosgian department,

department, and in this natural aviary he appears to have consorted with the winged tenants of his native woods and hills, during the long term of thirty years.

M. Depere has been engaged in a singular series of experiments. In his "Manuel d'Agriculture," "Manual of Agriculture," he points out the mode he has pursued for many years, and according to his own account pursued successfully, of farming without manure; he gives us the requisite plan to be adopted in clayey, sandy, and chalky soils, and the variations that will be found necessary in the cultivation of different plants, together with his usual rotation of crops. We do not think many of our English agriculturists are likely to become converts to the system exhibited at the Experimental Farm at Reffy.

In the department of Mineralogy we have to notice the "Tableau Methodique des Espèces Minerales," "Methodical View of Minerals," by M. Lucas, deputy-keeper of the Museum of Natural History. The first volume only of this work has yet made its appearance. When the work is complete it will put us in possession of an accurate account of the rich mineralogical collections contained in the museum of natural history, and in that of the council of mines. This methodical table has received the sanction of M. Haüy and other professors of the *Jardin des Plantes;* it contains, in an excellent appendix, a very masterly compendium of all the new discoveries in oryctology since the publication of M. Haüy's treatise; and in the second volume the author is to enter upon the branch of what M. Werner denominates *mineralogical geography*, and to point out the common matrixes or beds of the different mineralogical species.

In geology M. André (among the capuchins formerly known by the name of *pere Chrysologue de Gy)* in his "Theorie de la Surface actuelle de la Terre," "Theory respecting the existing Surface of the Earth," has produced a valuable work, which has received, as it was entitled to receive, the approbation of the National Institute. M. André is a Neptunist; he contends that the whole globe having in some remote period been convulsed to its centre, its wrecks only remain for the contemplation of the geologist. He adventures however, no further than to the surface; and prosecutes his enquiry by offering first his own observations on what has actually occurred; next the observations of other travellers and writers of eminence; and lastly an explanation of what he imagines to be the cause of the changes evinced, and an application of the phænomena around us, in corroboration of his theory.

In chemistry we have obtained a copy of Mr. Chaptal's very valuable work entitled "Chemie applique aux Arts." "Chemistry applied to Arts and Manufactures:" and merely pass it by with this cursory notice because we perceive, and are glad to perceive, that an English version has already made its appearance, which we shall have to enter upon more at large in our next year's retrospect. We perceive also that under the title of "*Grundlage der Chemie,*" M. Huber has published at Basle a German version of M. Adet's very useful "Chemical Elements."

In more general physics, M. G. A. Lampadius has published at Freyburg his "Systematischen Grundriss der Atmosphaerologie," "Systematic principles of Atmosphereology," which is intended as a text book for a course of lectures upon the pro-

perties of the atmosphere. Werner regards the atmosphere of the globe as the fourth natural kingdom; and in following up this idea, M. Lampadius has produced the work before us, which he divides into the following chapters. I. Of the Atmosphere in general. II. Of Meteorology. III. Of Climatology. IV. Of Meteoromancy. V. Of the reciprocal Influence of the Atmosphere and the other three Kingdoms of Nature.

In the same department we have met with M. Haüy's most admirable "Traité Elémentaire de Physique;" which we shall only now glance at, as we have already had to give it the very high share of praise to which it is most justly entitled, in Mr. Gregory's English version. We shall therefore merely observe that this elementary treatise on physics was drawn up at the express command of the present ruler of France, and that it is in every respect worthy of the talents of the author of the well known and justly celebrated *Traité de Mineralogie.*

In the mathematics we perceive that M. Peyrard, mathematical professor at the Lyceum, has been engaged in an useful but arduous task, and that the result of his labours is the "Œuvres d'Archimede, traduites litteralement, avec un Commentaire, &c." "Works of Archimedes, literally translated, with a Commentary; to which are prefixed an Account of his Life and an Analysis of his Works." So far as we have compared the version with the original, M. Peyrard has executed his task faithfully, and performed a service which cannot fail to prove highly acceptable to geometricians.

M. La Place has published a very valuable "Supplement au dixieme Livre, &c." "Supplement to the Book of the Treatise on Celestial Mechanics." The tenth book of the elaborate performance here referred to, examines the phænomena which may be ascribed to the refractive action of bodies on the particles of light; and the author here gives a second cause of the variety and extent of the dependant phænomena, more remarkable than the former, viz. that of *capillary action,* a process by which the attraction becomes sensible only at insensible distances. The application of the law of capillary attraction to the refractive action of bodies on the particles of light, is new and ingenious; it is highly plausible, and we trust the idea will be pursued by the philosophic world.

"Manuel de Trigonométrie Pratique, &c." "Manual of Practical Trigonometry; by the Abbé Delagrive, F.R.S. Lond. &c. revised and augmented by Tables of Logarithms for the Use of Engineers; by A. A. L. Reynard, Professor at the Polymatic School." This is also a useful practical work; and will easily teach students the processes which are necessary in measuring an arc of the meridian, in reference to which a set of very comprehensive and useful tables are here laid down and constructed. To the tables of logarithms, sines and tangents, the editor has prefixed a ready explanation

CHAPTER III.

MORAL AND POLITICAL.

Containing a Glance at the principal Productions of Germany, France, Russia, Denmark, Italy, Holland.

IN the historic department which belongs to this chapter, we shall commence with a brief survey of what has occurred in Germany. "Beitrage zu einer statistisch-historischen Beschreibung der Moldau." "Memoirs, designed to contribute to an historic and statistic Description of the Principality of Moldavia; by Andr. Wolf, 2 vols. 8vo. Hermanstadt." The present situation of Moldavia and the adjoining territories, subject to the declining power of the Ottoman Court, gives considerable importance to whatever information can be obtained in relation to them: and hence the work before us may be regarded as a valuable political performance, the author having rendered himself well qualified for writing it by a residence for many years in Jassy and other Moldavian districts; having acquired a perfect knowledge of the Moldavian dialect, and having had access to the most learned natives and the best public documents. He estimates the population of Moldavia at two hundred and twenty thousand individuals; and the present capitation tax at one million three hundred and fifty thousand piastres.

"Beitraege zur Geschichte Westphalens, &c." "Memoir on the History of Westphalia; or Essay on the History of the County of Bentheim, by Raet de Boegelescamp, 2 vols. 8vo. Munster." In the course of this history we learn that disastrous as the continental war has been to almost every petty prince as well as superior sovereign, the original dynasty of this district has derived advantage from it. It appears that in 1562 the county of Bentheim was pledged to the House of Hanover for a considerable sum of money, and the pledge not having been redeemed, it has continued in the possession of the Hanoverian government till the present times. On the last irruption of the French, however, into Germany and their seizure of the Hanoverian dominions, Count de Bentheim Steinfurt applied to Buonaparte for a restoration of his paternal territories, and upon payment of the balance which he asserted to be due to the House of Hanover, he was reinstated in the sovereignty of that country.

"Beschreibung der hampt und residenzstadt Munschen, &c." "Description of the Town of Munich, the Capital and Residence of the King of Bavaria, and of its Neighbourhood; with a History of the same: by L. Aubuer, 2 vols. 8vo. This work is not yet complete, another, and perhaps a fourth volume, may be necessary to perfect the plan. The history of Munich is introduced as a prolegomenon, and contains notices relative to its geographical situation, and the nature of different soils in its neighbourhood: a description of the town then follows in the first section of the work; and an account of its commerce and manufactures in the second; in a subsequent

sequent section we are to be informed concerning its ecclesiastical, civil and military constitution.

"Versuch einer Geschichte des Bauernkriegs." "Essay on the History of the War of the Peasants in Upper Austria, and beyond the Eur: by F. Hurk." This was an obstinate insurrection which broke out, in consequence of misconduct on the part of the Austrian government, in the beginning of 1626, and continued, with alternating success, for nearly a twelvemonth. The history is here well and impartially given, and annexed to the history is a variety of documents several of which have never been published before.

"Historischen versuch über die Römischen Finanzen." "Historic Essay on Roman Finances; by D. M. Hegeswick, professor at Kiel, Altona, 8vo." The author of this essay is well known by his excellent history of Charlemagne, and is, in reality one of the best statistic writers on the continent. The present work has great intrinsic merit, and is the more valuable as it treats of a subject which has only been incidentally noticed in preceding publications. The history of Roman finances is here divided into four periods; of these the first is from its origin to the year of the city 348; the second to the end of the great civil wars in the year 730: the third to the era of Dioclesian about the year 250 of the christian epoch; the fourth to the fall of the western empire towards the latter end of the fifth century.

We shall proceed with our review of the German literature appertaining to the present chapter, that we may not have to return to the same quarter. "Vertraute Briefe über die innern Verhlätnisse am Preussischen Hofe seit dem tode Frederick II." "Confidential Letters on the domestic Relations of the Prussian court since the death of Frederick II. 8vo." It is no small proof of the tyranny exercised over the German press that we are not informed of the place in which this interesting volume was published, or of the name of the publisher. The whole tendency of the work demonstrates that the author feels deeply for the recent evils that have befallen the Prussian monarchy—bemoans the misfortunes of his country with a truly patriotic spirit, and developes with an eagle eye, and a full insight into the interior of the cabinet of Berlin, the causes to which the late catastrophe, and the issue of the battles of Jena and Auerstadt is owing. The author promises to continue his very important information in a second volume and we are impatient for its appearance. Where will he now presume to print it? Gottenburg, however, and London are still open to him—and we trust will ever be.

"Was hat Europe zu hoffen und zu furchten?" "What has Europe to hope and fear? or the Political State of Europe before and after the Peace of Presburgh?" It is useful to learn truth even from an enemy. The author of this volume has a clear head but a dependant spirit: he is one of the multitude who are disposed to lick the feet of the conqueror and to boast of the glitter of the fetters that enslave him. He sees no mischief in the yoke that at present bows down the continent "all the springs of national prosperity, says he, will flow more plentifully than before" and "under the protection of France the temple of Janus will now be shut for ever." It well becomes the man who could write this fulsome panegyric upon Buonaparte, to assert a few pages afterwards, that the reformation

reformation effected by Luther was the most disastrous political event that ever befel Germany, or rather Europe at large—the greatest check to the progress of civilization and the diffusion of truth the world has ever encountered; the prime promotion of moral and religious indifference, and the grand stimulus to the most enervating luxury. We are sorry that this writer should have advised the British cabinet, as the only means of supporting the influence and dignity of the nation, to do that which has now been carried into effect very fully in spirit, if not in letter; and that is, to make war against all the nations of Europe whether neutral or not, *excepting Russia*; to destroy all commercial intercourse; and to send two powerful fleets with troops to take possession of the Brazils and of South America. *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.*

"System der Politik und des Handels von Europa, &c." System of the Politics and commerce of Europe; by John Joshua Shutzman L.L.D. of the University of Erlangen, 8vo. Nuremberg." At a time when many politicians are too much disposed to accomodate their opinions to the circumstances of the day, and hence to maintain that commerce is rather a source of impoverishment than of wealth to a nation, the work before us, written, without any reference to this fashionable but temporary controversy, is well worth perusing. One of the chief objects of the writer is to prove that "a direct diminution of the commercial superiority of Great Britain would be highly injurious, not to that country only, but to the common welfare of Europe, for the advantage likely to accrue to other nations from such an effect, would be a mere delusion. To weaken England, therefore, as circumstances now are is to weaken Europe. The industry and riches of that country belong to all others. The manufactures of the value of at least thirty millions which England furnishes annually to the commerce of the world are a great and important accession to the general property of nations." He proceeds to state that while it is owing to the immense amount of the national debt of Great Britain, and the vast disproportion of even the present revenues of France to her expences, that the contest between the two empires is thus tremendously protracted, the former in order to be able to pay the interest of her debt is obliged to engross the commerce of the world, without relaxing her exertions for a moment, while the latter is equally forced to look for ways and means beyond her own territories to defray her current expences, and hence to have recourse to exactions and imposts upon her neighbours. There is, we verily believe, much truth in this representation, and it deserves to be seriously pondered.

Before we take our leave of this section of German literature, we shall observe that amidst the biographies that have occurred to us, M. J. A. Von Halem in bringing to a close his "Leben Peter des Grosser." "Life of Peter the Great" of which he has now published the third and last volume, has performed a very acceptable service to the republic of general literature. The work contains more original matter and authentic documents than any we have seen devoted to this truly illustrious character. We shall observe also that professor Garlitt of St. John's College, Hamburgh, has written in the same language a very interesting life of Aonius Palearius, one of the restorers of letters in Italy in the middle of the sixteenth century, author

author of a beautiful Latin poem "on the immortality of the soul," which he published under the sanction of cardinal Bembo; and who afterwards suffered martyrdom for having spoken favourably of Luther and his tenets, at the instance of that bigotted Dominican, Pius the fifth. We shall close with noticing that the "Nekrolog der Teutschen." "Necrology of the Germans for the nineteenth century by Fred. Schlichtegroll, 4 vols. 8vo." is upon the whole a spirited and well arranged work; full of characters, but often, delineating them too concisely.

The biographies published in France are, also, many of them interesting and instructive. We may enumerate as the chief the "Memoirs of Henry de Campion, Lord of Fecquerei, of Boscferai, de la Lande, and of Feuc, &c.:" containing facts relative to a part of the reigns of Louis XIII. and Louis XIV., drawn from original documents; and interspersed with a variety of curious anecdotes of the dukes of Vendome and Beaufort, as well as of Cardinal Mazarin: and embracing the general politics of the middle of the seventeenth century.

"Essai sur la vie du Grand Condé." Essay on the life of the Great Condé; by Louis Joseph de Bourbon Condé his fourth descendant," which we have already noticed with applause in its English translation.

Of the territorial or national histories we shall commence with M. Cl. Rulhiere's Histoire de l'Anarchie de Pologne, &c." "History of the Anarchy of Poland and of the dismemberment of that republic. To which are added Anecdotes relative to the revolution in Russia in 1762, 4 vols. 8vo." The anecdotes here mentioned were published separately some years ago, and had so favourable a reception as to be translated into our own tongue. We noticed the version at the time of its appearance, and made various extracts from different parts of it. The preceding part of this work is worthy of the same author: it is elaborate, instructive, and curious, yet it did not receive M. Rulhiere's finishing hand: unhappily he died before he had consummated it.

"Histoire du Bas Empire depuis Constantin jusqu'à la prise de Constantinople, &c." "History of the Lower Empire from the epoch of Constantine to the capture of Constantinople in 1453, by Jacques Casentin Royon, 4 vols. 8vo." One of the first historical works in point of classical merit which has been put forth from the French press since the historical novels of Anacharsis. The period delineated is highly important, and full of incident; and from the beginning to the end the author's manner is dignified and unaffected. He appears to state facts faithfully, but like the rest of his countrymen too generally omits to quote his authorities, which renders the authority of the work too little to be depended upon. We nevertheless hope to meet with this history in the language of our own country.

"Histoire Critique, &c." "Critical History of the Roman Republic; by P. C. Levesque, member of the Institute, &c., 3 vols. 8vo." We have a good opinion of M. Levesque's classical taste and talents; but in the work before us, he appears to have perverted them to the political purposes of his day. As long as France preserved a shadow of liberty, she was fond of boasting of her resemblance to ancient Rome; but now that the last shadow has fled away, this resemblance must be forgotten, and the

the virtues and freedom of Rome, are no longer subjects of national panegyric. Under this impression the present work has been composed which as its secondary title expressly informs us, "proposes to eradicate inveterate prejudices with regard to the history of the first epochs of Rome; and to scrutinise the morality of the Romans, their virtues, their external policy, their constitution, and the character of their most celebrated men."

"Les Hindûs, &c." "The Hindus; or a description of their manners, customs, ceremonies, designed from nature in Bengal, and represented on 252 plates, engraved with aqua-fortis, and finished by T. Balthazar Soloyns, No 1, imperial folio, price 2*l.* 2*s.*" We notice this work chiefly on account of its magnificence; there is nothing original or peculiarly valuable in the literal description.

"Tableau Statistique de la Hollande en 1804, &c." "Statistic Survey of Holland in 1804; translated from the Dutch of M. R. Meteletkamp." This is one of the best statistic accounts of the country it describes we remember to have met with. The original writer laments the decline of his country in manufactures and commerce in very feeling terms, and proposes some regulations for its resuscitation: but as he wrote antecedently to the establishment of a monarchy, these regulations scarcely apply to the present state of the country.

"Apperçus sur la Biscaye, les Asturies, la Gallice" "Sketches of Biscay, the Asturias, and Gallicia: by M. Louis de Marsillac. The author is well acquainted with the bold scenery of the countries he describes, and the native valour as well as national history of its inhabitants. He writes with elegance and animation; and induces us perpetually to lament that such a people should be doomed to partake of the yoke, which the French, Italians and Germans have so much better deserved, and which does not seem to irritate them as it certainly will do the courageous mountaineers before us.

"Memoires sur les Campagnes des Pays-Bas, &c." "Memoirs on the Campaigns of the Low Countries in 1745, 1746, and 1747: by A. G. L. Heeren, Historic professor at Gothingen." These campaigns are well described, but after the more busy and important campaigns of later periods they want interest. The battle of Fontenoy appears to have been lost on the part of the allies from deficient resolution, or rather want of firmness in the duke of Cumberland, who was commander in chief, and a disagreement among the other generals. Had the prince of Waldech's advice been taken, it might, perhaps, have been recovered, even after the commencement of the retreat.

"Du Commerce Français dans l'état actuel de l'Europe." On the Commerce of France in the present state of Europe, by J. B. Dubois, 8vo." This volume is chiefly confined to the means of prosecuting a Levant, and coasting trade, up the Mediterranean. The scheme is now impracticable from the numerous British fleets which scour that sea.

"Memoire contenant le projet de l'établissement, &c." "Memoir on the practicability of establishing a maritime commerce at Paris and Versailles, by M. Ducrest." This is a more Utopian project than the last. Nothing can be so absurd as to pretend to open new commercial *dépôts*, under circumstances that prevent a nation from being able to make use

use of those that actually exist, and which are of infinitely more consequence to it.

From a survey of the literature of Russia, we find ourselves called to notice, as entitled to an attention beyond the limits of the Russian empire, the two following works "Istoricheskoe isobrachenie Grusii wo polititchuskom, zerkownom' i utchebnom eia sostoianité." "Picture of Georgia, historical, political, ecclesiastical and literary: by Eugenius, Archimandrite of the convent of St. Alexander Newsky." No country in the world deserves more to be developed than Georgia: its romantic surface, the literature it once encouraged and boasted a language scarcely known to the surrounding nations, the political changes of which its history are so full, all and equally tend to render it an object of general attraction. But to the Russian government a good and particular account of it in all these respects must be a treasure of peculiar value; and such a treasure is contained in the work before us. "Flüctige Bermurkungen auf einen Reise von St. Petersburg über Moskwa, Grodno, Warscohau, &c." "Cursory Observations during a journey from St. Petersburg, by the way of Moscow, Grodno, Warsaw and Breslaw to Germany: by G. Reinbeck, 2 vols. 8vo." We here meet with an able and finished picture of the inhabitants of Russia, their manners, institutions and civilization. The title is modest and unassuming; but a more interesting and entertaining work has not lately fallen within our range.

The Danish press has given us a valuable memorial from the pen of M. Hedin of Copenhagen. "On the means of providing for the maintenance of armies," in which the author proposes among other things to bake cakes of flour and powdered bones, sixteen parts of the latter being mixed with one of the former. The bread hence produced he affirms to be light on the stomach, and capable by boiling of making a good soup in a very short time. Ten pounds of this bread, in the form of soup, will maintain a man, according to the author's calculation, five and twenty days. M. Schutz, professor of philosophy at Kiel, under the title of "Philip August, &c." "Philip Augustus king of France, and Ingelborg, princess of Denmark," has written a highly interesting historic essay, so replete with sudden transitions, with love and disgust, as to require but little variation from real facts, or merely a little additional colouring to be worked up into a popular and impressive novel.

In Italy we perceive, that under the title of "Il Mappamondo di fra Manro Veneziano Camadolese illustrato, &c." "Map of the World by father Manro, a Venetian Camadule, explained by Pignon Placido Zurla, a monk of the same order." The author of this publication has been engaged in an elaborate and useful undertaking. Father Manro flourished in the beginning of the fifteenth century, and was reputed one of the best geographers of his age and country; in an age when geography was one of the most fashionable sciences pursued, and a country in which it was carried to its highest perfection.

In returning home by the way of Holland, we cannot consent to overlook a publication entitled "Beknopt Dag-Journal uan eenuerbl yf van agt weeken in het Reiderryk van Marocco, en landreize naar Mecquinez, door H. Haringman, Hague." "Abridged Journal of a Residence of eight weeks in the Empire

Empire of Morocco, and of a journey to Mecquinez, by H. Haringman." Few descriptions of the manners and customs of the inhabitants, of the government, natural history, and geography of the country, have equalled the account communicated in this journal, which discovers indefatigable attention to surrounding objects, combined with much general science.

CHAPTER IV.

LITERATURE AND POLITE ARTS.

Being a brief View of the chief Productions of France, Germany, Sweden, Russia, Hungary, and Italy.

NOTHING can be a stronger proof of the decay of literature on the continent than the deficiency of books which were brought to market at the Leipsic fair for the current year. Five or six thousand volumes is in general a very moderate calculation; in the present instance, however, the whole, including editions of the classics and other Latin books, did not exceed fifteen hundred and sixty-two articles, of which many were merely new editions or republications of standard national productions. It bespeaks also the levity, or rather the dissipation of the day, that of these a hundred and twenty-six, more than a tenth part of the aggregate, were novels and plays. Upon the whole it proved the worst literary fair that was ever experienced; and in proof of this observation it may be sufficient to observe, that Frankfort, which usually supplies ten or twelve booksellers, on the present occasion sent only one.

In respect to the literary and scientific academies and societies of the continent, we have to observe, that the Royal Society of Gottingen has published its fifteenth volume, and, as usual, in Latin; we cannot enter into the respective articles, but there are many of merit sufficient to maintain the credit of this learned institute. Amidst the literary papers we have been best pleased with that of Professor Tychsen, on the history and progress of the coins of the Arabians; and that of Professor Heyac, on the inscription in three different languages, engraven on the stone lately brought from Alexandria and now in the British Museum. The decyphering of the ancient Egyptian by M. Akerbladt seems, by this paper, to be rather confirmed than rendered questionable.

The "Journal des Physique, de la Chimie et de l'Histoire Naturelle," published at Paris, contains a variety of curious articles; among which we cannot avoid mentioning M. du Petit Thour's "Essay on the Organization of Plants, considered as the result of the annual course of vegetation:" M. Lalande's paper "On the fixed Stars;" and M. Dupré's "Observations on the Zodiac of Dendera." We perceive, also, that the Academy of Sciences in Stockholm has commenced a monthly repository of "Economical Annals;" many of the papers in the first and second number of which, and especially those on the cultivation of potatoes, and the bleaching of linen in Holland, are entitled to no small degree of praise.

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An Academy of Sciences and History has been established at Naples under the present dynasty, which was opened March 17 last, the sovereign himself attending on the occasion, and delivering an introductory discourse. M. Francesco Daniele was appointed perpetual secretary.

Some attempts have been made to revive the literary society of Schintznac in Switzerland, which has long been in abeyance from the misfortunes of the revolutionary war. It has now assumed the name of the "Helvetic Society," and we wish it every success.

"Dictionnaire des Ouvrages Anonymes et Pseudonymes." "Dictionary of Books published anonymously, or with fictitious names, &c.; by A. Z. Barbier, 2 vols. 8vo." To those who are of a very prying disposition this work will be found entertaining; it contains upwards of nine thousand articles, alphabetically arranged, with the real names of the authors of the publications thus noticed.

"Explication de la Fable, &c." "Explanation of Mythology by History and Egyptian Hieroglyphics, the real source of Mythology: by J. B. Linnois. 3 vols. 12mo." This is a useful publication for young persons; the author appears to have consulted many original authorities very successfully; but he has at the same time made rather too free with the labours of the Abbe Banmer upon the same subject, and without sufficient acknowledgment.

"Lettre sur l'Inscription Grecque, &c." "Letter on the Greek Inscription at the Temple of Dendera, addressed to M. Fougier, Prefect of the department of the Isere; by J. J. Champollion Figeac, Secretary to the Society of Sciences and Arts at Genoble." The inscription here referred to is engraven upon the lintels at the top of one of the gates of the wall of circumvallation to the south of the great temple of Dendera. Denon took a copy of it, and introduced it into his travels both in its imperfect state, and with the chasms filled up by the late M. Parquoy. The object of this letter is to prove, that the supplies offered by M. Parquois will not coincide with historic facts, and to present another mode of restoration and reading, as follows:

"Ηλιοδωρου Αιθιοπικων βιβλια δεκα, ἁ ναριν Ελλην εξεδωκε μετα σημειωσεων, προσθεις και τας ὑπο τος Αμιοτου συλλεγειας, τεως δε ανεωδοτους, διαφορους γραφας, προτροπη και δαπανη Αλεξανδρου Βασιλειου, ὁ Δ. Κοραης. "The Ten Books of Heliodorus upon the Beauties of the Grecian Classics, &c. &c." This work is almost single in classical literature: the editor, as indeed the title expresses, is Dr. Coray—himself a native Greek, educated in the language of the modern Greeks, but from a far closer attention to the literature of ancient Greece than we should have expected, reputed to be the first classical Greek on the Continent. The object of this work is to give his countrymen a taste for pure and ancient Greek, so that it may be gradually re-introduced among them upon the ruin of the vulgar jargon. In a critical view he has discovered a profound acquaintance with Heliodorus: he has weighed well the different editions that have appeared, and few scholiasts will be disposed to find fault with his judgment. The work is introduced by a preface in modern Greek, and the commentary is continued in the ancient tongue.

"Voyage sur la Scène des Six derniers Livres de l'Eneide, &c." "Travels to the Scene of the Six last Books of the Eneid, to which

are

are added, Observations on modern Latium; by Charles Victor de Bonstetten." This may be regarded as a useful companion to Mr. Gell's Voyage to the Troad, and verification of the Homeric geography. Those who in happier times may travel to the classic spot alluded to, should travel with this volume in their hands, which they will find an admirable key to much that will otherwise be questionable and uncertain. It concludes with an examination of the soil of Campagna, which is interspersed with a variety of ingenious geological conjectures on the origin of the interior country by volcanoes, and of that lying farther towards the sea by alluvions of the Tiber.

"Le Mot et la Chose, &c." "Words and Things explained by derivations from the Latin; by Almani de Bréhan, formerly Colonel of Dragoons. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris." If M. de Bréhan be no better a soldier than an etymologist, we do not wonder that he is no longer a colonel of dragoons. There is an absurdity in most of the derivations here offered, that would amount to exquisite humour if we did not know that the author was in earnest: as it is, however, they have often excited laughter. *Devoir* we are told is the opposite to *avoir*; "hence it results," says M. de B. "that the *devoir* is always the *not doing what should be done*; or if you prefer it, a void to be filled. *Calamité*, we are told, flows from the word *cal* in Celtic, which means *hail*, whence the word *calamités* signifies misfortunes and disasters which fall on us like *hail*." This writer seems to have taken great pains to realize what Swift took some pains to burlesque.

"Chrestomathié Arabe, ou Extraits de divers écrivains Arabes, &c." "Arabic Chrestomathy, or Extracts from various Arabic Writers, both prose and verse, for the use of the school appropriated to living oriental tongues; by A. J. Silvestre de Sacy. 3 vols. 8vo." We are glad to find in a city where so much flourishes that ought not to flourish, a sedulous attention paid to a point of so much literary consequence, as the study of the oriental languages, and especially by a master so perfectly competent to instruct in this pursuit as M. de Sacy. The first of the three volumes before us gives the Arabic text, of the various passages and pieces selected; and the two last, translations of the Arabic into French. We cannot notice the different articles, but must observe, in general, that they are for the most part well selected, and of considerable importance in a political line, or of high curiosity and entertainment in a literary view.

"Petrarque à Vaucluse, 8vo." "Petrarc at Vaucluse." An elegant and classical memoir of a great part of the life of this admirable scholar and exquisite poet: containing many anecdotes that are overlooked by Tiraboschi, and other writers of his history.

"Lettres Choisies, &c." "Select Letters of Voiture, Balzac, Montrevil, Pelisson and Boursalt. 2 vols. 8vo." These are admirable specimens of the best epistolary writers of a nation that has with reason boasted of its peculiar powers in this line. We have within a little more than the last half century had some admirable rivals in our own country, among whom we may mention Mr. Pope, Lady M. W. Montague, and still more lately, and far above the rest, Mr. Cowper;—if we proceed beyond this period, we may mention the names of Milton, Lady Russell, and Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson; but after all, we are afraid we must still yield

yield the palm to the examples now before us, which, if duly selected, would made an admirable school-book for our female seminaries.

"Le Genie de l'Amour, &c." "The Genius of Love; or a Dissertation on Profane and Religious Love, and its influence on the Sciences and Arts: by M. C. de Miroménil, 8vo." Every thing that is pathetic, sublime, sentimental, patriotic, mysterious, enthusiastic, superstitious, devotional—all is LOVE, as described in the book before us. All the rites of Plutus, Ceres, and Bacchus, as well as of Mars and Venus—the Asiatic system of the de la Lama—the leaves of the gospel—the principles and genius of the Catholic church—all are love, all founded upon love in the estimation of this writer; so too is his attachment to his "spouse his *cherished companion!*" If, as the consummation of my calamities it should be my lot to lose thee; if Hyacinthe should be condemned to survive her mother, my Antoinette; funeral hymns, melancholy ditties, and the dolorous accents of mournful love should fill my sombre pages." We cannot follow up the whole storm and tempest of agony in which he declares he would indulge; but can only observe, that after having in this manner drunk his full of misery, "thy pale visage," continues he, "thy livid frame shall appal me, and benumb and deprive me of my limbs. The darkness of thy eyes, for ever closed, shall invade and shut up mine. But before I breathe my last I will engrave on the cold stone that is to cover our last asylum, "this tomb of the wife is the tomb of the husband: for an instant death separated them, but he has now united them for ever;" and I shall lay me down by thee, never more to quit thee." To a writer so inflated we can only say, in the language of our own poet, "take physic, Pomp! take physic."

Amidst the French poetry of the year we perceive with pleasure a new and more complete edition of Racine's works to extend, when finished, to seven volumes octavo, of which five are already published. It is accompanied with La Harpe's commentary, and will include several pieces never before published, or not much known. There is little else that is worth noticing. "La Descente d'Odin" of Bartholine, however has merit in various parts, and we would readily quote from it if we had space. Amidst the novels of the year, we have to mention Mad. de Stael's Corinna, which we have already had occasion to notice, as being translated into our own tongue; and the "Monbars l'Exterminateur of M. Picquenard." "Monbars the Exterminator; or the last chief of the Buccaneers; a Tale of the New World, 3 vols. 12mo.;" presenting us with an elaborate but flattering account of the Buccaneers, and interweaving, with their real history, a very interesting fictitious story, abounding in extraordinary domestic incidents and love adventures. We shall probably be called, in a short time, to a re-examination of it in an English dress.

We cross the Rhine: and perceive that under the title of "De Sacerdotio Comanensi omninoque de Religionum cis et trans Taurum Consensione," M. Heyne has published a very learned and elaborate oration, delivered before the Royal Society of Sciences at Gottingen, upon the religion of the Comanians, and the two distinct temples that bore the name of Comana, and displayed the same rites, the one in Cappadocia, the other in Pontus. This subject is made the groundwork

work of an enquiry into the different religions of the surrounding nations, and a regular classification of them according to their respective features. M. Hermann of Leipsic has published a new and admirably collated edition of the Orphica, largely enriched with the labours of Bentley, Tyrwhitt, Hamberger, Eschenbach, Valknœur, and Ruhnkenius, as well as with many original criticisms of the editor's own. Tyrwhitt's commentary to the Lithica is given without curtailment, to which, with Ruhnkenius, M. Hermann assigns the age of Domitian, believing the *hymns* to be the most ancient poems of the collection. Of the æra of the Argonautics he expresses himself doubtful. M. Weissche, of Leipsic, has also displayed much classical erudition in an edition of Xenophon: he has been peculiarly successful in rectifying various obscure or disputed passages, and has tastefully interwoven many of the criticisms and elucidations of Schneider with those of Zeune. From the Leipsic press, likewise, we have received a very excellent new edition of Suetonius. The present editor, it is sufficient to notice, is M. Wolfe, who, to all the criticisms of Ernesti's admirable anterior edition, which is now entirely out of print, and of which the present may be regarded as a republication, has added some important and highly illustrative matter of his own.

In Sweden we perceive that M. Aurivilius is publishing, at the Upsal press, a collection of "Correctrections and Supplements to the Commentaries of Proclus on the first book of Euclid's Elements." This is a useful undertaking; the Greek Commentary has never been printed in the original language but once, and that at the end of Euclid's elements in the folio edition of Simon Grynæus, Basil 1533: the text is well known to be extremely defective, and Baroci of Venice endeavoured to correct it about 1555 from MSS. discovered at Bologna and in the island of Crete. About this time he also produced a Latin Version, which, with little variation, was rendered into our own tongue by M. T. Taylor, in two quarto volumes in 1788. The corrections now offered are for the most part from a Greek copy of the Basil edition, enriched with a considerable multitude of critical annotations in the margin, by Conrad Dasypodius of Strasburg, and which has fortunately fallen into the hands of M. Aurivilius. The number before us (for the work is publishing in fascicles) contains corrections and editions to the first twenty pages. The rest will follow in order. The same writer is also engaged in another Latin publication, which he entitles "Notitiæ Codicum, &c." "Notices on the Greek and Latin MSS. in the library at the Academy at Upsal." This is likewise published in numbers; and the first, which is the only number that has reached us, contains fourteen pages of Greek and eight of Latin MSS. the size of the page 4to. This library is well known to be one of the richest and most valuable of any in Christendom, and especially in oriental works, both ancient and modern; and we trust, on this account, that M. Aurivilius will not confine his labours to the Greek and Latin MSS. but extend them to the Hebrew, Chaldaic, Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. M. Engzell has published in Swedish an heroic poem of considerable merit, entitled, "The Dalecarlians;" and Baron Hermelin a very admirable Map of the districts of Gothenburg and Bohus.

A good and critical Grammar

the Russian Language has also been published at Upsal, in the Swedish tongue, by M. Groning; an "Accurate Catalogue and Account (*Accurata Codicum Græcorum MSS.* &c.) of the Greek MSS. of the Moscovian Libraries of the most holy Synod; published with the permission and under the protection of Alexander I. Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, has appeared at Leipsic, from the pen and labours of M. de Matthæi. It extends to two volumes, 8vo. and contains an alphabetical index, which adds much to the value of the work.

The literature of Hungary has furnished us in Latin with a "Syntagma historicorum de Sigillis Regum, &c." "An historic Collection of the Seals of the Kings and Queens of Hungary, together with other seals: by George Pray." This is a posthumous work, but will be found of high interest to the antiquary. Upon the death of M. Pray his MS. copy fell into the hands of the arch-duke Palatine, who presented it to M. Paintner with leave to publish. M. Paintner has made use of this permission, and to the original work has added an account of the life and writings of the author, and several other articles. The work is adorned with sixteen very excellent copper-plates.

From the languid pen of Italian literature we have only to notice the following, as entitled to distinction. "Due antichi Monumenti di Architettura Messicana, &c." "Two ancient Monuments of Mexican Architecture, illustrated by D. P. Marquez, 8vo. with four plates:" designed to ascertain the degree of civilization at which the Mexicans had arrived before the landing of the Europeans. "Numismnta Capuana"—and upon the second title-page, "Monete anticha de Capua con alcune brievi Osservazioni." This work on the Coins of Capua is the production of M. Francesco Daniele of Naples, who has made a larger collection of Capuan coins than any other individual. They appear to have been uniformly of bronze, executed in a neat style; and the engravings made from them for the present work do considerable credit to the artist. They are, of course, employed to explain the history of this celebrated city. "Devonzione delle Medaglie del Muses Knobelsdorffiano, &c." M. Knobelsdorf was of late the Prussian ambassador at Constantinople: during his residence at which city, he collected a variety of very valuable coins relative to the Tauric Chersonesus, Thrace and Macedon. M. Sestini having obtained leave to copy and describe the more valuable, has published this work upon the subject.

FINIS.

T. Gillet, Printer, Crown-Court.